

History of Maharashtra

Ancient Period

MAHARASHTRA STATE GAZETTEERS

History, Part I - Ancient Period

COTRIBUTORS

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MAHARASHTRA STATE GAZETTEERS



Government of Maharashtra

HISTORY PART I—ANCIENT PERIOD



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**HISTORY
PART I—ANCIENT PERIOD**



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GENERAL VOLUME—HISTORY

PART I

ANCIENT PERIOD

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सत्यमेव जयते

PREFACE

This is the first part of the General Volume on History to be published in four parts. My thanks are due to Dr. H. D. Sankalia, the Late Dr. A. S. Altekar, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi, Shri N. Lakshmi Narayan Rao, and Dr. M. D. Paradkar and especially due to Dr. Mirashi who, besides contributing to the volume, revised the volume so as to bring it up-to-date and added a scholarly introduction.

I am thankful to the Joint Editor, Dr. B. G. Kunte and other members of the staff for the assistance rendered by them in the preparation of press copy and correction of proofs. My special thanks are due to Dr. M. D. Paradkar for preparing the Index to the volume. My thanks are also due to Shri J. W. D'Souza, Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Bombay, and Shri S. A. Sapre, Manager, Government Central Press, Bombay.

P. SETU MADHAVA RAO.

Executive Editor and Secretary.

Bombay : January 1988.



सत्यमेव जयते

INTRODUCTION

The first idea of compiling information about the different districts of the Bombay Presidency, conceived as far back as 1843, was in the form of Statistical Accounts. The Collectors of the districts were called upon to collect fullest information about 'the state of the cross and other roads not under the superintendence of a separate department, the passes and ferries throughout the country, the streets in the principal towns and the extension and improvement of internal communication'. The Collectors were also desired to include in their Annual Reports observations on every point from which a knowledge of the actual condition of the country could be gathered. In this scheme there was obviously no place for any section on history. Later, in 1867, it was proposed to compile a Gazetteer of the Presidency on the model of the Gazetteer of the Central Provinces which had been prepared during that year. So several new subjects were proposed to be included in the Gazetteer, of which history was one. The purpose was to give a new Collector a comprehensive and at the same time a distinct idea of the district which he had been sent to administer. To-day our notions about the Gazetteers have greatly changed. They are intended to serve not only the administrators but the entire nation. The people must have full information about *inter alia* the past history and culture of their country. So the subject of history has become an essential part of both the State and the District Gazetteers.

In the last Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, which was completed in 1902, Volume I, Parts I and II were devoted to the history of the Presidency in all periods, ancient, mediaeval and modern. At that time Gujarat, Sindh and some Kanarese districts were included in the Bombay Presidency. Vol. I, Part I of that Gazetteer contained the Early History of Gujarat (B.C. 319—A.D. 1304), which was based on materials prepared by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji and completed by Mr. A.M.T. Jackson. Vol. I, Part II contained the following articles :—

- I. History of the Konkan by Rev. Alexander Kyd. Nairne.
- II. Early History of the Deccan down to Mahomadan Conquest by Prof. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar.
- III. The Dynasties of the Kanarese districts from the Earliest Historical Times to the Musalman Conquest by Dr. J. F. Fleet.

This Volume was very highly prized. The Editor says in the Preface, "The general contributions on History in Vol. I, Parts I and II are among the valuable portions of the Gazetteer.". The

articles dealing with the ancient period, written as they were by eminent scholars like Bhagwanlal Indraji, R.G. Bhandarkar and J. F. Fleet, have always been regarded as authoritative.

These Gazetteer Volumes, which were completed more than fifty years ago, have since become antiquated and the need was therefore felt to bring them up to date. In 1949 a Board was set up to undertake the work of revision and compilation of District Gazetteers. The Board then decided to prepare General Volumes covering the whole of the then Bombay State to be published along with the District Volumes. The General Volumes were to be on the following subjects :—

- (1) People.
- (2) Geography.
- (3) Public Administration.
- (4) Botany.
- (5) History.
- (6) Language and Literature.
- (7) Fauna.

Of these, the History Volume was to be published in four parts viz., (1) Ancient Period, (2) Mediaeval Period, (3) Maratha Period and (4) Modern Period. For the purpose of the compilation of the Volume on the Ancient Period, a committee of the following scholars was appointed :—

- (1) Dr. H. D. Sankalia,
- (2) Dr. A. S. Altekar,
- and
- (3) Dr. S. C. Nandimath.

Some chapters were written by them and some were assigned to other scholars. Later, in 1956, the States were reorganised. The Kanarese districts of the former Bombay State were transferred to the Mysore State. Subsequently, in 1960, Maharashtra and Gujarat too were bifurcated and Vidarbha was added to form Maharashtra comprising all Marathi-speaking districts. Consequently, the original scheme of the History Volume had to be greatly modified. Some chapters had to be omitted, some had to be added, while some others were required to be re-written.

The present Volume on the history of the Ancient Period consists of eleven chapters as stated below :—

1. Pre-historic Cultures and Remains by Dr. H. D. Sankalia.
2. The Satavahana Empire and its Feudatories by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar.

3. The Successors of the Satavahanas in Maharashtra by Dr. V. V. Mirashi.
4. The Western Kshatrapas by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar.
5. Society, Religion and Culture (200 B.C. to 500 A.D.) by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar.
6. The Chalukyas of Badami by Shri N. Lakshminarayan Rao.
7. The Rashtrakuta Empire and its Feudatories by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar and Dr. V. V. Mirashi.
8. Shilaharas by Dr. V. V. Mirashi.
9. The Chalukyas and the Kalachuryas of Kalyani by Dr. S. L. Katare.
10. The Yadavas of Devagiri by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar.
11. Society, Religion and Culture (500 A.D. to 1200 A.D.) by Dr. M. D. Paradkar.

It will be noticed that the present Volume is far more comprehensive than the corresponding portion of Vol. I of the earlier edition. It deals fully with the prehistoric culture of Maharashtra, its pre-history and proto-history, its arts and architecture, its ornaments and implements. Again the historical chapters in the earlier edition dealt only with political history, while the present Volume contains two chapters treating of society, religion and culture in the two broad periods in which the early history of Maharashtra can be divided. This is in keeping with the modern wider conception of history.

Some of the chapters in the present Volume were written more than fifteen years ago. Since then there has been much advance in our knowledge of the ancient history of Maharashtra. All articles have therefore been thoroughly revised and the information in them has been brought up to date. The notes added by me have been distinguished by my initials. It is hoped that the present Volume will give a fuller and more authentic history of Maharashtra than before.

It is a matter for regret that one of the contributors to the present Volume, Dr. A. S. Altekar, who wrote several chapters for it, passed away before it would be brought out. His death has been a serious loss to the cause of ancient Indian history.

V. V. MIRASHI.

Nagpur : 15th January 1968.

CHAPTER 1

PRE-HISTORIC CULTURE AND REMAINS*

THE STATE OF MAHARĀṢṬRA COMPRISES A LARGE PART OF WESTERN INDIA. It extends between 22·1 and 16·4 degrees north latitude and 72·6 and 80·9 degrees east longitude. The Arabian sea marks its western limit; on the north-west, north, south and south-east lie Gujarāt, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore and Andhra Pradesh respectively. The area of the State is 118279·9 sq. miles which is about 9·64 per cent. of the area of the Indian Union excluding Goa, Daman and Div. According to 1961 census the population of the State is 3,95,53,718 souls.

For the administrative convenience the State is divided into four divisions, viz., Bombay, Poona, Aurangabad and Nagpur. Bombay Division comprises the districts of Greater Bombay, Thana, Kolaba Ratnagiri, Nasik, Dhulia and Jalgaon; while the districts of Ahmadnagar, Poona, Satara, Sangli, Solapur and Kolhapur are included in the Poona Division. The districts in the Marathwada region, viz., Aurangabad, Parbhani, Bid, Nanded and Usmanabad are included in Aurangabad Division, while the districts in the Vidarbha region, viz., Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara and Candhar form part of Nagpur Division.

Physiography of the State may be considered first. For, it has determined the subsequent political, economic, social and cultural development of the State. Maharashtra consists of two main divisions. (1) The Deccan Plateau, and (2) the Konkan Plain. The plateau is one mass of basaltic lava which erupted and spread over the ancient land surface some time during the Upper Cretaceous period. (Excluding Malwa and some part of Northern Karnataka, its limit is almost continuous with the limits of the Marathi language.) The lava spread in horizontal beds of great thickness, having intercalated softer beds of ash. This particular feature, followed by a long period of denudation and sub-aerial weathering have given a characteristic topography to the land. Residual hills, often towering high into series of terraces, and punctuated by peaks, with luxuriant

* This chapter is contributed by Dr. H. D. Sankalia, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (London), Joint Director, Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona.

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vegetation on their laterite covered tops, and basins forming river valleys, have sprung up. In the drier parts of the region on the east have developed the famous black "regur" soil. This almost uniform alternate occurrence of valleys and hills towards the west, and gently sloping plains towards the east and south-east have contributed not a little to the peculiar culture of Mahārāṣṭra.

The coastal strip of Koṅkaṇ (stretching from the southern limit of North Kānarā to Damangāṅgā in the north) is believed to be a platform of marine denudations raised to form a narrow plain. It is neither uniformly level nor straight, nor equally fertile.

The plain is dissected by parallel and transverse sub-Sahyādri hills, some of which reach the sea. The Kalyāṇ creek separates the plain into North and South Koṅkaṇ respectively. Both are drained by parallel streams, but the former is more fertile with vast deposits of river silt. The latter is cut up into parts by hills and rendered further useless by extensive occurrences of laterites.

There are two principal river systems, that of the Godāvarī, and of the Kṛṣṇā. Countless streams and a number of rivers, which have their watershed in one or the other of the Western Ghāt hills, join these larger rivers and flow eastwards. Besides these, the region has a number of wells, lakes, canals and natural springs (in hills).

Mahārāṣṭrian culture is comparatively homogeneous. Here there is comparatively less admixture of peoples (though recent anthropometrical investigations tend to show an increasingly northern racial element, comparable to that of other States, in the higher castes of Mahārāṣṭra). This has been due to the fact that the numerous trap ridges have formed an effective barrier to outside influences and given to the inhabitants an isolated but independent outlook on life. The ridges have been pierced, no doubt, by a number of ghāṭs (passages), which enable contact with the Koṅkaṇ and Gujarāt coast, but these are at all times difficult to negotiate. In such a region the centres of the earliest cultures and civilization once again have been the fertile river valleys, particularly the confluences of two or more rivers, or in times of stress mountain fastnesses and hollows. We had thus the early Āryan settlement in Vidarbha (Berār) and later on the Godāvarī, and the Sātavāhana towns at Paīṭhaṇ (Pratiṣṭhāna), Nevāsā, Nāsik, Kolhāpūr and Karhād along the banks of the Godāvarī, the Pravara, the Pañcgaṅgā and confluence of the Kṛṣṇā-Vennā. The Vākātakas later chose the valley of the Vindhyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Mayūrakhaṇḍī while some of the Śilāhāras preferred the coastal strip of Koṅkaṇ, the Yādavas first chose Cāndor (Candrādityapura) in the Nāsik District, but later made Devagiri their capital.

The creeks and ports of Koṅkaṇ, like Caul, Kalyāṇ, Sopārā, Rājapurī, have also played an important part in the formation of the Mahārāṣṭrian culture, both by giving and letting in foreign influence by way of trade and immigration.

The appellation 'Deccan' can claim a higher antiquity. It is apparently based on 'Dakhan' which is derived from 'Dakṣiṇā-patha', meaning 'the southern road'. Since the times of Yāska, this seems to have been a general name for the country south of the Narmadā upto Kanyākumārī. Several *Purāṇas*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and *Baudhāyana* and *Kauṭilya* refer to it. It is also occasionally mentioned in the Buddhist *Jātakas* and early Jain literature. The Greeks and the Romans knew it under the name of Dachinabdes. These are general terms from which the exact limits of the country denoted by Dakṣiṇāpatha cannot be deduced.

Two early epigraphical allusions, however, give a clue. Nāganikā and Rudradāman call Sātavāhana Sātakarṇi as the lord of the Dakṣiṇāpatha. A consideration of the countries ruled by this emperor suggests that 'Dakṣiṇa' included the country between the Narmadā and the Kṛṣṇā, definitely excluding the far south (Malabār) and at times even the Koṅkaṇ. It would thus roughly correspond with the modern Marāṭhī term 'Deś' and the English 'Deccan', implying the plateau country only.

About the 5th-6th century, this term of wider significance began to be replaced by the name 'Mahārāṣṭra'. How and when it originated first cannot be well ascertained at present. Four explanations are offered by (i) Ketkar, (ii) Bhagwanlal Indraji, (iii) R. G. Bhandarkar and (iv) P. V. Kane.

The first derives it from 'Mahār' the third from 'Rāṭhi' or Mahārāṭhi' and the rest from Mahā-rāṣṭra, a 'vast country' gradually being opened up for civilization and replacing the old 'Daṇḍakāraṇya'.

None of these theories is convincing, and none is supported by contemporary usage, either literary or epigraphical.

But there is no doubt that when a Ceyloneso Chronicle (*Mahāvamsa*) used the term in the 5th century or when Ravikīrti described Pulakeśin II as the ruler of 'three Mahārāṣṭrakas', the name must have been current, at least for a couple of centuries earlier, if not from the 1st or 2nd century B. C., as argued by Kane.

The limits of this early Mahārāṣṭra are not easy to fix. The *Mahāvamsa* itself specifically zones it off from Aparānta and Vānavāsa; so Koṅkaṇ and the lower Deccan (or parts of modern Northern Karnāṭak or ancient Kuntala) seem to be excluded. We thus get back to the "Deccan" proper.

This would be perhaps one "Mahārāṣṭra"; but what constituted the three of the Aihole inscription? Possibly, Vidarbha, Kuntala and Mahārāṣṭra, though it might be mentioned that Rājasekhara enumerates each of these separately. Briefly, the Deccan or Mahārāṣṭra included broadly the country from the Narmadā up to the Kṛṣṇā in the south. The furthest limit in the east was Vainagaṅgā or the river Bendī in Cāndā district, and in the west the Arabian sea. These are co-extensive with the present spread of

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the Marāṭhī language. If the language of the early Prākṛt inscriptions can be well determined and the distribution of the *Mahārāṣṭrī* plotted, then perhaps the ancient Mahārāṣṭra might be found to extend still further.

The most ancient place-name in this country seems to be Vidarbha, probably the earliest Aryan settlement. For, it is mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, and occurs later in the *Bṛhadāranyaka* and the *Jaiminiya Upaniṣads*. It along with Rṣika, Aśmaka, Daṇḍaka, Mūlaka, Kuntala and Aparānta of early inscriptions and Brāhmanic, Buddhist and Jain literatures would constitute the principal divisions of the ancient Deccan (as well as of modern Mahārāṣṭra). Vidarbha comprised the present Berār (Varhāḍ) and the eastern districts of Wardhā, Cāndā, Nāgpūr and Bhaṇḍārā. Rṣika, Aśmaka, Mūlaka and Daṇḍaka between them covered the whole of the middle and the upper Godāvarī valley. Kuntala, southern Deccan, included parts of Northern Karnāṭak; and Aparānta, the present Konkan, a portion of southern Gujārāt or ancient Lāṭa.

The most famous towns and cities of these divisions were Kuṇḍina (Kaunḍīyapura) in Vidarbha, Nāsik or Govardhana in Daṇḍaka (?), Pratiṣṭhāna (Paiṭhan) in Aśmaka-Mūlaka (?). Karahāṭaka and Vanavāsi in Kuntala, Sūrpāraka, and Kalyāṇa with the hill Kṛṣṇagiri in Aparānta¹.

The Arabian Sea forms the western boundary of the entire State. This seafront has several ports : Sopārā, Caul, Kalyāṇa, etc. These have, from early historic and prehistoric times, been used mainly for commerce, but also for wars, and emigration to and from foreign lands. Thus the whole of the Near and Far West, including Iran, Iraq, Africa, Egypt, and later Rome and other Mediterranean countries were brought into contact with Western India. Relations were also established with Ceylon and other islands in the Indian archipelago.

What was the road system inside Mahārāṣṭra cannot be indicated in detail. Numerous Buddhist cave settlements seem to lie along the main lines of communications. Contact with the plains below was maintained through several passes in the hills, known as *Chāts*, *Khinds*, etc. Of these, the most well-known seems to be the Nāneghāt between Junnar and Broach and Āmbāghāt and Phondāghāt between Kolhāpūr and Ratnāgiri.

The latest survey of Mahārāṣṭra was made by Dr. Karve.

This survey² reveals the following facts of the physical characteristics of the people of Mahārāṣṭra.

The survey comprises over forty castes and tribes from Mahārāṣṭra.

¹ These countries are also mentioned in the present Bhīṣmaparvan (c. 400 A.D.).

² This section—(pp. 4-5), is contributed by Dr. I. Karve.

² Karve and Dandekar, *Deccan College Monograph Series*, 8, Poona, 1951, and Karve, "Anthropometric measurements in Karnāṭak, and Orissā, etc.," *the Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay*, (1954).

The whole sample ranged in cephalic index from 72 to nearly 83 i.e. from dolicho-cephals to the lower brachy-cephals.

The only dolicho-cephalic people in Mahārāṣṭra are the Kātkari, Wārli, Kolī from the Western Ghāts; Koṅkaṇ Kuṇbī, Āgarī and Karhāḍā Brāhmīns from the coast, Gujar, Lewā from north Khāndeś and Povār, Kohali, Bacane Mahār, Khaire Kuṇbī, Mana Kuṇbī, Goṇḍ, Govārī, Halbī and Kolam from eastern Mahārāṣṭra. The Bhils of Mahārāṣṭra fall just outside this range. If one plots these dolicho-cephals, one can see that they belong to the highlands and the peripheral region of the Mahārāṣṭra.

The overwhelming population of Mahārāṣṭra (Central and partly coastal) belongs to meso-cephalic people. In Mahārāṣṭra there is a good substratum of dolicho-cephals in hills, on the coast and in eastern Mahārāṣṭra.

The Mahārāṣṭra region was known as Daṇḍakāraṇya—the Daṇḍaka forest—with a lot of aboriginal people living in it. It seems that these were a long-headed, medium-statured people with noses ranging from extreme broad to medium broad. This region extended southwards upto and beyond the Kṛṣṇā and northwards into the forest belt of Central India. Into this population came an immigrant meso-cephalic people from north-west (?). The same population seems to have migrated southward viz. the Koṅkaṇ coast, then up on the Ghāts. This movement of the meso-cephals seems to have driven the Mahārāṣṭra dolicho-cephals westwards and northwards. Possibly it was this immigration which drove the Goṇḍ northwards. They pushed the Vraons who, in their turn, pushed the Muṇḍas to the east and north. This is only a surmise which needs to be investigated anthropologically, culturally and linguistically.

Mahārāṣṭra coastal meso-cephals have less prominent noses and have lighter colour complexion. The people on the central plateau of Mahārāṣṭra are darker-skinned.

Until 1940 only the archæology of the historic periods was to some extent known. That of the pre-and proto-historic periods was believed to be non-existent in Mahārāṣṭra, inspite of the pioneer work of Robert Bruce Foote.

Since 1941 explorations and excavations, though on a small scale, have been started. These help us to give some idea of the life during the pre-historic period.

From a survey of the foot-hills in Koṅkaṇ, and along the Godāvarī, the Pravara, the Mūlā, the Tāpī and other rivers in Mahārāṣṭra, it can now be said that early man lived in these regions along the river banks and on the foot-hills. All these rivers then flowed in a comparatively wider and higher bed. The climate was initially hotter than today; it gradually became more dry. The period when this happened cannot be definitely stated. But from the occurrence

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Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

PRE- AND PROTO-HISTORY.

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HISTORY.**

of the fossil fauna of the Middle Pleistocene period in the gravels of the Godāvarī and the Pravara¹ and the Tāpī and its tributaries and the typological tools from these rivers it would appear that the first appearance of man in Mahārāṣṭra was not earlier than the Middle Pleistocene (Sankalia, 1946, 1952, 1956 ; Joshi 1955 ; Todd, 1939 and IAD, 1956-59).

We have no idea how this man looked and from where he came. The only artifacts which have survived are his stone tools. He might have used tools of bones and wood, but these seem to have perished. However, since highly mineralized bones and wood have been discovered from the Deccan, it is possible that in future, these as well as skeletal remains of man himself will be found, discoveries which will give a fuller picture of Early Man and his environment. Though the material is stone, its nature differs according to the region. The tools of basalt material but generally called dolerite, which form dykes in the basalt were used by man in the Deccan. An exception was made by the Koṅkan man. He used quartzite chert and flint.

The tools can be classified as under :—

- (1) Hand-axes (various).
- (2) Cleavers.
- (3) Scrapers.
- (4) Discoids.
- (5) Choppers.

It appears that the tools were on slabs taken out from the parent rock (basalt and dolerite).

Since the cruder-free as well as the finer-controlled-flaking techniques are found in tools from the same horizon, this palæolithic industry is called Abbevillio-Acheulian. It must have an earlier beginning and further development which more extensive surveys in the State might bring to light².

**Middle
Palæolithic
Period.**

What is described above belongs to the lower Palæolithic Period. Quite recently work in the Deccan showed that this culture was gradually replaced by another palæolithic industry. It also coincides with a wet phase. Clear stratigraphic and typological evidence is hitherto available from the Pravara and the Godāvarī. Unlike the earlier tools, these later are comparatively small, and made on different technique from quite different raw material. In the Deccan preference was given to agate, jasper and chert. A few of the tools are now made on Levallois flakes, though a large number are on cores and asymmetrical, irregular flakes. These tools include a large variety of scrapers and points but a few blades and still fewer burins or gravers. (Sankalia, 1956).

¹ Recently palæoliths have been discovered at Kaundinyapura, district Amara-vatī, and at Nāgpūr. See I. A. R., (1958-59), p. 68.

² A very recent (January 1960), discovery at Gaṅgapūr, five miles north-west of Nāśik, disclosed very small, finely made, 'point-like' hand-axes and cleavers. These recall the late Acheulian of France.

The exact geological age of this industry is not known. Since the lowest gravel bed yields remains of *Bos nomadicus*, *Elephant anticus*, and other highly fossilized (silicified) bones, as well as remains of wood, some of which are of the Middle Pleistocene Period, the immediately overlying gravel bed might belong to the Upper Pleistocene at least, though the occurrence of *Bos nomadicus Falconer* might indicate an earlier age.

There seems to have been a break in the sequence of culture after this. For, the gravels are capped by a layer of brownish sandy silt, its thickness varying from 30 ft. to 10 ft. or so.

In the Deccan this layer is overlain by a layer of black soil which may be nothing but weathering *in situ* under certain—humid—climatic conditions of the silt. Its thickness varies considerably and is totally absent where the underlying rock forms the surface. Owing to summer rains and wind activity hundreds of dunes or hillocks have been formed. Some of these enclose small inundation lakes. Around these on the dunes grew up another stone-using culture. The bearers of this culture used tiny stone tools, called microliths. The people lived on low sand-dunes locally called *timbas*. They were hunters and lived on the flesh of sheep, goat, cow/ox, pig, rhinoceros, deer, all probably undomesticated, tortoise and birds and fish. All these animals were brought to the mound, where they were cut up and the marrow removed from bones. The microliths were also manufactured here. Thus a four to six feet debris of bones and stones has accumulated at the habitation site.

The tools were made from a coarse variety of chert, quartz, agate and carnelian and include lunates, trapeze, triangles, burins and asymmetrical blades and various kinds of scrapers or flakes as well as cores. Among the last occur a few fluted cores as well, whereas the rest have one, two or many platforms, and are indeed amorphous. The use of ornaments is attested by the occurrence of a flat round head of unidentified material and cut denatalium shell. The latter indicates contact with the west coast.

The primitive hunters buried their dead right in their habitation debris, along with the dog, which might have been domesticated. Hitherto some 12 skeletons have been found, all of which are found placed in an extremely flexed posture, with the feet tucked up right under the buttocks. These people were comparatively tall with thin legs, dolicocephalic heads and protruding lips. These physical characteristics resemble those of the Hamitic people of Egypt. Towards the later phase of this culture it appears that a pottery with red slip or incised criss-cross design and of coarse pale yellow texture had come into use. These few sherds in association with hour-glass-like made head or ring-stone suggest an advanced stage of culture comparable to the Neolithic (Sankalia, 1956, and the references therein).

Microliths are found in Konkan and rest of Mahārāṣṭra. But except at Kāndivali (Todd, 1939; 1950), their exact stratigraphical position

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is not ascertained¹. Hence it is not possible to assign them to any definite date. Nor do we know anything about other aspects of the culture they represent. But there are great potentialities. Recently near Badāmī the writer examined a cave called Śidlephaḍī. Here microliths are found along with pot-sherds, but what their exact relationship is cannot be guessed without excavation.

In northern Deccan, microliths of a specialised kind persisted in the Chalcolithic or Copper Age and definite traces of such a cultural stage are now available from that area, as in the Indus valley or Harappā civilisation.

About the same time, Chalcolithic cultures had grown up in the Deccan, in the valleys of the Tāpī, Gīṛṇā, Pravārā, the Godāvarī and the Bhīmā and its tributaries. The Kṛṣṇā has not yet been surveyed, but sooner or later, Chalcolithic sites are bound to be found in this river-valley also.

The Deccan Chalcolithic cultures have certain common features, viz., a painted pottery, short blade industry on chalcedony, a few tools and ornaments of copper or bronze and a consistent use of beads of faience and burnt steatite [or chalk, as indicated by Dr. Lal's (Archæological Chemist) analysis]. These cultures also seem to represent the earliest colonisation by a civilised man on the black or dark-brown soil which forms the surface soil in the Deccan and Karnāṭak. However, the pottery differs from valley to valley, though everywhere it is painted, usually in black, over a red, or reddish slip. An exception to this general picture has recently been provided by Diamābād, about 15 miles east of Nevāsā in Ahmadnagar district. Here the typical Jorwe-Nevāsā culture is preceded by two earlier ones. The differences are primarily in shapes and designs. At Prakāśe the designs consisted "mainly of hatched diamonds, horizontal or oblique bands, criss-cross and wavy lines, ladder-patterns and also animal motifs". No account of the Bahāl (Gīṛṇā) culture is yet published, but its pottery has more affinity with that of the Tāpī, which in its turn is basically related to the Narmadā valley (Mōheśvar-Nāgdā) Chalcolithic culture. A better picture is available of the Chalcolithic culture of the Godāvarī-Pravarā basins. Though a number of sites in these valleys are located, only three, Nāśik, Jorwe and Nevāsā, are partially excavated. It appears that the first inhabitants settled on a black or brownish soil which had developed owing to a change in climatic conditions, and consequent heavy vegetation on the aggradation deposits (sandy silt) of the Deccan rivers. From the occurrence of workshops containing anvils, hammer stones, and fully or partially polished stone axes of dolerite in their habitations, it appears that before these people came, there was a Polished Stone-using Culture in the region of which no distinct stratigraphical occurrence is hitherto found; or that they (the Copper Age people) had contact with this culture which seems to

¹ A very recent survey (January 1960), of the Godāvarī and Pravārā valleys revealed that a loose, very late gravel covers the fringe of the oldest or first terrace. This contains microliths of chalcedony.

have flourished in a pure neolithic form on the south-east coast. Whatever it be, since no development is visible either in pottery forms or fabrics, it must be presumed that this Chalcolithic culture entered fully developed from without. The houses were of square or rectangular shape; their floors made with lime and gravel, or lime and burnt black clay. The walls were supported on uncut, round, timber posts. Possibly, these huts had had slanting roofs, made of reeds and grass. Most of the pottery was fine, thin-walled, made of well levigated clay and uniformly baked. This was covered with a red or reddish slip and painted in black. This painting is very regularly done with a thin brush, but the designs are very monotonous. These are generally linear and geometric, and include many zig-zag, lattice or criss-cross patterns. Animal designs, though few and extremely scarce, are realistic and beautiful. The bodies of dog, antelope and unidentified animal were shown in solid black.

The characteristic types are vessels for drinking or pouring with carinated shoulders, flaring rims and a long side spout, so that it could be used as a 'drinking tube', bowls with rounded bottoms and straight or carinated sides, and small flasks. Dishes seem to be rare. There was also a coarser, dull-brown, unslipped ware, used probably for preparing dough, and huge storage jars. Light grey and pink, partly handmade, globular vessels with comparatively narrow necks, but broad mouths with flaring rims were used for burying children. There was a fourth ware with thick, sturdy wall and black glossy surface, the rims of which were painted with a red paint after firing. However, hitherto an idea of the shapes in this fabric is not available. The storage jars were decorated with applique finger-tip ornament.

Among the copper or bronze objects, so far flat axes, a chisel, a fish hook, small tubular as well as large biconical beads have been found. Ground and polished axes, adze chisels of dolerite were however, used and manufactured at Nevāsā. But for most of the daily needs for cutting, piercing, etc. blades were made of chalcedony. These include such types as parallel-sided flakes or blades, pen-knife, blade-like shapes, lunates, triangles, trapezes, points, and borers and a few scrapers on blade and on cores. The first two types predominate. Evidently, all these were hafted in a bone or wood handle.

Racially these people seem to be dolicocephalic with well-developed jaw.¹ They buried the dead, right under the habitation floors. The adults were laid fully extended or in a slightly flexed posture in huge storage jars horizontally. These jars were marked off by an inch thick lime border. Some time an adult was laid right on the black soil, having a thin coating of lime. A fragmentation burial was practised in the case of children. The remains—portions of skull, ribs, etc.—were kept in the urns face-to-face horizontally or vertically.

¹ Till March 1960, nearly 90 burials have been found. Of these six are of adults. For the three, found in 1954-55, see the report by Dr. (Mrs.) Sophie Erhardt, in "From History to Prehistory at Nevāsā" (Poonā, 1960), H. D. Sankalia, S. B. Deo, Z. D. Ansari, and S. Erhardt.

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Latest excavations at Nevāsā (1959-60) indicate that these people not only knew cotton and silk, but spun them on some cotton spinning appliance, and used the thread for stringing copper bead (and other) necklaces. One of such necklaces was found round the neck of a child buried in urn. Further the presence of millet, cells and epidermal hair besides fungal spores indicate the use of cattle dung in burial rites, whereas the presence of oil globules in the material found surrounding the string indicate the use of oil for anointing the human body during life and after death.

Who these Chalcolithic people were and what happened to them is not known. After a long interval, as evidenced by a weathered layer of black soil at Nevāsā, Nāsik and Prakāśe, we meet in the Deccan and elsewhere in India, an iron-using people. Since coins, sometimes bearing writing, are also associated with the remains of these people, the period can rightly be called Early Historic. This Early Historic period may be sub-divided regionally and dynastically according to the principal coin types, and other evidence—literary or epigraphical.

Attention may be drawn to the existence of megaliths—over 300—at Māhurjari,¹ near Junāpāni, about 8 miles west of Nāgpūr, and Stone Circles at Cakalpet,² Cāndā District.

If these are of the same type as those found in Mysore and South India, it will be possible to establish a link between pre-history and early history.

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Excepting the temples at Ter (in the Usmānābād District), no structural temples of the period, contemporary with the Sātavāhanas, Vākātakas, Traikūtakas or Early Cālukyas have been found in the Deccan. The Caitya-like temples as well as other Brahmanic temples at Ter might have been built during the Kalacuri regime. Whoever be the rulers, the fact that the temples of Uttareśvara and Kāleśvara are built with moulded or carved bricks indicates that these probably belong to the 5th-6th century, when similar temples were being built in Rājputānā, Madhya Pradeśa and Bengal. Remains of such a moulded brick temple, also called Uttareśvara, were partially excavated at Kolhāpūr in 1946. The remains of two others, probably of the late 8th century, were discovered at Harṇi and Pariñcā, in Poonā District.³

Thus at present the long period of five to six hundred years seems to be a blank. Of the later period, the earliest temples—the Aiśvara at Sinnar, the Koppesvara at Khidrāpūr—are in the Cālukya style. The latter developed in North Karnāṭak, in the temple cities at Aihole and Badāmī. It is impossible to describe here even all the important temples at these places. Only the line of development and the salient features are indicated. Fortunately, the few inscriptions from Aihole and Paṭṭaḍkal confirm the stylistic inferences.

¹ I. A. R. (1958-59), p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³ See I. A. R. (1957-58).

The Aśvara temple¹ at Sinnar consists of a shrine, *antarala* (ante-chamber) and an open-pillared-*maṇḍapa*. The *śikhara* is lost. However, several decorative features such as Gaṇa-Lakṣmī on the door-lintel, the *saptamātṛka*-frieze and *aṣṭadīpālā* ceiling, with the exquisitely carved *makuratoriṇa* seem to be inspired by contact with the later Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa under the feudatory Yādava king Parammadeva, about 1100 A.D. The only element which is of Northern style is the *Kicaka* bracket.

While this temple is the northern-most specimen of Later Cālukyan style in the Deccan, the Kopeśvara temple at Khidrāpūr provides a southern specimen by showing the prevailing Kadamba influence also. It is definitely pre-Yādava as inscriptions on it attest. The temple consists of a *garbha-gr̥ha*, a *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* with three entrances, and a detached *sabhāmaṇḍapa*. The last is star-shaped and incomplete. The original *śikhara* is lost, but the miniatures carved on various niched-panels indicate that it was like that of the Someśvara temple at Gadag. The ornamentation is varied and mixed, as exhibiting Hoysala and Kadamba influences in its lion brackets and pierced screens, but is not, however, of the best type.

Stylistically and also chronologically the later Deccan temples are divisible into six or seven groups. In plan and decoration, the temples of the earlier groups are more elaborate, ornate and artistic. Later, deterioration sets in, and ends in simple undecorated exteriors and interiors. The causes for this decay were primarily political; the social and cultural were its offshoots. With the Islamic conquests, and break down of the Yādava empire and its dependent kingdoms, royal patronage was lost. And in face of iconoclastic zeal, image sculpture was better left out.

In all these six groups, one-shrined temples dedicated mostly to Śiva, but at times to Viṣṇu or Sūrya or a Devī, predominate. But there are a few, double or triple shrined temples in each group. Of the first group, the most noteworthy specimen is the temple at Ambarnāth (Tihāṇā District). It together with the Nilakantheśvara temple at Udaypūr in Madhya Pradesh (in the old Gwalior State) and other temples mentioned here forms the early phase of the Deccan style. This seems to have come into vogue, as pointed out before, because of Parmāra-Rāṣṭrakūṭa contact in the 10th century.² The Śilāhāra inscription dates it at 1060 A.D. The other two are at Belsāne (Dhulīā District). The temple comprises a sunken *garbha-gr̥ha* and *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* with three porches. It is tastefully decorated. As a result of skilful manipulation of the plan, the walls right upto the *śikhara* from the *pīṭha* (base) project and recede. These are further cut by deep horizontal mouldings. Thus we have all the parts of a mediæval temple, as noticed, except the *aśvathara* and the *narathara*. The *Jaighā* section of the wall proper has 70 figures of deities. Of these 40 are gods and goddesses. Most of

¹ This seems to have been missed by Sarasvati, *op. cit.*, in his review of the Deccan Temples.

² A recent inscription tells us that Bhīllama III's general, Śrīdhara-danḍa-nāyaka's great-grandfather had served under the Paramāra Vairisimha of Dhūrā, *I. A. R.* (1957-58), p. 56.

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these are representations of Śiva and Pārvatī. The *śikhara* or the *Vimāna* rises in four faces. The corners between these bands are filled with miniature *śikharas*. At the junction of *mandovara* (wall proper), and the base of the *śikhara* is a *caitya* window ornament inset with an image of the deity. The *maṇḍapa* has pyramidal roof having cupola-shaped ornaments. There were three kinds of pillars, all beautifully sculptured. However, the most conspicuous features of the temple are its ceilings, the *maṇḍapa* and the porches.

The triple-shrine at Belsāne (temple No. 1) is not only the earliest of its kind in the Deccan, but it is remarkable in the sense that it is not dedicated to Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, but to Śiva and a form of Pārvatī.

It is even more richly decorated than the Ambarnāth temple. Cousent says " We have here the style in its fullest development, crystallized into its richest details and sparking with light and shade from summit to basement."

All the temples of the Second Group are situated within the ancient Seuṇa-deśa (Jalgān, Dhulīā and Nāsik districts). That of Mahādeva at Jhoḍgā was built by Indrarāja of Nikumbha-Varmā and is dated Śaka 1073 (1151 A.D.). Thus the temples of this style may be dated between 1100-1150 A.D. Of others the most well-known is the temple of Goṇḍeśvara at Sinnar. It is a Pañcāyatana type, and the *śikharas*, which cap the subsidiary shrines, are said to be quite unique in the Deccan (Naik, p. 233).

To this group also belong the small Brahmanic and Jaina temples at Añjanerī. One of the latter bears an inscription of Seunacandra, a Yādava prince of the minor branch, dated Śaka 1093 (1142 A.D.). With the third Group of temples (1150-1200 A.D.) image sculpture becomes less and less, and there is a corresponding increase of arabasque and geometric designs. Slender ornamental pillars, a characteristic feature of the much later temples, appears first at Sinnar and then at Añjanerī. However, some temples of this group, do bear images on the *jaṅghā*. There are some 15 temples of this group. These are situated in the Dhulīā, Nāsik, Ahmadnagar and Poonā Districts. As before, we have one-shrine, triple-shrine and many-shrine temples, of which special mention should be made of the ten-shrined temple at Belsāne. It consists of the main shrine, facing north, in antechamber, a *gūḍhamanḍapa*, and a verandah porch in front. Around the sides of the *manḍapa* are arranged ten small shrines, each of which is fitted with a carved doorway and an altar for the image against the backwall. This plan seems to follow the 5th-6th century Buddhist *vihāras* at Ajanthā.

From several other features, it is inferred that this was a Daśa-vatāra temple (Naik, 262).

While the Belsāne temple presents a unique plan, that of Bhuleśvar at Yavat is quite singular in a different way. In addition to the *garbhagrha*, *manḍapa* and the *Nandimanḍapa*, it has a *prākāra* (a wall running all round). This bears on the inside figures of *saptamātṛkas*, each shown individually with her *vāhana*, under

a beautiful semi-circular *kīrtimukha toraṇa*, together with the female forms of Gaṇeśa and Virabhadra. In spite of so many *devī* figures, the temple was that of Śiva. It was not dedicated to a *devī*. One such, of Mahālakṣmī, is found at Tahākārī. It is moreover a triple-shrine, and on the dedicatory block of the shrine, there is a *devī* figure, instead of Gaṇeśa or Sūrya.

In the Fourth Group of temples, not only the figure sculpture on the exterior disappears, but even the mouldings become less, a greater inclination being shown for flat surfaces. Consequently the plans undergo simplifications. Though the *garbhagrha* retains its angular shape, the *mandapa* is mostly a square. The *śikhara*s, wherever they are extant, follow the Sinnar-Jhoḍgā pattern. Inside, the carvings become less plain, or are trabeated into rhomboid shape, and the pillars have usually cobra-brackets. There are a larger number of temples—all one-shrine—situated in the Districts of Ahmadnagar, Poonā, Sātārā, Solāpūr, and in the former Akkalkoṭ State, while a two-shrine temple is found at Gañjibhairav (Gañjibhoyrā), Ahmadnagar District, and three-shrined temples in the same district, and one each in the Sātārā and Akkalkoṭ Districts.

Of these the temple at Bahāl, dedicated to Dvārajā or Bhavāni, is dated. It was built by Anantadeva, the chief astrologer of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa in Śaka 1144 (A. D. 1222). This and others may be considered as proto-types of the later Hemādpanṭī temples of the 14th century.

The double-shrined temple at Gañjibhoyrā, Ahmadnagar District, is in a way unique. It is dedicated to Śiva and Viṣṇu, and is now known as Mahādeveśvara or Madhaveśvara, the latter being the more appropriate name. It has a common *gūḍha-mandapa*, with a shrine each on the east and west, facing each other, and open porches on the south and north.

Temples of the Fifth Group can be dated to 1300 A.D. or so, on the evidence of inscriptions in the temples at Velāpūr (Solāpūr District). The decoration is now confined to the interior only. This is found on pillars, pilasters and door-jambs in the form of floral and geometric patterns, *kīrtimukhas* and *mithunas*. The ceilings no longer bear cusp-shaped pendants. Instead may be found a lotus motif, human figures or *kīrtimukhas*.

Temples of this group, all one-shrined, are mainly distributed in large numbers in the districts of Ahmadnagar (4), Solāpūr (7), and Sātārā (7). Of the three double-shrined temples, Ahmadnagar (Śirur), Solāpūr (Velāpūr) and Nāśik (Deosthān), have one each, while Pedgāñv and Karjat (Ahmadnagar), and Velāpūr and Kāndaḡāñv (Solāpūr) have triple-shrined temples.

Though from one point of view the temples of the sixth group bring this survey of temple architecture to a close, from another they herald a style which remained in vogue for the succeeding five centuries. Though plain, simple and uninteresting architecturally, through sheer cheapness of cost, they became popular all over the Deccan. These are the true Hemādpanṭī temples, and are found in

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Poonā (2), Sātrā (6), Khāndeś (4), Ahmadnagar (25), and Nāśik (7) Districts, and also in Berār (Akolā, Buldhānā, and Yeotmāl Districts¹) and Marāṭhvāḍā (Bīḍ, Nānded, Usmānābād and Parbhani²). Amongst these we have even triple-shrined temples at Viṭe (sāngali), and Rāśin (Ahmadnagar).

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The Deccan has a comparatively smaller number of Jaina temples. Though inscriptional references indicate that Jainism was mostly Digambara and prevalent in south Deccan, Jaina temples are found widely distributed all over the regions—Berar, Khāndeś, Ahmadnagar, Nāśik, Thānā, Solāpūr and Kolhāpūr Districts and that of Marāṭhvāḍā. Many of them are in a ruinous condition. Epigraphically and stylistically it appears that none is earlier than 1100 A.D.

Of the surviving ones, the most important group is at Añjanerī which was nothing short of a Jaina town or colony. This included temples, *mathas*, (educational houses) and *dharmaśālās*. The earliest temple, dedicated to Candraprabha, the 8th Tirthaṅkara, seems to have been built in Śaka 1063 (A.D. 1141). Like the one-shrined Brahmanic temples, it and others of the group consist of the *garbhagrha*, *antarāla*, and an open *maṇḍapa*. Since the *maṇḍapa* is small, it has no pillars. But there are a couple of pillars and pilasters in the verandah, having brackets with Nāga-heads. Though less ornate, there is a fine sense of proportion in the various decorative features. Instead of Brahmanic gods and goddesses the lintel-jamb etc. have the figures of Jinas.

The important cave temples of Karnāṭak provide a unique opportunity for understanding the development of structural temples. The first phase of development covering nearly three centuries (A. D. 450-750) is afforded by the temple cities of Aihole and Paṭṭadakal. All these were built by the early Cālukyan kings. To the second phase belong temples which were built during the later Cālukyas, and their contemporaries the Hoysalas, between the 10th-13th centuries. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas who ruled between the two, perhaps, spent all their time and wealth in enriching Ellorā. Hence not many Rāṣṭrakūṭa temples are found within Karnāṭak.

Archæology of the historical period was hitherto thought of from the point of architecture and sculpture only (Marshall, Majumdar). It would be more logical to have a much wider connotation, and divide it into (i) Civil, (ii) Military and (iii) Religious. Of course, no remains of civil buildings—in villages and towns—were known from the Mahārāṣṭra State, though names of several towns such as Nāśik, Govardhana, Kalyān, Śūrpāraka, are mentioned in cave-inscriptions of the 1st-2nd century B.C.—A.D. According to Plīny, 'the Āndhras had thirty fortified cities'. All these towns are, therefore, most likely to have existed in Maurya times. (For they were not founded just for Buddhist Bhikṣus). These towns lay on or near the ancient highways, ports and rivers. Within the last 10 years, excavations

¹ At Yeotmāl, there are some Hemādpanṭi temples. *Yeotmāl District Gazetteer*, p. 10.

² The monuments in these districts have not been yet scientifically studied.

have brought to light remains of ancient (built) habitations at Bahāl, Nāśik, Paithan,¹ Ter, Nevāsā, Karhād, in the Deccan. These thus show that both these sources recorded but an existing fact, and incidentally they give us some times the civil architecture, though at none of the above mentioned sites the excavations were large enough to give us a clear picture of town planning. Still we can have a glimpse of the houses at Kolhāpūr and Nāśik.

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The large mound overlooking the Godāvarī at Nāśik contains the remains of early dwellings, Chalcolithic and Early Historical, as shown by 1950-51 excavations (Sankalia and Deo, 1950). The latter, were however, on a very small scale. So we have no full idea of the early dwellings. It would, however, appear that the houses during the earlier historical period (c. 250 B.C.) were simple huts, made with bamboo or wooden posts. The floors of these were made with sticky black clay, interbedded with a layer of sand. Three or four such floors were exposed by the excavations. Such a practice of making floors seems to have been common at this period in the Deccan. At Nevāsā and also at Ter the floor was made with lime and hemp or lime and black clay, often with a gravel bed (Indian Archaeology, a Review, 1954-55, 1955-56). The use of bricks was also known. These bricks were usually big. The roofs of these houses were covered with tiles, which had two holes at one end. Iron nails were inserted in these holes, so that the tiles were firmly secured to the rafters. The inhabitants were probably Buddhists at Nāśik, and perhaps at Nevāsā, as pottery and a seal with Buddhist symbols would indicate. The inhabitants used principally three types of pottery (1) an ordinary coarse red ware which included small and big storage jars, dishes and cups, (2) a black-and-red ware for eating and drinking. This is of finer fabric, generally smooth with a black interior and black-and-red exterior due to inverted firing. Usually bowls, dishes and small *lotas* or water-vessels are found in this ware, (3) this was a highly specialised ware, known as the Northern Black Polished (NBP) ware. It had its origin in the eastern Gangetic valley, and a few vessels seem to have been brought in the Deccan by the migrants and less probably as imports.

During the succeeding period regular brick buildings appear at Nāśik, Nevāsā and Kolhāpūr. From the associated coins the period may be called the Late Āndhra or Sātavāhana (c. 1000 A. D.). Though the excavations were nowhere very extensive, the Kolhāpūr evidence suggests that some of the houses had three or four small rooms bounded by a verandah in front and in the rear (Sankalia and Dikshit, 1952). The walls were about 12 ft. high and the roof made with tiles as described previously. The foundation of these houses was well-made by laying large pebbles of trap or basalt in sticky black clay. The kitchen-floor was paved with bricks, while storage jars were either sunk into the floor or in the wall. Cooking

¹ Paithan was excavated by the Department of Archaeology of the Ex-Hyderabad Government. Unfortunately, no detailed report of this excavation is available, except a brief one.

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was done on hearths (Culas) made with three large stones, its front closed by a clay border in which ash was collected. Each house, it appears, had one or two wells made with bricks or pottery rings. These wells seemed to have served as refuse pits, all over India at this period.

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The inhabitants were non-vegetarian, but rice, wheat, *javāri*, *bājari*, *nācani* or *rāgi*, *moong*, *udid*, gram and *karaḍi* oil were also used. Besides the black-and red ware, a fine red polished ware, comprising mainly bowls, dishes and sprinklers and a blackish rouletted ware probably influenced by Roman wares were also current, while Roman or Mediterranean wine was imported in large amphoras. Græco-Roman influence is visible also in the bronze dishes, bowls and human figures. A goddess, apparently nude, seated in European style and possibly also a foreign import, was worshipped all over the Deccan. There was also another goddess. She is shown headless but with a lotus garland round the neck, a flower or other girdle, heavy anklets and seated in a peculiar-birth giving pose, with the pudenda prominently shown. Such figures may be in imitation of the Egyptian goddess Bavbo, and introduced in India about the 1st-2nd century A.D. with Roman trade. Or as shown by Stella Kramrishch, a representation of the goddess Aditi-Uttānapāda. So far only small terracotta and stone figures are found from Ter and Nevāsā.

Figures of Poseidon and other Roman gods are also found at Kolhāpūr, but it is not known whether they were worshipped. Iron was in general use. Plough-shares, socketed axes, tanged arrow-heads, hunting knives, daggers and swords, lamps or oil-fillers, roasting pans, etc. are found in these houses. Grain was ground in rotary querns, also of foreign origin, of a heavy, cruder type, with two side slots running horizontally, through which probably a wooden plank with a hole for a vertical handle was inserted. Saddle querns with or without legs were used for preparing spices, etc. (These are indeed too small for grinding grains.). Bangles which were worn probably on wrists, arms and ankles and necklaces and earrings constituted the chief ornaments. The bangles were made of clay (rarely), chank shell, ivory, bones and glass, and at times inlaid with gold leaf. The necklaces were made with beads of terracotta, semi-precious stones such as agate, carnelian, jasper, lapis-lazuli, faience, burnt steatite and glass. The last were sometimes decorated with goldfoil. Among the toilet articles occur combs of bone or ivory, collyrium sticks of bone, ivory or copper and skin rubbers of burnt clay as well as of soft porous stone volcanic rock.

In the Deccan, we know little except the fact that many of the hills in the Deccan might have been fortified, as they definitely were, after the 14th century. Indeed they have not been examined from this point of view. It is more than likely that the present fort of Daulatābād—the ancient Devagiri now in the Aurangābād District was selected by the Yādavas because of its impregnable

and strategic position. So this, and the forts like Rājamācī, overlooking the Koṅkan, Lohagaḍ, Visāpūr, Narnāḷā¹ (Akolā District) and others may be cited as possible strongholds of the pre-12th century period as well.

Amongst the religious architecture come Brahmānic temples and Buddhist and Jaina *Stūpas* and *Vihāras*. No temple, earlier than 5th century, is hitherto known, barring perhaps the one at Ter. The *Stūpas* etc. are of two kinds: Rock-cut and Structural. Of these, the earliest belong to Aśokan period (c. 250 B. C.). The inscriptions include (i) Rock edicts, (ii) Pillar edicts, (iii) Cave edicts. A fragment of an Aśokan rock edict was known from Sopārā and another fragment of the Ninth edict was discovered near Bassein (Vasaī) (in January 1960).

No cave definitely of the Aśokan period is known to exist in Deccan, though it is possible that some of the simple caves at Bhājā might belong to this period.

At the time it appears that a number of such structural *Stūpas* and *Vihāras* existed even in the Deccan, which contains the largest number of rock-cut monuments in India. One of the largest *Stūpa* was at Sopārā. Built of bricks, it measured 270 feet in circumference, and must have been considerably high when complete. It had a *pradakṣiṇāpetha* and other essentials of a *Stūpa*. Inside was a large stone casket 17½ inches high and 23 inches in diameter. It had two lids, and within the lower receptacle was a casket of copper which contained a smaller one of silver. The latter had one of sandstone; this contained that of crystal and the crystal that of gold. Within the last—the gold casket—were found reddish burnt lumps of clay, and a piece of emerald and diamond and gold flowers. The silver casket contained a gold plate with the figure of the Buddha in the Dharmacakramudrā, gold flowers and a silver coin of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇī. The copper casket had 8 statues of Buddha—seven Mānuṣī Buddhas and the eighth Maitreya. While the coin of Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇī would date the *stūpa* to the end of the 2nd century A.D., the style of bronze Maitreya is said to resemble those of Nālandā and therefore datable to the 7th-8th century.² If so, the *stūpa* must have been re-opened at about this time. Douglas Barnett, apparently not aware of Dikshit's article, identified the Buddhas as Vipāseyī, Sīktī, Viśvabāhū, Kakuchandā, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and Sākyamuni and places them in the 9th century A.D.³

Sopārā had several other smaller *stūpas* and *vihāras*, but very little of these remains now.⁴

A *stūpa*, of perhaps the 2nd century B.C., existed at Kolhāpūr, near the site of Brahmapurī. Within it was found a silver relic

¹ Particularly the Śāhūr entrance or gate. See Akolā District Gazetteer, p. 56.

² Dikshit, K. N., "Buddhist Relics from Sopārā Re-examined", *JGRS*, I (Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji Commemoration Volume), 1939, pp. 1-5.

³ *Lalit Kalā*, No. 3-4 (1956-57), p. 25.

⁴ Trial diggings last year brought forth early and late Sātavāhana objects, See *Annual Report*.

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casket placed in a larger stone casket or box. The lid of the latter was inscribed in Brāhmī letters to the effect that the casket was made by Dharmagupta and the gift of the casket was by Brahmā. It was possibly because of this that the site came to be known as Brahmapurī.¹

Such structural *stūpas* were built even in or near the rock-cut caves, as evidence from Naḍsur and Kānherī indicates. These enshrined the relics of Buddhist saints, as the one at Kānherī contained the ashes, etc. placed in a copper urn, of one Buddha-ruci from Sindh (Sindhu-Deśa). The record which mentions this fact was found with the urn, and is dated in 245 of the Kalacuri era i.e. in 494 A.D. Such brick *stūpas* provide the much-needed evidence of the survival of Buddhism, even after the advent of Islām in Western India.

In the Deccan the rock-cut monuments can be counted in hundreds and spread over almost the whole of Mahārāṣṭra.

Some of these contain inscriptions, the most important being those at Junnar, Kānherī, Kārlā and Nāśik. From these we learn that kings and queens, ministers, rich merchants as well as ordinary people from different and distant parts of the Deccan, Karnāṭak, Gujarāt (Broach), Sind contributed towards the excavation of these caves. Depending upon royal and public support, political and social conditions with varying fortunes, well-nigh over 1,500 years, the architectural and decorative style of the caves reflect these conditions to some extent and enable us to study their development.

There are two main types of early caves : (i) *Caitya Gṛhas* (i.e., halls with a *caitya* or *stūpa* within for worship), and (ii) *vihāras* (halls for meeting and residence of monks). These have one or more cells, sometimes on two floors. Accordingly, in the inscriptions at Junnar, for instance, the caves are called *Dvigarbha* (two-celled), *Saptagarbha* (seven-celled), etc.

The earliest *caitya* caves were, it appears, simple rectangular, flat-topped rooms, with the *caitya* in the back wall. But the ritual required a slightly more elaborate arrangement. Thus came to be carved out caves with the *caitya* at the longer end of the room, but not forming part of the wall, pillars separating the central hall—the nave—from passage (aisle) all round, and an apsidal roof. The *caitya* caves at Bhājā, Koṇḍāne, Piṭalkhorā and Ajanṭhā cave No. 10 are of the type described above. Their simple, octagonal, slanting pillars and wooden ribs testify that these caves imitate in stone the Toḍā-like reed huts. The front of these caves were carved with a fine *caitya*-arch having a wide base, and resting on the pillars. These arches were further decorated with lattice-work in wood. The rest of the front (facade) was decorated with *caitya*-windows or Vedikās, Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs and at times with portraits of donors. The pillars bear Buddhist symbols, such as *Triratna*,

¹ See JBBRAS. 14, 149. Collected Works of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Lüders, 'List of Brāhmī Inscriptions', in EI. X, Appendix, p. 136; Indrajī and Burgess, ICTWI., p. 39.

Nandipāda, *Cakra*, etc. The *Caitya* or the *stūpa*, at the apsidal end of the cave, has a low pedestal. On this rests the drum over which separated by a *Vedikā* is a hemispherical dome. Over this is the *harmikā*—a box-like member—surmounted usually by a wooden umbrella. The early full-fledged *caitya* was like this, though its parts might vary in individual cases. Until the Mahāyānists produced the Buddha image, the *caitya* was the main object of worship, and a *caitya-gr̥ha* a veritable temple.

Slightly later caves of this group and period (2nd-1st century B.C.) are the *Caitya*-caves at Junnar (Mānmodā), Nāsik and Ajantā (Cave No. 9). Here the most noticeable features are the pillars, which are now considerably straight, have pot-bases and square abacus.

This cave architecture is at its best at Kārlā. And this is closely followed at Beḍsā. Indeed, the Kārlā *caitya-gr̥ha* was regarded as the finest in the whole of Jambudvīpa by its donor, Seṭha Bhūtapāla of Vaijyantī (Vanavāsī). Originally, near the entrance there was a tall, free-standing lion-pillar on either side. Now only one survives. The hall itself was over 124 feet long, 45 feet wide, 45 feet high. Fifteen octagonal pillars with stepped pedestals, surmounted by pot-shaped bases, and crowned with āmalaka-like capitals, having a circular grooved member in a square frame, between the latter, and an inverted pyramid above, separate the cave from the side aisles. Right on the top of the pillars are carved, almost in the round, elephants seated back to back. Over them are seated a pair of smiling *mithunas* (couples). At the end of this magnificent hall is the *stūpa*, surmounted by a wooden umbrella, having a beautiful lotus design. In front of the hall there is a verandah. Its sides are filled with *caitya* window decorations, and elephant in half relief, whereas the front wall has life-size *mithunas*. The whole was covered by a huge *caitya* window opening and a stone screen. It has been shown that the complete original excavation of the cave continued for nearly 60 years (circa 40 A.D.—100 A.D.).

Cave No. 6 in the Gaṇeśa group of caves at Junnar, though smaller and perhaps slightly later in time, is again a perfect specimen of its type. Kānherī on the other hand, though modelled on that of Kārlā, heralds the decadence in style. Its *mithunas*, though less sturdy, however, exhibit a finer proportion.

Of this early period are four circular *caitya-gr̥has* at Junnar, Koṇḍivte, Pitaḷkhorā and Beḍsā. These are perhaps modelled on those of the Aśokan period in Bihār. Even these caves show a slight development. The earlier in the Tuljā Leṇā at Junnar is circular in plan, 25 ft. 6 inches across with pillars. These support the dome over the *stūpa*. Later, a porch was added to the circular cell, as at Pitaḷkhorā and Koṇḍivte.

The Hīnayānists, before they were supplanted by Mahāyānists, had also devised a simpler *caitya-gr̥ha*. Here, the *stūpa* was placed in the central cell of the back wall of the *vihāra*. Such *vihāra*-cum-

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caityas are found at Kuṣṭhā, Mahād, Karād, Wāi, Śelārvādī, Junnar, Kānherī and Pitaḷkhorā. These are dated in the 2nd-3rd century A.D.

In about the 4th-5th century the Mahāyāna got ascendancy in the Deccan, as elsewhere in India. As a consequence, the figures of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, and their attendants—Yakṣas, Nāgas, etc. began to be carved. Some of the Hīnayāna *caitya* caves, as at Kārlā, and Kānherī, were tampered with. Fortunately, the *caityas* themselves have been left untouched. Some ornamental figures from the front wall of the verandah were chiselled out, and Buddha figures were added instead. In course of time, however, purely Mahāyāna *caitya-gr̥has* were also carved. Of these there are specimens in caves Nos. 19 and 26 at Ajaṇṭhā, and in the Viśvakarmā cave at Ellorā. These caves practically follow the plan of the earlier *caitya*-caves, but depart from them in having huge figures of Buddha, carved out of the *caitya*, and in having an elaborate and at times artistic decorations of the pillars and the facade. No trace of the wooden proto-types is to be found in these caves.

An invariable adjunct of the *caitya-gr̥has* was the *vihāra*. Most of the early *vihāras* are simply cells with a stone bed on one or two sides, a niche for a lamp, and mortices in the wall for a wooden door or screen. But there are exceptions. The Bhājā *vihāra* is not only unique in its figure sculpture, but gives an idea of what a residential house of a rich man or a king of the period would have been. The one at Pitaḷkhorā has winged animals, some having camel heads at bracket capitals and stone girders; that at Beḍṣā with vaulted roof, and apsidal back reminds one of the *caitya-gr̥has*.

A pillared *vihāra* appears for the first time at Koṇḍāne. The pillars have lost their bases, whereas the shafts are octagonal in the centre and square on the top. At Nāsik we see the gradual development and final culmination in the *vihāra* architecture. That of Kānherī, perhaps of c. 170 B.C. has a hall, with three walls on three of its sides, and a verandah with pillars. This plan is elaborated in cave No. 8, which was engraved nearly two centuries later in the time of the Kṣaharāta, Nahapāna and his family. There are 16 cells, all having beds, while the verandah is supported by six pillars with bases bell-shaped and capitals. This *vihāra* was followed by cave No. 3, as it contains an inscription of Gautamīputra. Identical in plan, its central doorway and the friezes over the pillars are more ornately executed, with *mithunas*, *stūpas* and foliage design. The one excavated during the reign of Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇī is still larger, though essentially of the same plan. Later, it was taken over by the Mahāyānists who carved out a colossal figure of the Buddha.

Truly Mahāyāna *Vihāras* are to be found at Ajaṇṭhā, and Ellorā. These belong to a period between 5th-7th century or even later. These *vihāras* exhibit not only Buddha figures with other attendant deities but highly ornate pillars and capitals among which the "Vase-and-foliage" design is very striking. It is in these caves that we see for the first time in the Deccan the figures of the river

goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā flanking the shrine-door, a motif which was introduced by the Guptas. A further stage is indicated at Ellorā and Aurangābād. The caves look like huge monasteries. The caves Nos. 11 and 12 at Ellorā are cut into three stories. These rise to a height of nearly 50 feet, with a vast courtyard in front. In the absence of any structural buildings, these provide good illustrations of how houses looked like at this period. However, it must not be forgotten that this three storied cave was a temple as well and it is the only one of its kind in India.

At about this time a large *Vihāra*—called *Darbār* hall—was excavated at Kānherī. But from the point of view of sculpture, the cave No. 3 at Aurangābād probably possesses the finest of the lot.

The Buddhist caves at Wijāsan, about a mile to the south-west of Bhāndak (District Cāndā), seems to belong to a period between the last two groups. These differ from other groups in having no large halls (*viḥāras*) and no *caitya*-caves for the *pradakṣiṇā*. The three principal caves consist entirely of long passages leading through small chambers up to small shrines of Buddha. They are in the shape of the cross.¹

In the 4th century, Brahmanism got a new fillip under the Guptas. So, imitating the Buddhists, temples began to be built and caves carved for Brahmanic deities in Central India. Nothing of comparable date has so far been found in Mahārāṣṭra. But two centuries later, probably inspired by the Guptas, the Western Cālukyas cut the first Brahmanic caves at Aihole and later at Badāmī, and soon after temples were also built at these places, turning these into veritable temple-cities. The Pallavas followed suit in the extreme south, but after a purely Dravidian fashion. In spite of the frequent wars between the Cālukyas and the Pallavas, there was a continuous exchange of cultural influence. When the Rāṣṭrakūṭas replaced the Cālukyas they inherited this legacy, with the result that under them the Deccan created some of the finest rock-cut temples in India.

The earliest cave at Aihole consists of a shrine, side chapels, each raised by 5 steps, a *maṇḍapa* on a lower level. The front is divided by two simple pillars with 16-sided shafts. Important sculptures—the first of its kind in the south—include those of Śiva, Pārvatī and Maḥiṣāsurmardini. This cave seems to be followed by the magnificent caves at Badāmī. Of the four, No. 3 is well dated. It bears an inscription of Maṅgaleśa (Śaka 500 to 578-79 A.D.). The cave is nearly 60 feet deep, 70 feet long, and 15 feet high. It consists of a platform with moulded cornice, a beautifully decorated pillared verandah, a simple hall, and a deep set shrine. On the ceilings there are figures of *aṣṭadikpālas*, while beautiful sculptures of gods, goddesses, *apsarās* and *mithunas*, some in roundels—dedicated to Viṣṇu, the representations of his *avatāras* predominate, so also stories of Kṛṣṇa. The pillars have cushion-shaped capitals.

¹ Adapted with slight alterations from Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, IX, p. 124 and Pl. XXI.

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The Brahmanic caves at Ellorā fall into two main groups, though each group is further divisible into sub-groups. In the first fall the Daśāvatāra, Rāvaṇa-kā-khai and Rāmeśvara and in the second the famous Kailāsa. The Daśāvatāra is two storied, has a pillared portico and a shrine behind. The Rāvaṇa-kā-khai has a *pradakṣiṇāpatha* round the shrine. Both these contain Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sculptures.

In between these, other caves, now of comparatively less importance, either because they are incomplete or not well preserved, are the caves of Poṇḍā (Pātāleśvara), Jogi Āmbā at Mominābād and Karusā, and those at Wijāsan.¹

The small Śaiva temple at Elephanṭā having a *maṇḍapa* with side chambers and a *nandī-maṇḍapa* opposite to the shrine also belongs to this period (c. 700 A.D.). Slightly later than the above group is the Dhumār Lenā. It has an isolated shrine within a crucifix *maṇḍapa*. This style of rock-cut cave finds its culmination in the main cave at Elephanṭā. Its vast *maṇḍapa* with six rows of pillars having fine ribbed-cushioned capitals, and eight great panels of sculpture prepare us for the gigantic image, usually known as Trimūrti, but now identified as Mahādeva representing the three aspects of Śiva: in the middle, the face of Tatpuruṣa, on the left that of Aghora, and on the right that of Vāmadeva.²

From these to Kailāsa is a big jump. Instead of a cave-temple we have all the elements of a temple cut out completely from the living rock. Coomaraswamy has summarized its main features admirably :

“This famous rock-cut shrine is a model of a complete structural temple, and may be a copy of the Pāpanātha at Paṭṭaḍkal. The whole consists of a *līṅga* shrine with Draviḍian Śikhara, a flat-roofed *maṇḍapa* supported by 16 pillars, and a separate porch for the Nandī surrounded by a court, entered through a low *gopuram*; five detached shrines are found on the edge of perambulation terrace of the Vimāna proper, and in one corner of the court there is a chapel dedicated to the three-goddesses with their images in relief. There are two *dhvaja-stambhas*; these and all the columns are Northern, everything else is Draviḍian, characteristic of the Cālukyan style”.³

The Jaina caves are comparatively very late, none of the early Christian era. The earliest is at Badāmī adjoining the Brahmanic. It is much smaller in size and not much different stylistically from its neighbours, save that it contains the images of Pārśvanātha and Gomāteśvara. Slightly later than the Badāmī caves are the ones at Aihole. These too resemble the Brahmanical ones. Besides, sculptures of *dvārapālas* and others, one has the image of Mahāvīra seated on *sinhāsana*.

¹ Cunningham, op. cit., p. 126.

² Kramrisch, *Ancient India*, 1946, No. 2, p. 4.

³ Coomaraswamy, *III A*, p. 99.

In the Deccan, the caves of this period (600 A.D.) are at Dhārāsīva in the former Hyderābād State. There were perhaps Jaina caves at Wijāsan also.¹ Those at Māṅgyā-Tuṅgyā are considerably late (860 A.D.). Two of these are richly decorated with figures of Tirthaṅkaras and their attendants.

It is at Ellorā that Jaina art and architecture is seen at its best. Of the five caves, the Indra and Jagannātha Sabhā are two-storied, whereas the Chotā Kailāsa is an imitation of the Kailāsa. These caves are dated to a period between 750-1000 A.D. on stylistic grounds. The plan is elaborate and the decoration very rich, but as remarked by Burgess these cave temples are not well-designed. The authors were Digambara Jainas; hence the images of the Tirthaṅkaras in the principal shrine, and elsewhere—Mahāvīra, Pārśvanātha, Śāntinātha, Gomateśvara—are nude. Among the attendant deities are Indra and Ambikā and these are well-carved.

Other Jaina caves of this period are to be found at Karusā, Ambā, while caves of a still later period exist at Pātṇe in Khāndeś, Aṅkai, Cāndor, Cāmarleṇā and Triṅgalvādī in the Nāsik district.²

Between the pre-historic culture mentioned above and the historic period to be described below there exists a wide gap. It can be tentatively filled up by the Purāṇic or Traditional History. Later research may make it historical.

Reference was made to the Yādava occupation of parts of Mahārāṣṭra. Its chronology though not well-fixed and datable in absolute years, seems to be as follows:

In the R̥gvedic period the Yadus with other Āryan tribes were in the Sapta Siṁdhu. Later, Sātvatas, Bhojas and others which belonged to this tribe spread to the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab, and even crossed the Cambaḷ in Central India. Very soon or perhaps much earlier the Haihayas, another branch of this tribe settled in the Narmadā valley. Their capital was at Māhiṣmatī, probably Māheśvar, 60 miles south of Indore. One of their greatest kings was Kārtavīrya—Arjuna, also known as Sahasrārjuna. He is credited with having fought with Rāvaṇa and other Asuras near Broach. Later, because of his indiscretion he was killed by Paraśurāma, a Bhṛgu.

Some of the Yadu branches, Vṛṣṇi, Andhaka, etc., who had lived in and around Mathurā later migrated to Saurāṣṭra, owing to pressure from the north and east, of the Āryan and non-Āryan tribes. They colonised around Dvārkā. About the same time or perhaps, earlier, Bhojas and Sātvatas established kingdoms at Kauṇḍinyapūra in Vidarbha.

The Ikṣvākus, another Āryan tribe, had in the meantime, come from the upper Gangetic basin south-eastwards, and occupied the

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¹ Cunningham, op. cit., 127.

² Very recently a few Jaina caves have been found at Mohida-tarf-hamli on the Gonal in Dhulā. I A. R., 1958-59, p. 71.

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Godāvārī valley. Thus, in about the 8th-9th century B.C. the following kingdoms existed in the Indo-Gangetic plains and north Central Deccan. King Brahmadatta ruled in Aśmaka. To his east, in Kalinga, was Sattabha, and Vessabhu at Avantī, immediately north of Aśmaka. Beyond these in Videha (Bihār) ruled Reṇu, and Dhṛtarāṣṭra in Kāśī and Aṅga respectively. In the west, in Sauvīra, was Bhārata. Surāṭha (Saurāṣṭra) was under Piṅgala and Lāṭa and southern Sind under Bhīru.

A century or two later when Buddha and Mahāvīra preached in Bihār, the country was divided into the following kingdoms governed by Āryan and non-Āryan rulers. To the east and north of Gujarāt-Mahārāṣṭra ruled the famous king Pradyota. Beyond it lay the equally famous kingdoms of Kosala, Vatsa and Magadha ruled by Prasenajit, Udayana and Bimbisāra, respectively.

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Bimbisāra and his successors may in our present state of knowledge be regarded the first historical dynasties, known as the Srenikya or Haryanka and Śiśunāga, respectively. The latter was supplanted by that of the Nandas, sometime in the 5th century B.C. Several Purāṇas credit these with the subjugation of the kingdoms mentioned above which ruled the Madhyadeśa, Kalinga, Madhyabhārata, and Central Deccan. Later epigraphic evidence includes even Kuntala—northern Karnāṭak—in the Nanda dominions. No archæological data has come forth either to prove or disprove these statements. Perhaps a loose sovereignty over Western India was established by the Nandas.

When the Mauryas succeeded the Nandas in Magadha the things changed. Candragupta seems to have taken effective steps to consolidate the vast empire which he inherited. Saurāṣṭra, perhaps including Ānarta and Lāṭa, was placed under a Rāṣṭriya (Governor). We do not know definitely whether the Deccan and Karnāṭak formed part of the first Maurya's dominions. Early Tāmil literature and late Mysore inscriptions speak of Candragupta's invasion of the south, through Koṅkan, and rule in Northern Mysore respectively. Since Aśoka is never known to have conquered these regions, whereas, his rock edicts are found at Gīrnār, Sopārā and Brahmagīrī in Mysore and further his *kumāras* and viceroys were ruling also at these places, it is probable that the whole of Western India formed part of the Maurya Empire. However, what the relations of the several kingdoms,—of the Rāṣṭrikas, Bhojas, Petenikas, Pulindas and Āndhras—which occupied the Central Deccan, and are expressly mentioned in his edicts were, is not clear. They ruled, it is suggested, as semi-independent kings.

During Aśoka's suzerainty Saurāṣṭra was administered by a Yavana (Greek), Tuṣāspa, with his capital at Gīrinagara. Broach and Sopārā were important ports.

With the dethronement of the Mauryas in eastern India, the outlying provinces became independent. The Śuṅgas who followed the Mauryas do not seem to have reconquered them. The nearest of the western provinces which passed under their rule was Vidarbha. And perhaps during the *aśvamedha-digvijaya* Śuṅga

army had gone to the Sindhu (which is interpreted as the southern ocean at Saurāṣṭra and Patalena). But the rest, including Gujarāt, Saurāṣṭra and Sind, the Koṅkan, Kuntala and Mahārāṣṭra came under different powers. Henceforth their history has to be sketched separately.

The Deccan, has some fine sculpture, human and animal, in the early period. The armed warrior with unique head-dress in the *Vihāra* at Bhājā is not only the earliest but unmatched later. Equally remarkable are the full length figures of couples—supposed to be donors—at Kārālā and Kānherī. Those at Nāṇeghāt, probably the earliest portraits (*sālikā*), in India, of the Sātavāhana family are no longer preserved. The caves referred to above possess smaller portraits—busts of men and women, who either look out from a window, as on a facade of the *Caitya* cave at Bhājā or sit on horses, elephants, etc., as on the pillars of the *Caitya*-hall at Kārālā. These might not have been anatomically correctly shown, but the facial expression of the elephant and other riders is indeed worth noting. The same is true of the dancers and dancing couples from the *Caitya* cave at Koṇḍāne. (Yazdani, *History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, Part VIII, Fine Arts, pl. iv-v). These show a delight in life that we miss completely in the later stylized figures. Attention may also be drawn to the figures kneeling before the Buddha at Ajantā and Aurangābād (at the latter group of 14). Very thick projecting underlips, short chin with long straight noses, elaborate head-dresses, in almost all these figures might stand for certain racial or regional types. Portraits of this nature are to be found in the mediaeval and the later periods.

To this already existing stock, very recent¹ discoveries in the caves at Pitaḷkhorā, which on the evidence of the Buddhist text *Mahāmāyūrī* is identified with Pitaṅgalaya and Ptolemy's Petrīgala, has added a very large number of human and animal sculptures, some of them finest in the entire range of early sculptures. While all these cannot be described in this brief note, attention must be drawn to the smiling, dwarf Yakṣa from the courtyard of cave 3.

A sense of anatomical details, and delight in the work he is doing are readily conveyed by this figure in the round. A small inscription on his palm dates it to the 2nd century B.C. Only slightly less remarkable is another smiling *dvārapāla*—also a Yakṣa. His face was painted yellow and lips red. The *mithunas*, *apsarās*, and the scene of the Great Departure in which Chandaka leads the horse Kanthaka with a torch remain unique.

We have then scenes from life. That from the *Vihāra* at Bhājā now believed to be a scene from the Divyāvadāna relating the Māndhātā's visit to Sumeru Parvata, where he saw the Kalpa Vṛkṣa

¹ Deshpande, M. N., "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitaḷkhorā in the Deccan", I. A., No. 15, pp.63-93.

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and later drove out the Asuras¹—and not a representation of Sūrya, Indra and others is perhaps the earliest; those of figures worshipping the Buddhist symbols or the Buddha are later. But perhaps the most natural and artistically remarkable are two sculptures, as noted by Naik (p. 862) from the cave No. 1 at Ajanthā. One represents the hunt of a wild ox and the other of a deer. The hunters are armed with bows and arrows, lances and shields.

The mediæval temples have to offer little in this line. The scene in the Godeśvara at Simar seems to be in reality a *Dadhi-manthana*. At Jhodgā one may see a fight between an amazon and a man, and at Ambarnāth men chastising women. In these, we see some naturalness, some different kind of action though anatomically the figures might not be up to the mark.

Then there are the donors and dancers and amorous couples (*mithunas*). Of the latter the cave at Koṇḍāne presents, perhaps the earliest, a scene from life, showing a man dragging a woman by her hair (Yazdani, op. cit. and CTI. p. 221.). Then later we have them at Kārālā and other caves and in mediæval temples.

True dancers, however, do not appear until the 6th-7th century. Of these, the most remarkable is a musical concert sculptured in cave No. 7 at Auranḡābād, (Classical Age, Fig. 81, ASWI 3. pl. liv, fig. 5, p. 78). "The whole compartment is occupied by seven females rather scantily dressed; the central figure is dancing, the others are all engaged on different musical instruments". Recently Barrett writes: "The significance of this scene, easily overlooked in the darkness of the shrine, is unknown. Of its value as a work of art there can be no doubt. The grouping and subtle recession of the musicians and the extraordinary beauty of the dancer, smiling and absorbed, make this relief the finest thing at Auranḡābād". (A Guide to the Buddhist Caves of Auranḡābād, Bombay, 1957, p. 21). A similar scene, more elaborate but crudely depicted, is sculptured in a 13th century temple of Rāmaliṅga at Gursab, (Sātārā District). Besides, the central female dancer and the male drummers are shown the audience—males and females—heavily dressed, sitting on sofas and benches. The latter might represent royal personalities (Naik, p. 865).

Beautiful dancing figures illustrating various poses—*Adhomukha*, *Bhramara*, *Svaṣṭika*—from the *Nāṭya-Śāstra*, (Naik, pp. 369-70) may be cited from the temples at Khidrāpūr and the temple of Bhuleśvar at Yavat.

Dancers were invariably accompanied by musicians. The Daśāvatāra and other caves at Ellorā, and the temple of Koppeśvara at Khidrāpūr still preserve various forms of *Mṛdaṅga* (drum), *Veṇu* (flute),

¹ Gyani, R. G., "Identification of the so called Sūrya and Indra Figures in cave No. 20, of the Bhājā group". Bulletin, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, No. 1 (1950-1951), pp. 15-21. Or according to E. H. Johnston (Marg. Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 55-58), the scene perhaps represents a story in the Kulavaka-jātaka, where the asuras fled when Sakra suddenly retraced his steps; and another from a story in the Mārasamyuttas, according to which Māra created the form of a gigantic elephant to frighten the Buddha.

Vīṇā (lute) and *Zāñja* (pair of cymbals). Sculptures illustrating stories from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* first seem to appear in *Daśavatāra* at Ellorā.

The *vihāra* at Bhājā gives us perhaps one of the earliest animal sculptures (barring, of course, those of the Aśokan columns). The so-called 'Indra' panel contains an elephant richly caparisoned, and below in a corner figures of lions and a bird. The pose of the elephant is very similar to that on a glass tablet from Maheśvar and early coins (*JNSI*. Vol. XV, pt. ii, pp. 5-8). Besides there are found the horse, tiger, deer, ram, wolf, camel, and birds such as geese and swan. All these are carved with considerable freedom in a variety of postures. Though we lose some of their naturalness, these animals continue to figure in the later caves and mediæval temples. Of these, one may cite the *hamsas* and lions carved beautifully in the round on an architecture in the Aśvara temple at Sinnar.

Among vegetable forms, a few trees do appear in the 'Indra' panel at Bhājā, while the pippal (Bodhi) tree and the lotus plant are a common sight in Buddhist sculptures. Delicately carved trees are found in the Jaina caves at Ellorā. Here an attempt is made to isolate each leaf by deep cutting. On the whole, these as well as creepers with leaves are throughout well depicted.

Mention may also be made of floral, geometric, architectural and composite designs. The wooden umbrella in the *Caitya* cave at Kārlā bears a carved lotus; lotus buds, leaves etc. are used as ornaments in other caves. However, their best specimens are found at Ajanthā and in the early mediæval temples of the Deccan.

Purely geometric designs, e.g. the circle and the rhomboid are a common feature of the mediæval monuments, but are generally absent in the earlier cave architecture.

Of the architectultural designs, the *Caitya*-window and the *Vedikā* are the earliest to appear as they do at Bhājā. The former develops into infinite forms, adorns the *śikhara*s of mediæval temples, but finally disappears after the 13th century. The *Vedikā* (or the rail-pattern) is found restricted to the Buddhist caves only. 'Composite' designs included several forms such as 'lotus and beaded strings' or 'scroll and *kīrtimukhas*' or '*Makara-toraṇas*'. It is impossible to list all these combinations. The tree, in the carving of which the early mediæval artists excel, are the concentric ceiling with pendants, the *makara-toraṇas* and the pot-and-foilage motif. The last two, first appear in the Mahāyāna caves at Kārlā and later at Ajanthā. The concentric ceiling with pendants are first seen at Ambarnāth, which is one of the finest in the Deccan.

Before closing the section, a reference must be made to small artistic objects of terracotta, ivory etc. The terracottas are discussed separately. The ivory objects, so far were found broken, and consisted of toys and household objects. Recently, however, a beautiful figure in the round of a woman has been found at Ter. It recalls similar ivories from Afghanistan and Italy (Pompei) are of Indian

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manufacture and exported to the distant countries. The figure is above five inches in height and locally carved, bespeaks indeed of a flourishing industry in wood and ivory.¹

In the Deccan we have no figures of Hindu (or Brahmanic) gods and goddesses until about 550 A.D. This is indeed regrettable, for there is no scope for the study of regional evolution. Then suddenly Daśāvatāra presents us almost a complete Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava pantheon, including Brahmā. Here we see the earliest images of Gaṇeśa, though not yet as a cult image and displayed so prominently, and the various manifestations of Śiva as Liṅgodbhava, Saṁhāra-mūrti (Andhakāsuravadha, Tripurāntaka), Havanānugraha-mūrti, Ardha-Nārīśvara. The dancing (Nṛtya) figures of Śiva are carved in other caves. But with Kailāsa and, slightly later, Elephaṇṭā or (earlier, if Elephaṇṭā is supposed to precede Ellorā), we have not only a whole view of Śaiva iconography, but its finest representation from the point of view of art. The great Maheśa, the Kalyāṇa-sundara and Gaṅgādhara at Elephaṇṭā need no description. Iconographically and artistically these are some of the best known Deccan sculptures. The earliest image of Śiva as Maheśa, it appears, is said to be in the temple of Uttareśvara at Ter. Figures of Śiva as Lakulīśa are rare in the Deccan.

The mediæval temples do not portray all these mythological stories. Those to be commonly met with are Umā-Śiva, Saṁhāra and Nṛtya-murtis, and at times Harihara (as the one from Purandara in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay).

Viṣṇu also first appears in the Daśāvatāra as Varāha (human and animal), and Anantaśāyī, but throughout, his position is inferior to that of Śiva. This feature persists at Elephaṇṭā. Thus, though Viṣṇu was quite well-known, we do not see all his manifestations as at Aihole or Badāmī, for instance. Besides, Varāha, we find Narasiṁha, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Govardhanadhārī, Kāliyāmardan, Muralidhara, Veṇugopāla. This deficiency is supplied by the mediæval temples. Viṣṇu as Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Govinda, Mādhava, Madhusūdana, in fact, in all 24 forms may be seen in the several temples mentioned previously.

Viṣṇu as Yogīśvara, four-handed and seated in the padmāsana, is found in the temple at Khidrāpūr. Though now Viṭṭhala is extremely popular in the Deccan, his earliest image standing, with two hands only and bearing a *śaṅkha* in the right and *padma* in the left, a *kirīṭa*-high *mukūṭa*, as it appears in the temple of Paṇḍharpūr, is not found earlier than the 13th century.

Gaṇeśa images first appear, as subsidiary figures in the various representations of Śiva beginning with the Daśāvatara; but not until the mediæval period does it find an independent place, as on the door-lintel of a temple. The images are usually seated; but standing ones at Belsāne, Vāgholi and slightly later at Karjat (Naik, A.D., pp. 731-32) are also sometimes found. Dancing-Nṛtya-Gaṇeśa—

¹ For illustration, see Barrett, Douglas, *Ter* (Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay, 1960), pp. 10-11.

which is very rare—is to be seen in the Saptamātṛka panel in the temple at Aśvara at Sinnar. In all these there is not much variation in iconographic details. It is only in the later mediæval period that Gaṇeśa's trunk is generally turned to the left.

Brahmā throughout played a secondary part. His images first figure in the Śaiva panels at Ellorā, though according to a revised study of a four-faced image from the Elephaṇṭā caves, now in the Prince of Wales Museum, it would be the earliest figure of Brahmā, datable to c. 7th century A.D.¹ Later he is shown in niches around the temple, but never prominently. The early images were four-faced (the fourth face being hidden behind). Later, in the temples along with the three-faced images, those with one face are also found. The latter usually have a beard, while among the former the central face has a beard. The images are generally four-handed. In later images, Brahmā is sometimes accompanied by his consort; while the early images have *haṁsa-vāhana*, the later are usually shown without one.

The Deccan was believed to possess one of the earliest representations of Sūrya, viz., the one at Bhājā, where a king with two women on either side is shown on a two-wheeled chariot. Gyani and others have now identified this sculpture as a depiction of Māndhātā's visit to Sumeru.²

The next in point of time is the image from Ellorā, where Sūrya is shown standing in *śamabhaṅga* with two arms, holding lotuses, in each hand. A more elaborate figure with the chariot is found in the Kumbhārvāḍā cave.

Later temples usually depict him in this way. But at Vāgholi in the Mudhāi Devī temple, Jalgaṇv, which was originally a Sūrya-temple, there is a figure of the deity in *parīṅkāsana* or with legs left hanging down from a seat, as in Western fashion).

Panels showing *navagrahas* and the *aṣṭadīpālas* are comparatively very rare.

Goddesses were worshipped and shown independently. Of such, we have figures of Śrī or Gaja-Lakṣmī first at Pitaḷkhorā (c. 1st century B.C.³) and then in the Mānmodā cave at Junnar and later at Ellorā and those of Sarasvatī in the Buddhist caves 6 and 8, also at Ellorā. On her left hand is a peacock, while in cave 6, there is, in addition, a male figure reading some manuscript.

Sarasvatī is beautifully represented in some of the mediæval temples, for instance, in No. 1 at Belsāne, Khidrāpur, Pāṭan, etc. In these she is seated in *śavyalalitāsana* or *vīrāsana*, wears a conical *karaṇḍa-mukuta* and is four-headed. Another goddess who deserves a separate mention is Mahā-lakṣmī. In her famous shrine at Kolhapur she is shown with a liṅga on head, and with *Mātu-ḷḷiga*, *Gadā*, *Kheṭaka* and *Kamaṇḍalu*.

¹ Chakravarti, S. N., "The Image of Brahmā from Elephaṇṭā", *Lalit Kalā*, No. 1-2. (1955-56), Plates XXIX-XXIVA.

² See above under "Sculpture".

³ See Deshpande, M. N., N. A. I., No. 15, pp. 75 and 80, and Pl. LV, A.

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Pārvatī was worshipped in several forms. The goddess Durgā is first found in the Daśāvatāra at Ellorā, but later she was most popular as Mahiṣāsuramardinī.

Perhaps the earliest Jaina images are to be found in the caves of Dhārāsīva, later at Muṅgyā Tuṅgyā,¹ Ellorā, Nāśik, etc., and in the mediæval Jaina temples. As a rule these are all Digambara and figure only the images of Mahāvīra, Pārśvanātha and Śāntinātha and the Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs associated with these.

Buddhist iconography does not show that development or evolution, and consequently richness of iconographic forms, as it does in Eastern India—Bihar, Bengal and now Orissa. In addition to the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, we have a trickling of the Tantrayāna forms and perhaps none of the Vajrayāna.

In the Hīnayāna, the principal object of worship invariably met with is the *Caitya* or the *Stūpa*. At Kārlā, pillar No. 30 in the *caitya* cave is 16-sided, and on three sides facing the nave are carved a wheel on a pillar with two deer at the base indicating the 1st sermon, a *caitya* (Mahānirvāna) and a lion pillar (the Birth). Even the *pādukās* (foot-prints) of the Buddha are not depicted in the early caves at Bhājā, Ajanthā, Bedsā, Junnar, Kārlā, Koṇḍane Pitaḷkhorā. Other scenes from the life of the Buddha, so common elsewhere—Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa—seem to be absent from Western India. To this Pitaḷkhorā has recently provided a welcome exception. A beautiful panel showing 'the Great Departure', it appears, decorated Cave No. 4.² Chandaka with a torch in his left hand is shown leading the fully caprisoned horse Kanthaka out of the palace or town gateway, the presence of Siddhārtha on the horse to be inferred by the umbrella bearer behind the horse. The horse which is generally badly sculptured in ancient Indian art is indeed well modelled.

These caves again have yielded very fine figures, of several types of Yakṣas. Of them, the finest³ is the one in Cave 3. It is inscribed and is probably the Yakṣa Saṅkarin of the *Mahāmāyūrī*. Not less remarkable is the smiling Yakṣa⁴ acting as a *dvārapāla* in the same cave.

Cave 4 depicts a Yakṣiṇī carrying a *karaṇḍa* (basket)⁵ and Kinnaras and Vidyādharas⁶ of the early Buddhist subsidiary pantheon.

With the emergence of the Mahāyāna came the Buddha figure, the Bodhisattvas and the goddesses, Tārā, Bhṛkutī, etc. The Buddha is shown mainly in three ways :—

(i) Seated in *padmāsana*,

¹ This name might be due to the Tuṅga dynasty, one of whose inscriptions is recently found in the Nānded district.

² Deshpande, op. cit., Pl. LV, B.

³ *Ibid.*, Pl. LVI.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. LVII, A.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Pl. LVII.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Pl. LVIII, A. B.

- (ii) Seated in *pralambāsana* (in European fashion with the legs dangling down),
- (iii) Standing.

The hands are in the *dharmacakra*, *bhūmi-sparśa*, *abhaya* or *dhyāna mudrā*. (The last only when he is seated). Buddha is shown in *parinirvāṇa*, that is lying down dead. It occurs but once at Ellorā, twice or thrice at Ajanthā and once in Kānherī.

Among the Bodhisattvas we have Avalokiteśvara, Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi, the seven Mānuṣī Buddhas (see above) and the future Buddha Maitreya.

Besides these, some incidents-like the Miracle of Srāvastī or the eight terrible calamities—are carved at Ajanthā, Ellorā and Kānherī (?). The largest number of scenes from the *Jātakamālā* were painted at Ajanthā particularly in Cave XVII.

Though the above is a generalised picture, there are exceptions, showing how gradually even the Mahāyāna was being transformed or being influenced by Tantrism, which first arose in Eastern India. In the early form, the Buddha while seated in *pralambāsana*, his feet resting on a lotus or a *śimhāsana*, with a wheel flanked by a deer on either side and supported by Nāgas and Nāginīs, he has at times Bodhisattvas with *cāmaras* as his attendants.

But in Cave 9 at Ellorā, Buddha is shown in an unusual *jatāmukuta*, holding his garment in the left hand, while the right is in *varadamudrā*. Further in Caves 11 and 12, which are supposed to be later, large figures of Buddha are seated either in *dhyāna*, *dharmacakra* or *bhūmi-sparśa mudrā*. And “these may represent”, it is said, “five Dhyānī Buddhas”.¹

The figures of Avalokiteśvara show the same development. An Avalokiteśvara is two-armed, having a rosary in his right hand, and in his left a lotus which supports a lotus seat; he wears *ajina* and is standing or sitting. But already at Kārlā a small figure of Dhyānī Buddha is shown with his head-dress. In Cave 11 at Ellorā he is seated in *Dhyānāsana*, is adorned with all ornaments, and in his jewelled crown has a Buddha in *varadamudrā*, and is flanked by Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī. In Cave 4 he is shown seated in *Pralambāsana* which seems to be unique. Further in Cave 8 at Aurangābād we have Avalokiteśvara with four arms, the right hand holding a rosary and in *varadamudrā*, whereas the left holds a lotus and a *cāmara*.

The ‘Miracle of Avalokiteśvara’ viz., the protection he affords from fire, sword, chains, ship-wreck, lion, snake, elephant, and death—are finely depicted in Cave 7 at Aurangābād.

The Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī first appears at Kārlā as *cāmara*-bearer to the Buddha; he holds a rosary in his left hand and has a miniature stūpa in his head-dress. It is also the same in the earlier caves, but in later caves he is shown carrying a book or the lotus in his left hand.

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¹ Sen Gupta, *Guide to Ellora* (Ellorā), p. 4.

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The Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi has a *Vajra* in his head-dress in Cave 6 at Ellorā. But later he is shown four-armed in Cave 10, having a *Vajra* in his lower left hand, and another set in his head-dress.

A late Cave No. 11, at Ellorā shows several Bodhisattvas, viz., with Maitreya with flowers in his head-dress, Sthiracakra with a sword in his right hand, Mañjuśrī with a book on a lotus and Jñānaketu with a flag in his left hand.

The seven Mānuṣī Buddhas—three of whom, Vipasyī, Śiktī and Viśabhū belong to the preceding *Kalpa* (epoch) and four, Kaku-chhanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and Śākyamuni to the present *Kalpa*—are sculptured both at Ellorā and Aurangābād. But their representation differs in each case. At Ellorā some are in *dhyānamudrā*, and some in *dharmacakramudrā*, whereas at Ajanthā they are painted in Cave 22, each one having its representative Bodhi tree over him.

But the most important thing is that in the Buddhas from Cave XI-XII at Ellorā, as well as in the seven bronze figures of Buddha found from the Sopārā *Stūpa*, the hem of the upper garment is drawn over the left shoulder and hangs in a short, pleated fold. Now this is a characteristic feature of the Pāla Buddha figures from Nālandā in Bihār. We can legitimately infer Tantric Buddhist influence from this quarter at Ellorā and even at Sopārā.

There is, however, some difficulty in identifying the seven Buddhas from Sopārā with the seven Mānuṣī Buddhas as Dikshit has pointed out,¹ though Barrett² perhaps not aware of this, has definitely accepted this identification. If this is not correct, then as Dikshit has marked 'Sopārā finds (figures) must be considered as unique and striking an entirely original note'.

Jambhālā, an early Buddhist god of wealth, is depicted normally with a citron in his right hand and a book in his left and flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Māyūrī in Cave 6 at Ellorā, but later in Cave 11, he is shown sitting on a man with citron in his right hand and a purse with coins in his left hand, and on his either side are Prājñāpāramitā and Avalokiteśvara.

The female goddesses are comparatively few but they too herald unmistakably the advent of early Tantrism. For instance, besides Hārītī, we see Tārā standing with a lotus in her hand (Cave 8, Ellorā), once with her miracles (Cave 9), Mahāmāyūrī (Cave 6), Bhṛkuṭī and Prājñāpāramitā. However, the most remarkable is the occurrence of one female Bodhisattva in Cave 8, three in Cave 11, 6 at Aurangābād, Cave 7, Group 1, and 12 in Cave 12 at Ellorā on the side and back wall of the antechamber. Each of the latter has her right hand in *Varada* and is seated in *lalitāsana* on a lotus, supported by two Nāgas. The first Bodhisattva holds a lotus and kamaṇḍalu in her left hand, and a rosary in her right and wears *ajina* over her left shoulder and a curious *caitya*-like object in her *Jatāmukuta*. No doubt about the Tantric form is left by a female Bodhisattva in

¹ J. G. R. S., vol. 1, No. 4, p. 5.

² *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 3-4 (1957), 0-42.

Cave 12, who is identified as Cuṇḍā. She is seated in *dhyānāsana*, is adorned with ornaments and wears a *kaccha bandha* and has four hands which hold a lotus in the back right hand and *Kamaṇḍalu* in her back left, whereas, the front hands hold a bowl. She is the only feminine emanation of Vajrasattva bearing the image of the Dhyāni Buddha on the crown. And lastly there is a female figure in Cave 11 which strides over a prostrate male, either in imitation of *Mahisāsūramardini* of the Brahmanic pantheon or *Aparājitā* of later Tantrayāna.

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Most of the caves in Mahārāṣṭra, early or late, were at one time painted. Traces of these still remain at Junnar and Beḍṣā in the Poonā district. However, it is at Ajanṭhā that these paintings have remained comparatively more intact than anywhere else. And rightly have they received the attention¹ they deserve from the laymen, students of art as well as art critics. Instead of going into details, it would therefore suffice to mention first that the paintings are not technically frescoes (*fresco buono*). For in this technique the pigments are mixed with water without any binding medium and applied on a fresh wet lime-plaster. At Ajanṭhā, on the other hand, the binding medium is supposed to be glue. Secondly, they range over a period of some ten centuries, and fall into two or three periods, the earliest being in Caves 9 and 10 and dated to the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. Of the later Caves, Nos. 16 and 17, called in the inscriptions 'magnificent dwellings' were excavated by Varāhadeva and a feudatory respectively of the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa (c. 475–500 A.D.), while some still later in the 8th-9th century. Thirdly, most of the paintings even in Caves 16 and 17 depict incidents from the life of the Buddha, the Bodhisattva and the Jātakas (stories of the past life of the Buddha), whereas the paintings on the ceiling are essentially decorative, showing varied patterns with flowers, plants, fruits, birds, beasts and human and semi-divine beings, and not some contemporary scenes as the embassy of an Irāṇian king at the court of Pulakeśin II (in Cave 1, for instance) as was generally believed. Nevertheless, it is also true that while the scenes might be from the *Jātakas*, the artists might have and seem to have, introduced certain features in dress and ornaments, furniture and household utensils, from the life around them. It is thus that we can explain the occurrence of Irāṇian-looking head-dress of some people in Cave 1, people wearing beards and striped shorts, and spouted pots. Even the use of lapislazuli as a colour, which is absent in the earlier paintings, but present in the later paintings implies Irāṇian influence, as this is found in Irāṇ and Afghānistān.

PAINTING.

However, it is the artistic aspect of the paintings, which has drawn world-wide praise, that commands our attention. With only four colours—red and yellow ochre, *terre verte*, lime, lamp-black and lapislazuli, the Ajanṭhā artists have created masterpieces of art 'which throughout maintain an exalted height and enthrall the spectator by

¹ For a brief bibliography, see Debala Mitra, *Ajanṭhā* (Department of Archaeology, Government of India, Delhi, 1956).

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their rich beauty, superb expressiveness, colour scheme, balanced and effective composition, fine shading and high light bringing into relief a plasticity and sensitive modelling of the figures, bold but faultless outline, delicate and idealised, but never unnatural, bodily features and women ever beautiful in all conceivable poses and moods. In fact, the paintings have stood the highest art standard of mural paintings'.

CULTS.

Regarding the cults, Śaivism was more popular in the Deccan. The temples of other deities such as Viṣṇu, Sūrya, are comparatively very few. That of Brahmā none at all, though there are a couple of temples of other goddesses in the Deccan region.

Dr. Naik has ably pointed out the cult characteristic of the cave temples and later structural temples in the Deccan. For want of space, all these cannot be separately given here. From his studies, certain broad results emerge. These are as follows :—

(1) *Cult Images*.—(i) Śiva temples, both excavated and structural had a līṅga.

(ii) Temples of Viṣṇu had an image of some form of Viṣṇu.

(iii) Temples of Sūrya, had an image of Sūrya,

(iv) Temples of Devī had an image of Devī,

(v) Temple of Gaṇeśa (only one and very late) had an image of Gaṇeśa.

(2) *Orientation*.—(i) Śiva's structural temples faced either the east or the west,

(ii) Viṣṇu even north,

(iii) Sūrya east or west,

(iv) Devī even south,

(v) Gaṇeśa east.

(3) Gaṇapati is found in the centre of the door-lintel in most of the structural temples of Śiva. Śaiva Goddesses and Gaṇeśa may even be found in the temples of Sūrya and Viṣṇu. But upon the lintels of the most of the temples of Viṣṇu and Vaiṣṇava Goddesses is found an image of Garuḍa.

(4) (i) Pure Śaiva temples have only Śaiva *Parivāradevatās*.

(ii) Ordinary Śaiva temples have a mixture of Vaiṣṇava and other deities as well.

(iii) Pure Vaiṣṇava temples have Vaiṣṇava sculptures only.

(iv) Temples of goddesses have a preponderance of female sculpture.

(v) Temples of Sūrya have also the images of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava deities as well.

Generally the temples faced the east and except those of Gaṇeśa (which are very few and late), those of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Sūrya never faced the south. Gaṇeśa acquired his present popularity, an almost concomitant of all auspicious occasions, as attested to by a detailed epigraphical survey, by the late 10th century. All these conclusions are in perfect accordance with those obtained from Gujarāt and point to a general crystallization of religious thoughts and practices at this period.

The numismatic and allied data brought to light in the excavations, explorations and treasure-troves in Mahārāṣṭra can be divided into two groups, *viz.*, coins and bullie.

The earliest coins that are reported are the punch-marked coins of silver. Prior to the excavations, finds of the hoards of such coins were found at Śinhī near Kolhāpūr (1871), Sultānpūr near Wāi in Sātārā district (1876) and at Bahāl in Khāndeśa (1943) which is the largest of the three. All the three hoards have not properly been classified, and the dating of these remains uncertain except the observation that the hoard from Śinhī was associated with a gold ring bearing letters in Aśokan Brāhmī. That from Bahāl shows a variety of motifs which depict animals like the bull, elephant, and the deer, aquatic animals like the frog and the fish, plants or trees with or without railing, group of arches, human figures, and religious symbols like the taurine, etc. In the case of the coins from Sultānpūr, it is not evident whether these can be really called punch-marked as most of them are impressed with a die rather than punched. The motifs on these square and round coins have not been properly designated, but have a similarity to the taurus and quarter-foil motifs.

The excavations in Mahārāṣṭra have been neither many nor extensive. As such, punch-marked coins recovered in these are few in number. Whatever such coins are reported are from Paithān and Nevāsā. Those from the first are as yet unpublished while the evidence from the latter site restricts itself to two coins having the taurine and the solar symbols. Both these are of copper, of which one is coated with silver and thus might belong to the Mauryan period.

The evidence as a whole hardly reveals any new features either in shape or motifs punched. Square or rectangular in shape, the coins of this category as found in Mahārāṣṭra hardly reveal any deviation from those which are more abundant in the north. In date also, the specimens from Mahārāṣṭra might be later than those from north India.

The next in antiquity are the so called tribal coins which are die-struck and are made of copper. These are still meagre in quantity whereas they are found in a fairly good number in Madhya Pradeśa, Puñjāb, Rājasthān and Uttar Pradeśa.

The tribal coins so far reported in Mahārāṣṭra are those from Nevāsā. These are made of copper and are rectangular in shape. Two groups can be discerned in these, *viz.*, the Ujjain and the Eraṇ-like group. The former bears the Ujjain symbol and the arched hill, whereas the Eraṇ group has standing human figures, *svastika*, with triple tips, *śaḍaracakra* and a taurine. Such coins are reported from Ujjain, Eraṇ (Madhya Pradeśa), Saurāṣṭra and Gujārāt. So far as the available evidence goes, Nevāsā seems to be at present the known southernmost limit for such coins.

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The preceding two categories do not seem to have been indigenous to the Deccan and are thus found in small quantities. The case with the coins of the Sātavāhanas is totally different. The Sātavāhanas were the first emperors of the Deccan who belonged to this region. As such, the coinage of this dynasty has been reported from a number of sites like Nāsik, Nevāsā, Kolhāpūr, Ter, Karhād, Paṭhan, Cāndā, Tarhālā in Mahārāṣṭra.

The metals used by the Sātavāhanas for their coinage were copper, lead and potin; silver being restricted mainly to the coinage of only three kings who came in contact with the Kṣatrapas. Almost all the coins bear the animal motif (bull, elephant, lion, etc.), on the obverse with the legend, and the reverse having a variety of motifs, like the tree-in-railing, fishes, taurine, river, *nandipada*, Ujjain symbols and *svastika*. Portrait coins come only in imitation of the Kṣatrapas. Along with this the Ujjain symbol is also absent on the early coins of the dynasty,¹ which thus shows that the territories of the early rulers of the Sātavāhanas, did not come in contact with regions outside the Deccan.

The excavations at Nevāsā have brought to light five coins bearing the legend Śri-Sātavāhana. The coins of this legend are also known from Hyderābād, which are different. This points to two facts; firstly, there seem to have been more than one king who bore this name, and secondly, all those early coins are from the heart of Mahārāṣṭra which points to the possibility of this region being the homeland of this dynasty.

Besides this, the hoards at Tarhālā and Cāndā have brought to light certain kings whose names do not occur in the traditional Purāṇic lists. The coins of these kings named as Kumbha, Karṇa, Śaka, Skanda and others and bearing the motif of an elephant on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse belong to the later days of the dynasty when it lost its hold on the mainlands.

The technique of coin-making as revealed by the coins of this dynasty shows that the die used for stamping is normally bigger than the size of the coin with the result that the legend and the motifs fall out and are incomplete. However, in clarity and motif they are remarkable, but more or less stereotyped so far as the animal motif is concerned. The only exception is the ship-type coin of Yajña Sātakarṇi.

The influence of the Gujarāt Kṣaharāta and Kṣatrapa coinage on that of the Sātavāhanas restricted itself only to the coinage of two or three kings. Those who came in conflict with these foreigners either restruck their silver coins or adopted the portrait motif as in the case of Gautamīputra.

Kurā.

A number of coins of lead, round in shape, die-impressed, heavy in weight, with thick letters, having a bow and arrow on the obverse, and tree-in-railing on the reverse, have been found in the last decade or so at Kolhāpūr and Nerle (Sātārā district). These belong to three

¹ The Ujjain symbol is clearly seen on the early coins of Sātavāhana. See *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, Pl. I. (V. V. M.).

kings, viz., Vāsiṣṭhiputra, Gautamīputra and Mādhāriputra and are often restructed mutually. All the three kings thus have metronymic names and have the suffix *Vilvāyakurā*, which has not been satisfactorily explained. Some scholars take them to be the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas, while others assign them to the Kura or Ānkura dynasty. However, the latest study of the coins from the excavations from Kolhāpūr has shown that the Kuras were a separate dynasty contemporaneous with the early Sātavāhanas. They do not seem to be the feudatories of the latter and were deprived of their dominions by either Śrī Sātakarṇi or Puṣumāvī.

These dynasties, which were the contemporaries of the Sātavāhanas, have been accounted for by coins mostly from Kolhāpūr. As is well known, the Mahārāṭhīs had a matrimonial alliance with the Sātavāhana dynasty.

The coins of the Cutūs, whose rule seems to have been over regions near Kānherī, North Kanara and Mysore, are of lead and bear the three-tiered hill on the obverse and the tree-in-railing on the reverse. The former motif is also found on the Kṣatrapa coinage.

The Mahārāṭhī coins belong mostly to regions of the periphery of the present Mahārāṣṭra State. However, the lead ones as found at Kolhāpūr have an identity with those of the Kura dynasty discussed above.

As compared to the Gujarāt region the Kṣatrapa and Kṣaharāta coins reported from Mahārāṣṭra are much less. Save the Jogalthembī hoard of Nahapāna's coins, no other collections of these dynasties are reported. Stray coins do occur as at Poonā and Nāsik, both of which were looked after by their governors. The excavations so far carried out in the present State have not turned out Kṣatrapa coins.

It has already been noted that the round silver coinage of the Kṣatrapas had a passing influence on contemporary Sātavāhana rulers. On the whole, the coinage of this dynasty bears the head of the king on the obverse and the three-arched *caitya* surrounded by legend in very fine thin letters. The copper coins are rare, but the silver ones are after those of Nahapāna whose standardisation can be co-related to the hemi-drachms of the Græco-Indian kings. The coinage of the Kṣatrapas in its turn influenced that of the Guptas and the Traikūṭakas of a later date.

From the point of view of workmanship, the silver coinage of Kṣatrapas is distinctly disciplined. The clarity of the letters, motifs and the profile of the king with hair-lock flowing over the neck, a tight fitting head-dress and prominent nose are remarkable, for no contemporary dynasty in this region or elsewhere had such portrait coins. The coins, mostly round, also give the date and titles of the king in Sanskrit mixed with Prākṛt.

There is a great paucity of numismatic data from about the 5th century A.D. onwards till one comes to the mediæval period. This is because of the unsettled and changing political pattern of Mahārāṣṭra. Even the great Rāṣṭrakūṭas who arose and consolidated

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Coinage from the
Gupta to the
Śilāhāra Period.

¹[Coins of several Kṣatrapa kings have been found in Vidarbha. See *Studies in Indology*, vol. III, pp. 93 f.—V. V. M.]

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Materials.

their hold over this region, have not left for us any coins. Similar is the case of the Yādavas who have left to us a few *padmaṭaṅkas*. This being the case, the numismatic history suffers from a gap of a little more than five hundred years.

The Śilāhāras who came to power in the Deccan and North Koṅkaṇ in about the 9th-11th century A.D. have left some coins as the evidence from Kolhāpūr and allied region shows. However, the data are not sufficient for a comparative study.

The tiny gold coins about half an inch in diameter have the garuḍa emblem on the reverse and the trīśuḷa on the obverse. It is well known that the copper plates of the dynasty refer to the *Suvarṇa-garuḍa-dhvaja* as the emblem of the family. There is, however, no legend on these coins and as such their attribution to the Śilāhāras is not yet final.

Besides gold, silver coins also were issued by the Koṅkaṇ branch of the dynasty.

In the first three centuries of the Christian era when the Deccan through the coastal ports, came in contact with the Romans, a number of Roman coins seem to have entered India. Soon the copies of such coins in terracotta, lead and gold started and were worn possibly as ornaments.

The Roman coins were remarkable for their precise delineation of the human and divine figures. Their copies in terracotta and metal have been reported from a number of places in the south and the western India. In Mahārāṣṭra they come from Kolhāpūr, Nevāsā, Ter, Paṭhaṇ and Koṇḍāpūr. These are usually circular pieces with perforations and depict royal heads, Roman goddesses etc., in a dotted border. The bullies imitating the coins of Tiberius are numerous. Similar metal pieces with the head of a goddess on it are even now used in rural Mahārāṣṭra. As such the bullie represents an aspect of non-indigenous influence on Mahārāṣṭrian life.

In recent years, archæological excavations at various sites in Mahārāṣṭra have yielded thousands of beads and a few bead-pendants and amulets. These indicate not only the flair for decoration and the artistic selection of indigenous and imported material, but also the ideas connected with certain shapes on the basis of religion and superstition which formed a part and parcel of the culture of the people in the past.

Practically all the sites inhabited during the Chalcolithic and subsequent historical periods have brought to light beads in different materials. Nāsik, Nevāsā, Prakāśe, Bahāl, Dāmābād, Kolhāpūr, Karhād, Ter, and Paṭhaṇ have brought forth beads of agate, carnelian, chalcedony, jasper, amethyst, amazonite, coral, glass, terracotta, crystal, shell, steatite, faience and copper. It may be pointed out that most of the semi-precious stones in these occur as veins in the Deccan trap area and as such seem to have been utilized for bead-making throughout the remote and the recent past. Evidence for the local bead industry in the Deccan is

furnished by the excavations at Kolhāpūr and Nevāsā where beads in various stages of manufacture have been found. Apart from the use of local material like chalcedony, jasper and carnelian, beads of non-indigenous material like lapis lazuli bespeak of import from abroad especially Afghānistān and Irān.

A study of these various finished and unfinished beads shows the various stages in their manufacture. Preparing the core, flaking it to a requisite shape, perforating the bead and polishing it, were three stages as indicated by half flanked, semi-perforated and incompletely polished specimens. It is likely that very fine drills of diamond were used. The perforation was never done through from one end, but was done half-way from both ends so that it was asymmetrical and very minute at the end of the double perforation from either side. The use of a lathe for polishing or that of a pot for moving the beads briskly for polishing cannot be ruled out. That was the case so far as the beads of semi-precious stones are concerned. The beads of material like faience and steatite, which are one of the outstanding culture-criterion of the Chalcolithic period as at Nevāsā and Diamābād, demanded a different method. On a piece of string, cylinders of this material were applied which were incised around the body to cut off discs from it later on. Such cylinders along with the thread were set to fire which resulted in the burning away of the thread and the creating of a perforation. Hundreds of tiny discs and cylinders have been found at Nevāsā and Bahāl in the Chalcolithic levels. As against this, the biconical beads of pure copper at Nevāsā show that they were made by a process of hot hammering.

The glass bead industry of the later mediæval period of the Deccan involved a number of different techniques. These result in the beads being of drawn glass or wound or coiled or moulded, composite or spirally wound glass. All these techniques have been evidenced at Nevāsā and Kolhāpūr. The latter site has given moulds of slate stone of the Sātavāhana period, which turned out square beads in two parts which were joined together later on. The making of glass beads involved a complete control over temperature and the mastery in fusing together different parts either of the same colour or of differently coloured plastic glass. The industry of polychrome bangles seems to have formed an important cottage industry in Mahārāṣṭra round about the 13th-14th centuries A.D. That glass was locally prepared on a medium scale in small kilns has been recently evidenced by the discovery of such a kiln along with hundreds of pieces of glass slag and waste slag in one of the houses of the Muslim period in the excavations at Nevāsā.

There is a wide range of shapes. As the earliest habitations of the Chalcolithic period have as yet not been excavated on a large scale in the Deccan, the material associated with those appears to be much less than that met with in the historical period. However, with the available evidence, it appears that beads with geometrical

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shapes predominated in all periods. In spite of this, some of the beads in semi-precious stones like agate and carnelian show remarkable skill in facetting, in the early centuries of the Christian era.

As remarked above, some beads in all the ages, reflect ideas connected with magic, religion and superstition. Thus, besides, providing evidence of the decorative patterns, beads at Nevāsā and other Chalcolithic sites like Jorve, Bahāl and Diamābād were found to have contributed to the making up of one of the items of funerary goods. At all these sites scores of beads of agate, chalcedony, steatite and carnelian have been found in child and adult burials.

Bead-amulets and pendants of the historical period seem to go a step further. They definitely give us an idea of the superstitions current in the contemporary society. For instance 'eye-beads' have been reported from a number of sites in the Deccan. These begin from the Chalcolithic times and continue upto the present day. These beads were worn to protect one from the supposed bad effect of an evil eye. Such beads made either of semi-precious stones like agate or of artificial material like glass are so executed as to depict the pattern of the human eye by means of a black dot on a white surface. In glass it was found to have been made by using differently coloured plastic glass fused together. In the case of stones, either dotted or banded material was suitably chosen or coloured pieces of stones were inlaid in another stone. However, these techniques were widely adopted elsewhere outside the Deccan as well. As such, there is nothing distinct about them. Along with such beads, amulets imitating the leg of a human being have recently been reported from Nevāsā in the late mediæval levels.

Bead-amulets imitating the shape of some animals are also met with in the early historic layers. These are widely reported from a number of sites in contemporary horizons outside Mahārāṣṭra. The evidence from excavations in the Deccan in this regard is meagre. However, mention may be made of the puissant lion amulet in pure crystal from Nāśik, and the delicate Nandī amulet in terracotta from Nevāsā. Both these belong to the early centuries of the Christian era. The former, perforated below the mane is remarkable for its workmanship and excellent polish, whereas the latter executed in double mould is exquisite in the details of the plump muscular outlines of the Nandī and delicate details of the lotus petals on which the animal rests.

Amulets after weapons, fruits, flower (rosette) and religious symbols are very few. It may be noted that whereas amulets like the eye-beads seem to have been current right from the Chalcolithic period onwards in Mahārāṣṭra, the bead-amulets after the pattern of a dagger, or an *āmalaka* or *triratna* symbol are reported only prior to the Gupta levels in this area. Of all these, the Yakṣa amulet from the 1st-2nd century B.C. levels at Nevāsā is remarkable. Executed in the terracotta in double mould, the piece depicts a standing Yakṣa wearing a dhoti and has a close affinity to similar

figures in stone reported from the Pitaḷkhorā caves where these are identified as the Yakṣa Saṅkarin.

Another set of bead-amulets and bead-pendants are the imitations of the Roman coins in terracotta or metal. These have been reported from Kolhāpūr, Nevāsā and Paithaṇ. These came to be in use in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era when contacts with the outside world grew up on a large scale through trade. They depict the head of a king after the fashion of Roman coins or the full-size figure of a Roman goddess. Somewhat similar things are even now worn by womenfolk in rural Mahārāṣṭra which they call 'putaḷi' depicting some goddess.

Besides the beads with regular geometrical shapes and the bead-amulets, a few pendants have also been reported. However, these repeat the shapes—like drop pendant, double-capped pendant, pillar-like pendant, along with spacers—found in earlier contexts elsewhere and as such, cannot be credited to be local innovations. Moreover, they survive over a long period and as such, are useless for dating purposes.

In short, though the antiquity of beads goes back to the first millenium B.C. in Mahārāṣṭra, and though they show a variety in the use of locally available materials, they fail to exhibit a spectacular range of shapes and workmanship as is noticed in the early historical beads in the Gangetic valley. It is only when one comes to the late mediæval period that evidence of some sort of an 'industry' of glass beads is met with.

Evidence from various excavations has indicated that the earliest use of copper or bronze goes back to at least the first millenium B.C. in the Deccan. Iron started much later say about second-third century B.C. and its use on a large scale is evidenced in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The objects of copper or iron show a vivid range of utensils and can be grouped into the following categories :—(a) Tools, (b) Weapons, (c) Objects of household use, (d) Objects of toilet, and (e) Ornamental objects.

The tools comprise those used in carpentry such as chisels, nails, adze, drills, axes and those used in agriculture like sickles and pick-axes.

The antiquity of the axes goes back to the copper or bronze age dated to the first millenium B.C. as evidenced by excavations at Jorve and Diamābād, both of which are situated on the river Pravara. Besides these being of bronze or copper, they differ entirely from those of the succeeding historical phase when iron axes came into use. The axes or the celts of bronze are rectangular in outline with a convex edge. In section they are biconvex at the edge, but flat towards the butt. Containing 1·78 per cent of tin, they represent a low grade alloy or bronze. In typology, these are more akin to the Indus axes than those from the Gangetic valley or elsewhere. By virtue of their shape which did not provide for

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a socket for insertion of a wooden handle, such rectangular celts were tied to a wooden handle possibly by means of roots or leather.

The tradition of such celts seems to have gone out of vogue with the disappearance of the Chalcolithic folk. By about the second century B.C. the socketted axe of iron, which has continued to this day, emerges. This has a round socket at one end while the blade tapers into a sharp edge. Such iron axes have been reported from the early Sātavāhana levels from Nāsik and Paithān, and from the deposits of early centuries of the Christian era at Nevāsā.

Socketted pick-axes with slightly curved blade with a pointed tip, which have not so far been reported from Chalcolithic deposits from the Deccan are found in Indo-Roman levels at Nevāsā and continue even in Silāhāra times at Brahmapurī (Kolhāpur).

Chisels.

Earliest chisels in Mahārāṣṭra come from the Chalcolithic deposits at Nevāsā. An intact specimen made of copper has a long rectangular body with a flat square and a double-sloped edge. That it was made by hot forging is evident from the overlapping edges. This shape is totally absent in Indus Valley sites, where chisels with shanks or burned butts are common.

Similarly made chisels in iron appear in the second century B.C. levels at Nevāsā, though these differ in size which is more thick and stumpy. Another variety, belonging to the same period but having a round body with sharp levelled edge is reported from Nāsik. Similar chisels with a round body and a pointed or spread edge are used by the masons even now.

Drill.

So far, there is not such an evidence about this type of tool as would warrant a general statement regarding its typology. However, no drills of any metal have been reported from Chalcolithic deposits from the Deccan. Drills appear for the first time, so far, in early historic levels. These are made of iron. Nāsik and Nevāsā have given two different types. Whereas that from the first consists of a spirally twisted thin strap of iron, that from the latter site shows possibly a grooved shaft having a sharp tapering point. No wooden accompaniments of these have been so far found.

Adze.

Similar is the case with adze. Whereas in the Chalcolithic times adzes of polished dolerite stone were used, those of the historical period are made of iron. The iron adze reported from Nevāsā of the early centuries of the Christian era, consists of a flat blade with a shaft. This shape continues to this date.

Nails, Hooks
and Clamps.

Along with the tools described above, hundreds of iron nails, hooks and clamps have turned up in different excavations. None of these items have so far been found in any other material prior to the third century B.C. in Mahārāṣṭra.

Of these, the nails show a wide range of shapes of which the most common seems to be that with a round body and a spread head. These continue to be from the early historic to the end of the Bahāmanī period as at Nāsik, Prakāśe, Kolhāpur and Karhād. It may, however, be pointed out that nails, besides being used in wood work,

were also used for fixing tiles to the rafters below. As such, tiles and nails have been found in abundant quantities in the early centuries of the Christian era when it was a practice of roof houses with terracotta tiles, having perforations.

Ordinary hooks—to distinguish them from fish-hooks—and clamps are not many. Only Nevāsā and Kolhāpūr have yielded them so far. Here they occur from the early historic and continue even during the Muslim-Marāṭhā times. These are made of thin rods with curved sharp ends. Similar is the case of clamps made of a horizontal rod of iron with two lower projections at both the ends. These are restricted only to the Indo-Roman deposits.

Apart from the carpentry tools discussed above, several others of agricultural and fishing usage have been found. These comprise sickles, fish-hooks and harpoons.

So far only Nevāsā, Bahāl and Kolhāpūr are reported to have yielded sickles of iron in the Sātavāhana period. Prior to the advent of iron, the Chalcolithic people used sharp retouched microliths set in a row close to one another in a piece of bone or wood. The sickles of the iron age however, are mostly curved iron blades sharp on the inner edge and having a tang which was fixed in a wooden handle.

Objects which are probably harpoons and fish-hooks have been found only at one site in Mahārāṣṭra and those too in the historical period. Though copper fish-hooks and harpoons are reported from Chalcolithic times elsewhere, these are not found so far in any Chalcolithic site of the Deccan.

The fish-hooks which consist of thin rods of iron with upturned pointed ends with no barbs, and harpoons with barbs on top or which are leaf-like with slightly bent point, have been met with from the early historic to the Bahamanī period at Kolhāpūr, whereas they belong to the early historic levels at Nevāsā.

Along with the tools of technical use, a large number of tools of offence have been brought to light in recent excavations. These comprise knives, arrow-heads, spear-heads, daggers, choppers and caltrops.

Save in Diamābād, copper knife-blades have not been found anywhere else. The Diamābād specimen is a fragmentary piece which does not indicate its complete shape. Knives with tangs and medium broad, straight, curved or plano-convex blades appear for the first time in c. 600-300 B.C. levels at Bahāl, and at Kolhāpūr, the latter having an exact parallel from Adicannallur. Abundant varieties of these occur in the early centuries of the Christian era at Ter, Nevāsā, Nāsik, Paiṭhan, Karhād and Prakāśe. All these are tanged and have been found associated with fragmentary handles of ivory and bone.

Unlike the knife-blades, no spearheads have been reported so far prior to 4th/5th century B.C. Iron spearheads appear for the first time at Bahāl along with dagger-heads assignable to the period

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Sickles.

*Harpoons
and
Fish-hooks.*

Weapons.

Knife-blades.

Spearheads.

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Weapons.
Arrowheads.

mentioned above. In later levels at Nāsik and Nevāsā, they reveal two types, e.g., socketted and tanged. The former variety having a triangular blade is reported from Nāsik where it is dated to the early Sātavāhana period. Nevāsā, on the other hand, has given both the socketted and the tanged varieties assignable to the early centuries of the Christian era. These have an elongated triangular blade. Though spears continued to be in use during the Muslim-Marāṭhā period, none of them have been traced in excavations so far.

The story regarding arrowheads is similar to that of the spear-heads. No arrowheads of either copper or bronze have been reported from any Chalcolithic site, from Mahārāṣṭra. It can be attributed to two possible reasons. Firstly, no Chalcolithic deposits have been extensively excavated so far, and secondly, the use of copper or bronze itself was on a limited scale due to the scarcity of the metal itself. It is also well-known that tanged points of chalcedony, etc., were used as possible arrowheads in the Chalcolithic period.

Coming to about the third century B.C., one comes across iron arrowheads of varied types, some even corroborating the information as given in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. The earliest evidence, so far of iron arrowheads comes from Bahāl where they occur in c. 600-300 B.C. levels. Nevāsā, Nāsik, Ter, Karhād and Kolhāpūr have yielded arrowheads which are mostly tanged ones. The socketted variety is on the whole rare. For want of limited evidence, no precedence or otherwise of any one type over the other can be established at present.

The blades of these arrowheads show quite a range of shapes, such as leaf-shaped, triangular, crescent-like, spiked, so on and so forth. These concentrate mostly in the Sātavāhana and Indo-Roman levels, though their use was attested to even in the Bahamani period at Kolhāpūr.

Caltrop.

The most remarkable weapon of offence amongst all these has been reported from Nāsik. It is called caltrop and can be equated with 'trika' of Kauṭilya. This is a four-spiked weapon which when thrown on the ground rests with two spikes upwards. This was first traced at Śiśupālgaḍ in Orissa in the c. 200-300 A.D. levels. At Nāsik, on the other hand, it belonged to c. 300-200 B.C., deposits. Right from Kauṭilya's times upto the first World War, similar caltrops were spread on the ground to obstruct the attack of the cavalry.

Objects of
Household
Use.

Along with all these tools and weapons, several objects of household use have been unearthed. These comprise lamps, laddles, bowls, dishes, frying shovels, pokers, etc.

Lamps.

So far the earliest lamps of the first millenium B.C. copper age are found to be oval-shaped terra cotta pieces. However, by about the 2nd century B.C. lamps of iron in the shape of bowls with slightly pinched lips seem to have come into use as at Nevāsā and Ter. It is likely that they were kept on some stand with support as their bases are round.

Iron laddles in the shape of a bowl with either vertical or horizontal rod-holds came to be in use in the early centuries of the Christian era as the evidence from Nevāsā shows. Similar is the case with frying shovels with a broad squarish blade and a strap-like handle which are reported in the Indo-Roman levels. However, the most notable object is a dish with a central boss recovered from Nevāsā in the same period.

It is significant that frying shovels, dishes with a boss, laddles and drills, etc., should be found in association with other objects showing non-indigenous affinities. In this connection, it is to be noted that all these objects having similar shapes with those found in Mahārāṣṭra have been reported for the first time at Taxilā in the early centuries of the Christian era when the Indo-Romans had a cultural influence, over the area. Literary evidence abounds in the information of trade relations which the coastal Mahārāṣṭra and its interior regions like Junnar and Paithāṇ, developed in the late Sātavāhana period. As such, it may not be incorrect to hold that these domestic utensils were the legacy of foreign contact. It is interesting to note that frying shovels and laddles continue to have the same shape to this day.

Objects of toilet and ornamental objects of copper and iron are not many. They exhibit a limited range and comprise bangles, and a leg-ring (called *vālā* in Marāṭhī). These go back to at least the first millenium B.C. as evidenced by Jorve and Nevāsā. Whereas the former was an unstratified find associated with Chalcolithic assemblage, the latter was found around the leg part of the skeletal remains of a child buried in urns. The former is a thick ring of copper and the latter a thin specimen resembling similar *vālās* used even today.

No bangles of metal are reported from the mediæval period when glass and shell took the place of metal.

Rings of metal are very scarce in the Chalcolithic period. Plain specimens appear in a remarkable quantity in the Sātavāhana period when they occur along with monochrome glass rings. It is only in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era, when Roman contacts developed through trade, that one comes across rings with ornamental bezels. A few of such rings with oblong or circular bezels have sometimes the provisions of a depression for setting precious stone in them. There is a remarkable similarity between these bezelled-rings from Mahārāṣṭra to the contemporary specimens found at Taxilā.

Metal rings seem to have given place to glass rings—monochrome and polychrome—in the Muslim-Marāṭhā period.

Nevāsā has been the first site to give beads of copper belonging to the first millenium B.C. These were found in two sets, the first being a group of three biconical hollow beads made by hot hammering and consisting of pure copper, and the second set consisting of fourteen barrel-shaped beads forming a necklace around the neck of a buried child. These beads were woven in silk

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METALLURGY

AND

METAL OBJECTS.

Objects of Household Use.

Laddles, Frying shovels and Dishes.

Ornaments and Objects of Toilet.

Rings.

Beads.

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OBJECTS.Ornaments and
Objects of
Toilet.

Pins.

and cotton thread. In no other site of the Chalcolithic period such biconical beads have been reported so far.

Metal beads seem to have gone out of vogue in the early historic and subsequent periods, as glass replaced metal.

Pins with solid, coiled or bi-foil heads have a long history. They occur in the Chalcolithic levels at Diamābād, though in a fragmentary state. Those with a solid loop and pointed end and made of iron occur at Kolhāpūr. However, it is only in the Indo-Roman period that they are met with in an elaborate form showing affinities to contemporary specimens from Taxilā. It may not be incorrect to hold that along with apparatus of domestic use like frying shovels, etc., pins of metal were also an extension of foreign contacts.

Pins are not met with in the late historical or mediæval period. The only specimen, so far known, comes from Śilāhāra levels from Kolhāpūr.

Kohl-Sticks.

Along with pins, kohl-sticks or antimony rods for use in applying collyrium to the eyes, formed an important article for toilet from at least the Chalcolithic times in Mahārāṣṭra.

Whereas these are made of copper in the shape of a rod with either one or both the ends bulbous as in the Chalcolithic period, they continue along with elaborately decorated specimens of bone and ivory in the early historical and subsequent periods, as attested to by Nāsik, Nevāsā, Ter, Prakāśe and Karhād finds.

Summary.

A short survey of the art of metallurgy in Mahārāṣṭra shows that its antiquity goes to the first millenium B.C. whereas, only copper was in use round about the first millenium B.C., as the evidence goes.

An elaboration in the preparation of iron objects of domestic and toilet use seems to be the result of Indo-Roman period.

For want of extensive chemical analysis of copper and iron objects, no connected account of the art of metallurgy can be had as yet.

GLASS AND
GLASS OBJECTS.

No specimen of glass or any glass object has been reported so far prior to the 3rd century B.C. in Mahārāṣṭra. It is first introduced in the early historic period. The finest type of glass, i.e., Roman glass is met with in the early centuries of the Christian era. In the late mediæval period a sort of glass bangle industry seems to have been prevalent on a small scale.

Early glass specimens as found at Nevāsā, Nāsik and Kolhāpūr show thick, bubbly, translucent structure while the late Sātavāhāna period turns out fine, thin, transparent, bluish glass in the finest Roman tradition. The mediæval glass bangles are opaque and have variously coloured bands of uneven thickness.

Objects of glass from the early historical to the late mediæval period comprise bangles, rings, kohl-sticks, vessels and pully-shaped ear-reels.

Glass bangles of the early period are without exception monochrome made of black, yellow, blue, red or green glass. These are plain specimens having no decoration, and have been found both for the use of the adults and children. Along with these, bangles of shell were also current. (See under 'Shell Objects').

Bangles of the first three centuries of the Christian era, show the use of the fine glass fashioned into thin rings with a grooved circumference. This type can be attributed to Roman import.

As compared to the bangles, the rings of glass are few. In antiquity and technological peculiarities they are similar to the bangles. Nāsik and Nevāsā have given monochrome glass rings which are mostly plain though some have a flat biconvex or truncated pyramidal bezel. A few are made by the wire wound process while very few are of cupreous glass.

Pulley-shaped discs which were used as ornaments in the ear-lobes are reported from Nāsik, Nevāsā and Prakāśe in the early and late Sātavāhana levels. In the same period similar ear-reels in terracotta and bone were also in use. Similar ear-reels are also depicted in the frescoes at Ajanthā.

The ear-reels of glass are either of transparent white glass or red cupreous glass. Similar reels made of agate and bearing high polish are reported from Bahāl, while reels of black glass were found at Ujjain. At Somanāth such reels were coated with gold having decoration in repoussé. This type of ornament, thus, shows a wide regional distribution.

Kohl-sticks made of glass are extremely scarce and have been reported in a fragmentary condition only from Nevāsā. There they belong to the Indo-Roman period and are made of blue translucent glass free from bubbles. It thus shows all the qualities of Roman glass and as such might not be of local make.

The specimen is a rod tapering to a point with the other end thick, flat and having incised hatched pattern which is a patent decoration on contemporary bone specimens (see under "Bone Objects").

Glass does not seem to have been utilized for making small bowls, prior to the Christian era in Mahārāṣṭra. Whatever fragments of such vessels are available are from Nevāsā where the evidence is meagre. However, these fragments show the use of clear, fine, bluish, thin glass free from any bubbles. We have already seen that though glass was known and made prior to this period in the Deccan, fine glass is the contribution of trade with the Roman empire.

The antiquity of the art of glazing goes back to the first millennium B.C. This is attested to by the find of glazed beads of faience and paste in Chalcolithic burials at Nevāsā. However, no analysis of this glaze has been made so far. In the early historic period also, the industry does not seem to have made any headway, as only beads of glazed faience are available at various sites in Mahārāṣṭra.

The art of glazing tiles and pottery seems to have been introduced by the Persian Muslims into India, round about the thirteenth

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GLASS OBJECTS.

Bangles.

Rings.

Ear-reels.

Kohl-sticks.

Glass Vessels.

Glazing.

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GLASS AND
GLASS OBJECTS.
Glazing.

century A.D. This is evidenced by glazed dishes and plates at Nevāsā, Nāsik, and Kolhāpūr. This glaze is thick and rough and covers the painted designs on pottery.

Thus, though the art of glazing beads was known in the first millenium B.C., glass objects were restricted only to the field of bangles which can be traced back to the early historic period. Fine glass was introduced by the Romans, while the art of glazing pottery and polychrome glass bangles flourished as a cottage industry in the late mediæval period.

TERRACOTTA
OBJECTS.

The terracotta is the material for objects of worship like figurines and votive tanks, objects of toilet like skin-rubbers, and household objects like lamps and toys.

Figurines.

The terracotta figurines can be classified into three main categories, to wit, female, male and boyheads.

The first can be further grouped into (a) 'ageless' or conventional, (b) mother or fertility goddess, (c) *dhātṛī* figurines, and (d) miscellaneous.

Female Figurines.

The antiquity of the terracotta female figurines goes back to the first millenium B.C. as they are reported from Bahāl in Khāndeś and Nevāsā and Diamābād in Ahmadnagar district. These have given highly conventionalised female figures with pinched nose, slit eyes and mouth, and stiff, short and horizontally spread hands. These are more or less featureless and occur in all periods right up to the end of the Marāṭhā period. These are thus 'ageless' and being merely representative of the idea of a female being, show absolutely no attempt at finer delineation of features.

Fertility
Goddess.

The second category is not only more elaborate but also reflects the contemporaneous ideas connected with fertility, prosperity and village deities. The first specimens of this category have been found at Nevāsā and Bahāl in the first millenium B.C. chalcolithic levels. Whereas the one from Nevāsā is a nine-inch-high piece with broad, flaring bottom, stiff hands, prominent breasts and depressed eyes, those from Bahāl are applique figurines fixed to pots. Similar figures and couples affixed to storage jars have been reported from contemporary levels from Mālvā area. Such figurines either single or in pairs (*Mithuna*) might be connected with fertility and prosperity. All these are handmade.

Divine-Woman
figurines.

By about the third-second century B.C.-A.D. a group of female figurines is met with. Cast in double mould, these specimens, so far reported from Kolhāpūr, Nāsik, Nevāsā, Ter and Karhād in Mahārāṣṭra and Tripurī in Madhya Pradeśa, form a group by themselves. They wear an elaborate hair style and head-dress and have ornaments like bangles, girdles and necklaces. Shown always in a squatting posture with legs apart, their private parts are apparent due possibly to their wearing a diaphanous clothing. Since these figurines are invariably associated with the Sātavāhana levels, these might as well be taken to be the '*grāmadevatās*' which find mention in the Gāthāsaptasatī of Hāla.

In the opening centuries of the Christian era are found a set of nude figurines, as at Ter, in which an exaggerated emphasis is given to the depiction of the sexual members of the female figurine. Headless, frog-shaped and made of fine clay, these figurines are the result of non-indigenous influences, especially as they occur with the advent of the Roman contacts with India. These are reported from a number of places outside India as well by about the first century B.C.

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OBJECTS,
Figurines,
Nude Figurines.

By about the third-fifth centuries A.D., a set of female figurines which are cast in a single mould and hence having a flat back, are met with in a fair number as at Ter and Nevāsā. Outside Mahārāṣṭra, they are reported from a number of sites in the Gangetic valley which formed the core of the Gupta empire in about the same time mentioned above.

Dhātṛī Figurines.

The specimens of this group are usually standing figurines with or without a halo behind and features in a shallow relief. The patent head-dress is trefoil and the figures wear clothes which reach below the knees. Usually these figurines hold a child and are shown as possessing a ball, etc. Accordingly, these are classified as *kṛīḍā-dhātṛī*, *arīkā-dhātṛī*, *kṣīra-dhātṛī*, etc., according to the job they perform such as suckling, playing, fondling the child on the knees etc. These are usually met with in Gupta levels and are often referred to in contemporary Indian literature.

There is a large number of female figurines which do not fit in any one of the categories referred to above. Such specimens usually come from the levels of the mediæval period. These are very crude with a more semblance of a figurine, and are usually coated with lime and red ochre. Almost all these are handmade, heavy and solid pieces of clay, and seem to have been used as toys.

Miscellaneous.

Compared to the number of female figures, those of the males are less frequent. The antiquity of these also goes to the first millenium B.C. on the basis of the evidence from Diamābād.

Male Figures.

Male figurines, for which the evidence is too meagre for general study, remain crude in workmanship till about the beginning of the Christian era. They remain stiff and stumpy figures with a cold expression. The only exceptions to this are the male figures from Sātavāhana levels from Kolhāpūr having girdles and wristlets, pendants in the ear-lobes and folded head-dress. The warmth of facial expression is apparent on the Indo-Roman and Gupta specimens depicting in a few cases the use of double mould. The use of red ochre for emphasizing decoration and ornament, becomes a general feature of the figurines of the Muslim-Marāṭhā period in which, however, the art deteriorates.

The best specimens are reported from Ter which shows a wide variety in coiffure and dress. Ter also shows the use of fine kaolin in preference to terracotta. Belonging to the first two or three centuries of the Christian era, the figures are cast on a double mould with proportion and precision of limbs. These figures show a variety of ornaments like girdles necklaces and wristlets, a warmth

Yakṣa Figures.

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OBJECTS.

Miscellaneous.
Child Figures.
Late Sātvāhana.

of expression in facial features, and ornamental head-dresses. It is likely that these were cult-figures or might be *yakṣas*. (For *yakṣa* amulets, see under 'Beads, Pendants and Amulets').

Fragmentary boyheads are reported from the 3rd century B.C. to the end of the 3rd century A.D. levels from Nevāsā and Ter. No boyheads or complete figures of boys prior to and after this period have been obtained from excavations so far.

Those from the late Sātavāhana levels are generally made out of a single mould, while some of these have a halo behind these. Such specimens, especially from Nevāsā, are remarkable for the depiction of innocent smile of the chubby-faced child. They have a remarkable similarity with specimens from Sirkap, Taxilā.

Kaolin.

The group of Kaolin and terracotta boy figures fashioned in double-mould and belonging to the levels assignable to the first three centuries of the Christian era, are noteworthy for expression, delicacy and dignified bearing. These have elaborate arrangement of hair similar to the '*kākapakṣadhara*' of *Raghuvamśa* and are noteworthy for the selection of choice ornaments such as the pendant right on the forehead. The lips are thick-set, nose a bit broad and eyes rather large for the face. The cheeks are plump. Exactly similar specimens with their mould-copies in terracotta are reported, besides at Ter and Nevāsā, from Koṇḍāpūr in Āndhra Pradesh. It is possible that these had a cult significance.

A general study of the terracotta and kaolin figures of the first few centuries of the Christian era besides showing an affinity in facial expression to those from Taxilā, also brings out another feature. This consists of the arrangement of the hair which fails to have affinity with any indigenous styles not only in terra cotta but even in contemporary sculptures. As such, it may not be incorrect to say that Roman contacts which developed on a large scale during this period, might have influenced the creation of such specimens in the Deccan.

Toys.

Along with the figurines and other objects described above, scores of toys made of terra cotta have been found. These can very broadly be classified into two categories, *viz.*, those which are realistic and those which are conventionalised.

The latter merely representing the idea of a particular animal or a bird occur over a long stretch of time, from the first millennium B.C. to the end of the late mediæval period. These are crudely made. The earliest specimens have some amongst them which have a flat base and a perforation to pass thread through so that it can be held suspending. The mediæval specimens are mostly lime-coated and sometimes the eyes, beaks or horns are depicted by red ochre.

Among the toys of the first category are elephants, bulls, cows, horses, dogs, rams and beaked birds. Most of these are solid hand-made specimens, though some show the use of either a single or a double mould. The use of the latter too seems to have restricted itself from the early historic to the Gupta phases.

So far the earliest terracotta figurines of a bull and a dog are reported from the Chalcolithic levels from Diamābād; single and double-moulded elephants, bulls, rams, and cows from the early historic to the end of Indo-Roman levels; beaked birds, some of which have holes for insertion of feathers from Indo-Roman and late mediæval periods at Nevāsā.

Scores of terracotta wheels which were possibly used for toy-carts have turned up at several sites in the Deccan.

The first millenium B.C. wheels found at Nevāsā are rectangular in section with convex sides and devoid of hubs. This evidence is contrary to earlier Chalcolithic sites of the Indus valley which have hubbed wheels. The Nevāsā specimens thus show a less advanced technological state as its hubless wheels would suffer greatly from friction with the body of the carriage.

Hubbed terracotta wheels appear for the first time in the Sāta-vāhana levels at Nevāsā while they belong to the 1st century A.D. and all later deposits at Nāsik. As against this, hubless biconvex wheels occur in all periods from the first millenium B.C. to the end of the later mediæval period. The latter are coated with lime and spokes are shown in red ochre.

Masks made of terracotta and applied to the outer surface of a pot as a decoration along with a type of spout in the shape of a water-bottle held over its head by an applique human head, occur for the first time in Mahārāṣṭra, at Nevāsā in the 1st and 2nd century A.D.

Two such are human faces with very crudely executed features. The nose is eroded, lips thick and the eyes extra-large for the face. One of the masks (measuring 11 mm.×92 mm.) has a knob on the forehead.

The affixing of lion-masks to pots is also reported from Taxilā where they are supposed to have been introduced by the Pārthians. The Nevāsā specimens, though probably made locally, indicate the influence of a non-indigenous practice.

This category is not represented by a variety of objects. The only objects deserving attention are the terracotta lamps.

Nevāsā has been the only site, so far, in the Deccan to have yielded lamps of the first millenium B.C. These are mostly oval shaped, flat based specimens with a wick-channel in the centre and a projection for the wick. Because of raised edges of the periphery, oil could remain over the wick in the channel. As these were flat-based, they could be kept without any support or stand.

A variety of the same period and of the same general pattern showed the provision of the loop-hole over the wick channel. Such lamps could be held more comfortably and carried elsewhere

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Masks.

Objects of
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OBJECTS.
Objects of
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Use.

Lamps.

Objects of
Ritual Use.

as compared to the former category which had to be kept on the palm of the hand. It may be noted that similar lamps in terracotta or any other material are not met with in the Indus Valley or any other Chalcolithic site so far.

The pattern of terracotta lamps of the early historic period at Nevāsā remained unchanged, while those of the 1st/3rd centuries A.D. show that they were mere bowls with pinched projection. (For metal lamps, see sections on Metallurgy and Metal Objects).

The votive tanks which are reported from a number of sites in the Gangetic valley, occur, so far, at Nevāsā and Sopārā in the Indo-Roman period or the 1st to 3rd century A.D.

These are either square or rectangular in plan with high walls, rounded corners with small lamps on them. In one corner of the interior are small steps. The other category consists of bowls with thin walls and thick top with fingertip depressions.

Votive tanks first occur at Taxilā and are supposed to have been introduced by the Pārthians. This practice got elaborated with the addition of a terracotta goddess kept inside the tank. A similar practice of worshipping such a goddess is still current in Bengal, where young maidens worship it.

Objects of
Structural
Use.
Tiles.

Tiles which were used for roofing structures have been found on a large scale at early and late Sātavāhana sites in the Deccan such as Nāsik, Nevāsā, Kolhāpūr, Ter, Paithān, Karhād and Prakāśe.

These are rectangular pieces with grooved upper surface. The under-surface has a groove along the length of the edge. This is fitted in the ridge of the adjoining tile. The tile was further secured in position by means of two iron nails inserted through the perforations of the tile, into the wooden rafters below.

At most of these sites lumps of tiles stuck together in firing were found. This indicated the existence of local industry.

Objects of
Toilet.

Besides the figurines, toys and masks, terracotta accounted for some objects of toilet as well. These consist of skin-rubbers and combs.

Skin-Rubbers.

Skin-rubbers of terracotta emanate from the Chalcolithic levels at Nevāsā datable to the first millenium B.C. These are either punctured cakes, or oval with one surface punctured and the other having a pinched hold, or circular pieces with roughened surfaces by means of fine silica.

The skin-rubbers of the early historic period at Nāsik are mostly rectangular pieces with either sandy or punctured surfaces. Sometimes, instead of pores, disciplined incisions like chevrons, etc., were executed. Along with these, Nāsik and Karhād have given plano-convex hollow pieces resembling the half cut mango seed. It may be incidentally noted that the latter are even now used in rural Mahārāṣṭra for cleaning the shaven head.

These specimens continue even in the early centuries of the Christian era along with circular discs with roughened surfaces and pumice stones.

Coming to the late mediæval period, one finds skin-rubbers of metal (brass) with an elaborate decoration, especially in the Peśvā regime (called 'vajri' then). However, the occurrence of some of the terracotta specimens described above along with the metal ones indicates the possibility of the former being used by the poorer classes of the society.

The antiquity of combs goes back to first millenium B.C. when combs with stumpy teeth and rectangular body and made of terracotta were in use, as the evidence from Bahāl shows. These seem to have been fashioned out of potsherds with painting in black.

No terracotta combs have been reported in any succeeding period. In the early historic period, combs were made of ivory and bone as at Nevāsā and Prakāśe, while in the late mediæval period, wood was preferred. In the former the teeth are long and body of elongated triangular shape, while the late mediæval combs have stumpy teeth and biconvex section.

Terracotta ornaments are rare and restrict themselves to bangles and ear-reels. This is because of the brittleness of the material coupled with its low esteem in the society.

The bangles of terracotta are reported from Nevāsā and Ter from the early historic to the late mediæval period. These are either plain or having impressed rope pattern in relief. Terracotta bangles went out of vogue when exquisite polychrome bangles of glass came into use round about the 14th Century A.D.

Plain pulley-shaped discs with a groove around the circumference and fashioned out of semi-precious stones, shell and glass were in vogue from early historic times in Mahārāṣṭra. Ajanṭhā paintings in Cave Nos. VI and XVII also depict such discs worn in the ear-lobes. However, terracotta ear-reels are reported from Nevāsā in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Elaborate, highly polished reels of agate, crystal and glass are reported from Bahāl and Nāśik, while gold-leaf coated discs are reported from sites in Saurāṣṭra. Similar reels are even now used by tribes in South India.

Bone and ivory account for a limited range of objects as probably both these were not available readily in the interior regions of Mahārāṣṭra.

Bone seems to have been used for antimony rods in the early historic period. Whereas the Chalcolithic people had such type of objects made of copper-rods with bulbous or tapering ends, the early historic specimens are mostly slender rods of bone with one end tapered to a point. The other end is either truncated and flat or having an ornamental elongated bulb. The former type bears different incised ornamentation such as grooves or hatched lines. Caskets of steatite, found along with antimony rods of bone which

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TERRACOTTA
OBJECTS.

Objects of
Toilet,
Combs.

Ornaments.

Bangles.

Ear-Reels.

OBJECTS OF
BONE AND
IVORY.

Bone.
Antimony Rods.

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BONE AND
IVORY.
*Rings and
Pendants.**Bone Points.*

are reported from almost all the excavated sites of Mahārāṣṭra and elsewhere, might indicate their use as collyrium caskets. (See the sections on Metal and Glass objects).

Besides antimony-rods, bone was utilised for making finger rings and pendants and beads as well. However, the material is very meagre for a general study.

The excavations at Nāśik brought to light a collection of thousands of bone objects which have been commonly designated now as Bone Points. At Nāśik they were assigned to the 3rd century B.C., but have been recently reported from a number of sites in and outside Mahārāṣṭra. They occur from the Chalcolithic period onwards and their possible use is yet uncertain. These are biconical, curved or flaked pieces, some having grooved points. It is likely that these were used either as stylus or as arrowheads as the Ujjain evidence shows.

Ivory.

As compared to bone, the objects of ivory are rare, restricting, as they do, to bangles, rings and dice. Thus ivory seems to have been used only for ornamental objects, which occur more or less in the early historical and mediæval period.

*Bangles and
Rings.*

Ivory bangles have been reported from early historical period. However, the presence of a bangle and ring-making industry on some scale has been attested to by Nevāsā where ivory cylinders marked with bangle outlines have been recovered in great numbers in the mediæval deposits.

The bangles are either plain or decorated, the latter showing designs of slanting lines, circles and wavy lines.

The technique of making such bangles seems to have involved the use of marked cylinders rotated on a lathe and the cutting off of the bangle rings.

Dice.

Pieces of ivory square cylindrical in shape and incised circles one to four serially on each face occur for the first time in the early historical period. They are reported from outside Mahārāṣṭra in deposits of the same period pointing to the standardised pattern of this type of recreation.

SHELL-OBJECTS.

Shell was used mostly for ornamental objects like bangles, rings and ear-studs from the Chalcolithic period onwards. Especially, shell bangles have a long survival.

Bangles.

Shell bangles have been reported from Nāśik, Prakāśe, Nevāsā, Diamābād, Bahāl, Kolhāpūr, Ter and Paithāṇ. Of these only at Nevāsā they occur in the first millenium B.C. levels and are plain pieces with biconvex section. Plain bangles continue even in the early historic levels.

The decorated specimens appear in the late Sātavāhana period as the evidence from Nevāsā, Nāśik and Kolhāpūr shows. The decorations comprise incised lines, segments, rope pattern, panels and the heart-shaped knob in relief.

Unlike bangles, shell rings occur from the early historical period onwards as the evidence at present stands. These are mostly plain specimens with only a few having linear incisions as decorations. (See under 'Glass Objects').

Pulley-shaped ear-reels also occur in shell as in terracotta and glass (See under 'Terracotta Objects' and 'Glass Objects'). Though all these are more or less contemporary, those in shell mostly belong to the late Sātavāhana period. Ear-studs of this period are more elaborate, as for instance those having a floral pattern on the facing side. It is possible that these were fixed in ear-lobes or were fixed by means of a projecting metal pin.

Nāśik has yielded a big shell with copper revetments at two points opposite each other on the periphery. Belonging to the early Sātavāhana period, it compares favourably with a type of ornament put over the hair of the head as shown in a fresco at Ajanthā.

Stone was utilised in making objects mostly of household use like querns, mullers, mortars, dabbers etc., and images and plaques. Most of the former are made of locally available trap stone, while the latter are of softer varieties of stones like the slate stone.

The querns fall into three categories, *viz.*, saddle querns, legged querns and rotary querns.

Saddle querns go back to the Chalcolithic period as at Nevāsā. These are flat based rectangular pieces with slightly concave upper surface. The use of such querns with the help of cylindrical mullers turned out a paste of grain. For facilitating easier use, it is likely that the Chalcolithic people might have been soaking grain in water overnight. The paste of such soaked corn should be expected to give a rough bread.

In about the 4th/3rd century B.C. there seems to have been a further advance in the saddle querns. The shape remained the same as in the Chalcolithic period, but four short legs, one each at the four corners, were added. Besides this, one of the short breadthwise side was projected so as to cover the dish placed below it so that the pounded material fell right into it. Sometimes the quern bore Buddhist symbols like the *triratna* and *svastika* showing the religious affinities of the user. Such legged querns have a wide regional distribution throughout India and a similar specimen is depicted at Ajanthā.

The legged querns are not to be found from the mid-Gupta period onwards. In the mediæval (Kolhāpūr, Nāśik, Karhād and Nevāsā) and modern periods flat based querns again come into use.

The saddle querns, as seen above, turned out a rough paste of pounded grains. However, for finer flour, rotary querns were needed. No rotary querns, however, are reported from any site in

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Rings.
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OBJECTS OF
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Querns.

Saddle Querns.

Legged Querns.

Rotary Querns.

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STONE.

Rotary Querns.

Mahārāstra or elsewhere, till about the beginning of the Christian era. Nevāsā has been the first site in Mahārāstra which has given rotary querns in the 1st century B.C. to 3rd century A.D. levels. These are not like the modern rotary querns in as much as the upper stone is very heavy, concave-sided and having a *damaru*-like perforation through which grain was poured in. Along with this, the upper stone has also two perforations one opposite the other in the upper part of the sides through which a long wooden bar was inserted horizontally for giving rotary motion. The lower stone was short and rather plano-convex, being at the bottom. The upper part of this stone had an iron pin in the centre around which the upper stone was placed.

Similar querns have been reported from the Mediterranean and English sites in about the first century B.C. when such rotary mills were worked with the help of animals yoked to the horizontal bar. It is significant to note that this and a couple of succeeding centuries saw the development of foreign-Indo-Roman-contacts with Deccan area.

Thus along with other relics of such a contact as evidenced in votive tank, bullie, iron utensils etc., the rotary quern also is the outcome of Indo-Roman cultural contacts.

Gradually, however, the height and consequently the weight of the upper stone lessened, and a wooden peg came to be fixed in a shallow hole at a point near the edge of the upper circular stone. The width of the mouth through which grain was poured in was also lessened, and the mouth ringed. That is how the modern rotary quern has come to be.

Mortars.

Mortars of trap stone are reported so far from Kolhāpūr and Nevāsā in the late mediæval period. At the former site, mortars of Silāhāra period have a square surface and a tapering base. The Bahamanī specimens show both a rounded and a flat bottom. It may be noted that those with a rounded bottom have to be fixed in the floor as they cannot rest independently.

At present mortars fixed in the floor as well as those with a pedestal base are in use.

Plaques and
Images.

Besides the querns and mortars, plaques and images are also reported mostly in sandstone or slate stone. These, however, are mostly late mediæval or might even be recent in date, and comprise crudely executed Gaṇeśa plaques, lingas and Nandī images. These are reported so far from Nāsik, Kolhāpūr and Nevāsā.

CHAPTER 2

SĀTAVĀHANA EMPIRE AND ITS FEUDATORIES*

THE FOUNDATION OF THE SATAVAHANA EMPIRE IN c. 220 B.C. is an important mile-stone in the history of the Deccan. The Rāmāyaṇa refers to the depredations of Rāvaṇa in the Daṇḍakāraṇya of the Deccan and Rāma's conquest of Laṅkā or Ceylon. But these events belong to the realm of legend and not of history. The Bhojas, apparently belonging to modern Berār, are referred to in the later Vedic literature, but we know nothing of their history. Pāṇini hardly evinces any knowledge of the society and cities of the Deccan. Aśoka's records mention the kingdoms of the Āndhras, Colas, Ceras and Pāṇḍyas, and also refer to the Raṭhikas, the Bhojas and the Petenikas who were ruling as feudatories in the northern Deccan, but we can hardly reconstruct their history in the pre-Sātavāhana period. Connected history of the Deccan begins with the foundation of the Sātavāhana empire.

Before the foundation of the Sātavāhana empire, the Deccan was covered with a large number of petty kingdoms, which were often at war with one another. The Sātavāhanas for the first time wielded the Deccan into a powerful State and gave a cohesion and integrity to its history. The Deccan prospered immensely under their strong rule. At a time when northern India was suffering from a series of invasions by foreign powers like the Bactrians, the Śakas, the Pārthians and the Kuśāṇas, the Deccan was enjoying relative peace. Among the foreigners, the Śakas eventually succeeded in establishing a base at Ujjayinī, from which they proceeded to attack the Deccan. For a time the Sātavāhanas had to give way and portions of Koṅkaṇ and Northern Mahārāṣṭra were lost to them. But very soon the Sātavāhanas drove out the foreigners from the Deccan and restored freedom to the conquered provinces. The role of the Sātavāhanas in this connection is comparable to that of the Vijayanagar empire in later times.

The invasions of the Deccan by northern powers are more frequent in Indian history than the invasions of Northern India by Deccan powers. The latter process was first started by the Sātavāhanas.

* This Chapter is contributed by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D. Litt. Some notes based on later research have been contributed by Dr. V. V. Mirashi, M. A., D. Litt.

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There is no doubt that they were holding Mālṡā and Jabalpūr area for several decades. There is sufficient evidence to indicate that they had penetrated into the Gangetic plain and it appears probable that they had occupied for some time even Pāṭaliputra, the imperial capital of northern India.

Trade and industry prospered in the Deccan under the Sātavāhanas. Economic life was given a cohesion by the guild organisation which had permeated almost every profession. Banking was highly developed and a number of western ports were carrying on a rich trade with Rome and Western Asian countries. Eastern ports were taking keen interest in founding Indian colonies in Insular India and carrying on a lucrative trade with them.

The Sātavāhanas were orthodox Brāhmaṇas, but Buddhism prospered under them both in western India and Āndhra country. Remarkable impetus was given to sculpture and architecture under their aegis. Nāgārjuna and Guṇāḍhya, who are important personalities in philosophy and literature, were associated with their court. Prākṛt literature received great encouragement at their court. The importance of the Sātavāhana period in the history of the Deccan cannot be exaggerated.

DIFFICULTIES IN
RECONSTRUCTING
SATAVAHANA
HISTORY.

In spite of the researches in ancient Indian history extending over more than a century, it is not yet possible to give a connected and complete history of the earliest and the biggest empire of the Deccan, the empire of the Sātavāhanas. They have not left us many monuments, and literary references to the rulers of the dynasty are few and far between. Archaeological explorations and excavations have not yet been systematically and extensively carried out in the heart of the dominion, once ruled over by them. Purāṇas give us the names and reign-periods of the different rulers of the dynasty. But the information they give is scanty and often self-contradictory. Thus some Purāṇas state that there were only 18 kings in the dynasty, while others aver that their number was 30. According to one tradition they ruled only for 300 years; according to another, they were in power for more than 450 years. Even the number of the kings in the dynasty does not give an approximate idea of the duration of their rule. It is argued by some scholars that the longer list of 30 kings is formed by including the members of subordinate branches of the main dynasty. Others hold that the father and the son were ruling together during a pretty long period of the history of the dynasty and the longer period of 460 years of the duration of its rule is made by adding together the years of the contemporary reigns of the father and the son¹.

Epigraphical and numismatic data for reconstructing the history of the dynasty is no doubt considerable. It is much more copious than that available for the history of the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas.

¹ R. G. Bhandarkar had first advanced this view in the first edition of the present work; B. G., I, ii, 165.

But unfortunately both these data fail us during a long stretch of about 140 years when kings No. 10 to 22 of the longer Purāṇic list, from Svāti to Cakora Sātakarṇi, were ruling. Epigraphical and numismatic data are often dubious and inconclusive and lead themselves to diverse interpretation.

Chronology and geography are rightly stated to be the two eyes of history; neither of them however enables us to get a clear glimpse of the Sātavāhana history. There are wide differences among scholars both about the time when the Sātavāhanas rose to power, as also about their original home. One school holds that the Sātavāhanas established their power in the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C.; the other opines that they began to rule in the second quarter of the first century B. C. One school holds that their home was somewhere in Āndhra country or Telāṅgaṇa; the other holds that it lay somewhere in Mahārāṣṭra, either in Western India or near Pratiṣṭhāna, their traditional capital. It will be convenient to settle these controversial points before we proceed to give an account of the history of the dynasty.

In the first edition of this work, R. G. Bhandarkar had advanced the view that the rise of the Sātavāhana power should be placed during the second quarter of the first century B. C.¹ This view has been subsequently accepted by D. R. Bhandarkar², H. C. Roy Chaudhuri³ and D. C. Sircar⁴. The arguments in favour of this view are not without weight. (1) The most cogent evidence in support of this theory is the unanimous statement of the Purāṇas that Śimuka, the first Āndhra (i.e. Sātavāhana king), will rise to power after overthrowing the last Kāṇva ruler Suśarman and destroying what remained of the Śuṅga power⁵. It is generally assumed that the Śuṅgas ruled from c. 187 to 75 B. C. and the Kāṇvas from c. 75 to 30 B. C. It is therefore maintained by this school that the rise of Śimuka, the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty, should be placed in the third quarter of the first century B.C.

(2) This would lead to the conclusion that the dynasty ruled for about two and a half centuries only; we can now well understand why one Purāṇic tradition asserts in round number that the rule of the Sātavāhanas lasted for three centuries only.

(3) Normally speaking about 17 or 18 kings only can flourish during this period, and we can now well understand why one Purāṇic tradition enumerates 18 Āndhra kings only.

(4) If we assume that the Sātavāhana dynasty consisted of about thirty kings who ruled for about 450 years, we have to assume a big gap of about 150 years between the earlier and later Sātavāhana kings, known to us from inscriptions and coins. This gap disappears almost altogether if we place the rise of Śimuka in c. 30 B.C.

(5) R. P. Chanda has drawn attention to the palaeographical difficulties in accepting the theory that Sātakarṇi, the 3rd Sātavāhana

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¹ B. G., I. ii, 166, ² I. A., 1918, p. 71, ³ P. H. A. I., p. 337, ⁴ S. I., p. 183,

⁵ *Kāṇvāyanāms tato bhṛtyaḥ Suśarmānaḥ prasahya taṁ | Śuṅgānāṁ c-aiva
yoc chesam kṣapayitvā baliyasah | Śisuko-ndhrah sa-jātiyah prāpsyat-imāṁ
vasundharām ||*

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ruler known to us from his Nāneghāt record, flourished in c. 175 B.C. He points out that palaeographically the Nāneghāt inscription of Sātakarṇi comes midway between the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus (c. 100 B.C.) and the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (c. 25 B.C.)¹; this would place the 3rd Sātavāhana king by the middle of the 1st century B. C. and not of the 2nd century B. C.

(6) Marshall has further pointed out that plastic and architectural considerations show that the Caitya Hall at Nāsik does not belong to the middle of the 2nd century B.C. but is about 100 years later. The form of the entrance door-way, the lotus design on the face of its jambs, the miniature Persipolitan pilasters, the rails of the balustrade flanking the steps and the treatment of the *dvārapāla* (door-keeper) figures besides the entrance, all bespeak the date approximately contemporary with the Sāñci *Toraṇas* (gateways) i.e. c. 50 B.C.

The above arguments are no doubt weighty, but they are not strong enough to establish the case they seek to support. It may be pointed out that if we assume that Śimuka rose to power after overthrowing the last Kāṇva king Suśarman and subduing what remained of the Śuṅga power, his rise has to be placed in c. 30 B.C. It is admitted on all hands that the Sātavāhana dynasty ended in c. 210 A.D. The duration of the dynasty would then be of only 240 or 250 years and not of 300 years. The Purāṇic tradition of the Āndhra rule extending over 300 years therefore does not support this school and the argument No. 2 above fails.

As to argument No. 4 above, it is no doubt true that there is a big gap of about 150 years between the earlier and the later Sātavāhana kings as known from the Purāṇas. But we need not therefore dismiss them as purely imaginary. The last seven Śuṅga kings are not known from any inscriptions or coins. Do we dismiss them as imaginary? For a long time not a single one among the nine Magha kings of Kausāmbī was known from their coins or inscriptions. Now, however, the existence of most of them is proved by epigraphical or numismatic evidence. Archaeological sites of the Sātavāhana period of both the States of Āndhra and Mahārāṣṭra, over which the Sātavāhanas ruled, are not yet properly explored; it is therefore too early to say that the rulers between Sātakarṇi II and Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi were all imaginary. Recent numismatic discoveries have proved the existence of four Sātavāhana rulers not known to the Purāṇas, Kumbha Sātakarṇi, Karṇa Sātakarṇi, Śaka Sātakarṇi and Kosikīputra Śātakarṇi. It would therefore be hazardous to say that the Purāṇas exaggerate the number of the Sātavāhana kings when they give it as 30. It is quite likely that the existence of many of the Purāṇic kings would be proved in course of time by further archaeological, epigraphical and numismatic discoveries. It is therefore hardly sound to assume, as is done in argument No. 3 above, that there were only 18 kings in the dynasty and therefore it could not have ruled for 450 years.

¹ M. A. S. B., I, pp. 14-15.

If we assume that the Sātavāhanas rose to power in the Deccan by c. 50 B.C., there arises a vacuum of more than a century which cannot be explained. The Maurya empire which included the State of Mahārāṣṭra, collapsed by c. 200 B.C. This region was not completely integrated in the empire; a number of Rāṭhikas, Bhojas and Petenikas ruled in them in a feudatory capacity, enjoying considerable autonomy. It is therefore rather difficult to assume that no movement for the establishment of an independent state arose among them, when the Mauryan empire began to show signs of weakness. If we assume that Śimuka rose to power in c. 50 B.C., we have to assume that no ruler arose to take advantage of the confusion resulting from the collapse of the Mauryan empire for about a century and a half. This is rather inexplicable. We are not faced with this difficulty if we place the rise of Śimuka towards the end of the third century B. C. The span of the dynasty can then exceed four centuries, as is suggested by the Purāṇas. We can also well understand how the number of kings, who ruled during this period, should be about 30 and not 18.

As to argument No. 1 above, it is true that the statement of the Purāṇas that Śimuka, the founder of the dynasty, rose to power after overthrowing the last Kāṇva king Suśarman, no doubt tends to support the theory of the rise of the Sātavāhanas by c. 30 B.C. If we assume this statement to be literally true, it goes against the assertion of the Purāṇas that the Āndhras (i.e. Sātavāhanas) ruled for three centuries. The duration of the dynasty would be of only 240 years, a view which is not supported by any Purāṇic tradition. We have therefore to explain the Purāṇic tradition in some other way. There is sufficient evidence to show that the Sātavāhanas extended their power to Mālvā by the middle of the 1st century B.C. It is quite possible that they may have come into conflict with the last Kāṇva king at this time, as also with some scions of the Śuṅga family, who may have been ruling as petty feudatories in or near Mālvā, which was probably their ancestral home. The Purāṇic tradition probably confused the overthrower of Suśarman with the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty and ascribed him that feat, thus making him live by the middle of the 1st century B.C. A verse in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* says that the base-born Āndhra king will rule only for a short time after killing Suśarman.¹ This would suggest that the Āndhra intervention at Pāṭaliputra was of a short duration. The keepers of the Purāṇic tradition, who belonged to Madhyadeśa, did not know much about the Āndhra interloper and therefore confounded him with the founder of the dynasty, when they later got its full list in the 4th century A.D., at the time the Purāṇas were given their present form.

We should further note that the statement of the Purāṇic tradition that Śimuka, the founder of the Āndhra (Sātavāhana) dynasty overthrew the last Kāṇva king, is inherently difficult to believe. How can the founder of a new house at distant Pratiṣṭhāna or Paiṭhaṇ

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¹ *Hotvā Kāṇvaṃ Suśarmāṇaṃ tad-bhṛtyo vṛśalo bali |*
Gām bhokṣyaty Andhra-jātiyaḥ kañcit-kālāṃ a-sattamaḥ ||

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grow suddenly so powerful as to overthrow the imperial dynasty of northern India ruling at far-off Pāṭaliputra ? The Cālukyas defeated Harṣa, the Suzerain of northern India, but during the reign of Pulakeśin II, the 4th ruler of their house. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas shattered their rivals in northern India, but during the rule of Dhruva and Govinda III, the 4th and 5th rulers of their dynasty. The Marāṭhās could bring the Moghals of northern India under their control, but only a century after the rise of their power under Śivājī. Logic of history thus favours our hypothesis that not Śimuka, the founder of the dynasty, but a descendant of his succeeded in defeating the last Kāṇva ruler sometime in c. 30 B.C. This ruler was probably confounded with the founder of the dynasty, when the Purāṇic accounts were given their final form in the 4th century A.D.

We shall now consider other arguments advanced in support of the theory of Śimuka being a ruler of the middle of the first century B.C. The Palaeographical argument (No. 5 above) of Chanda is not quite convincing. He argues that the script of the Nāṇeghāt inscription places it in c. 50 B.C., showing that that was the time of the third Sātavāhana king. He maintains that the script of this inscription is later than that of the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus (c. 100 B.C.) and earlier than the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela (c. 25 B.C.)¹ To compare the palaeographical developments in such widely separated provinces as Orissā, Mālṣ and Koṅkaṇ and to conclude that a particular script in one province is earlier than that in another by 50 years or so is rather hazardous with reference to an age when communications were very difficult. Palaeographical evidence is not sufficiently decisive when the difference in time is only about a century and records concerned belong to places wide'y separated from one another by hundreds of miles.

Stray occurrence of advanced or archaic forms is too slight an evidence to determine precisely the date of a record when the difference between the two views is of less than a century. There is no doubt that the relievo statues at Nāṇeghāt were raised at one and the same time. Bhagwanlal has however pointed out how² the palaeography of the inscriptions over the first and last statues show archaic characteristics like those in the inscription of Kṛṣṇa, and how the inscriptions over the 2nd and the 3rd statues show palaeographical affinity with that of the records of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvī. We cannot therefore make much of the palaeographical peculiarities, when the difference is of less than a century.

Argument No. 6 above, trying to fix the date of the dynasty by the architectural forms at Nāśik caves is also not convincing. Marshal has no doubt pointed out how the Sātavāhana Caitya hall at Nāśik has to be placed by the middle of the 1st century A.D. and not by the middle of the first century B.C. Even if we assume his view to

¹ M. A. S. B., I, pp. 14-15.

² Nāśik Gazetteer (first ed.), pp. 607 ff.

be correct, it does not follow that the rise of the Sātavāhana power took place in c. 50 B.C. Mahāhakusirī, the grandfather of the donor of the hall, is certainly not identical with the prince Hakusirī who was a son or grandson of the third Sātavāhana king. The record gives no regal titles to him, while it carefully records the official titles of a number of other personages mentioned in it, who are described as *rājāmātya*, *bhāṇḍāgārika*, etc. It is clear that Hakusirī was not even a minister, much less a king. We cannot, therefore, identify him with prince Hakusirī, who flourished in the 2nd century B.C. Palaeographically the record of Hakusirī is quite late and we can well accept Marshall's theory of the Caitya hall being excavated in c. 50 B.C., without drawing the corollary that the Sātavāhanas rose to power at about the time the hall was excavated, viz., c. 50 B.C.

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It may be pointed out that the date of Khāravela is not inextricably connected with the rise of the Sātavāhanas. We can well place the Kalinga king in the 1st century B.C., and still hold the view that the Sātavāhana empire was founded in c. 200 B.C. by assuming that the Sātakarṇi, who is mentioned as the opponent of Khāravela in that record, was not the third but the sixth ruler of the dynasty. We definitely know that a number of Rāthikas and Bhojakas continued as the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas, as they once were the subordinates of the Mauryas. Khāravela could well have defeated some of them by the middle of the 1st century B.C. also.

Nāśik inscription of Kṛṣṇa, the second Sātavāhana king, refers to *Samāṇa mahāmātras*. This close imitation of a peculiar feature of the Aśoka administration would suggest that Kṛṣṇa and Aśoka were not far removed in time from each other. This circumstance lends additional weight to the view that the 2nd Sātavāhana king flourished in c. 200 B.C., rather than in c. 50 B.C.

In our opinion Hāthīgumphā inscription supplies fairly conclusive evidence to show that Khāravela ruled in the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C. It is true that we can no longer maintain the view that the record contains a date described as 164th year of the Mauryakāla or Mauryan era. Rapson's argument that this year in the Mauryan era shows that Khāravela flourished in c. 165 B.C., does no longer hold good. It seems very probable that there is reference to the Greek king Dima in line 8 of the Hāthīgumphā inscription; this ruler can be no other than Demetrius I or II. The time of Khāravela would thus be c. 185-165 B.C. That would be the time of his Sātavāhana opponent king Sātakarṇi. We shall show later how the probable time of this ruler is c. 189-179 B.C.; and how the two earlier kings ruled from c. 222 to c. 189 B.C.

A critical discussion of the available evidence thus shows that the Sātavāhanas rose to power in the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C., soon after the death of Aśoka. If we place the accession of Śimuka in c. 220 B.C., we can explain satisfactorily all known facts of contemporary history. We have therefore accepted this date for the rise of this dynasty as a working hypothesis.

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If the Sātavāhana dynasty consisted of about 30 kings who ruled for about 450 years, the question may be asked as to how one section of the Purāṇas happens to record a tradition stating that there were only about 18 or 19 kings of the House, who ruled for 300 years only. The answer is not easy to give. It, however, appears very probable that this Purāṇic tradition notices the duration of the dynasty subsequent to the fall of the Kāṇvas. Smith has pointed out how the duration of the dynasty works out to be 300 years if we deduct from 457 years, the real rule-period of the House according to one Purāṇic tradition, the sum of 157 years, which is the sum of the rule-periods of the Śuṅgas (112 years) and the Kāṇvas (45 years). The Sātavāhana rule was of a short duration in the north and therefore the full details of its list of rulers were not known to all the custodians of the Purāṇic tradition. Some Purāṇas accepted the entire list and gave the dynasty a duration of 457 years. Others deducted from this period 157 years, the reign periods of the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas, and assigned a rule of only 300 years for the house. They naturally had to knock out some kings from the list and they omitted about ten names in the middle. Smith's hypothesis is an ingenious and probable one and better explains the tradition of 300 years' rule of the dynasty than the theory which places the rise of the house in c. 27 B.C. For according to this view, the duration of the dynasty extends over 240 years only.

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The home of the Sātavāhana dynasty is still not definitely known. Since the Purāṇas unanimously describe the dynasty as Āndhra, it was for a long time assumed that its original name was Āndhra and early scholars like Bhandarkar, Smith and Rapson¹ naturally proceeded to locate its home in the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī delta, the headquarters of modern Āndhradeśa. The Sunaḥśepa story in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* shows that the Āndhras were originally living on the outskirts of the Āryan settlements. Their association with the Pulindas would suggest that they were somewhere near the Vindhya from where they seem to have spread to the mouths of the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī. Jātaka No. 3 mentions Āndhrapura or the city or capital of the Āndhras as situated on the Telavāha river flowing on the border of Madhyapradeśa and Madras States. The Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī doab is the centre of Āndhradeśa since c. 350 B.C. The Āndhra Kingdom was a powerful one even before the rise of the Mauryas; it had 32 big towns and a standing army of 1,00,000 of infantry and 1,000 elephants. Rock edict 13 of Aśoka shows that the Āndhras enjoyed semi-independence under that emperor. There is, therefore, nothing improbable in their establishing an independent kingdom after the death of that monarch. The original nucleus of this kingdom was in the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī delta. From there the dynasty extended its sway to Mahārāṣṭra and Western India after subduing the numerous Bhoja, Raṭhika and Petenika chiefs who were ruling there with a view to found a solid empire in the Deccan which could serve as a bulwark against any future invasion from the north.

1 B.G. (first ed.), I, ii; Z.D.M.G., 1902, p. 657; C.C.A., p. xvi.

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The theory of Āndhradeśa being the home of the dynasty is no doubt the earliest one in the field, but it appears to be untenable now. That the Purāṇic appellation can hardly have any significance about the early home of the dynasty becomes fairly certain when we remember how the early kings of the house describe themselves always as Sātavāhanas and never as Āndhras¹. Smith's view that Śrīkākulam in Āndhradeśa was the capital of the early Sātavāhanas is based upon a passage in the *Trilingānuśāsanam*, which is now proved to be a late work composed even later than the 11th century. The statement in this work that Āndhra Viṣṇu, the son of the first Āndhra king Sucandra, was a patron of the first Telugu grammarian Kaṇva, can have no historical value. It has to be remembered that neither Purāṇas nor inscriptions attest to the existence of kings Viṣṇu and Sucandra in the Sātavāhana dynasty. It is therefore futile to argue that they were ruling at Śrīkākulam in Āndhradeśa.

R. G. Bhandarkar held that Nāśik inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 showed that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was the lord of Dhanakaṭa. He derived Dhanakaṭa from Dhannakaṭaka of Amrāvati inscriptions and identified it with Dharnikōṭa in Āndhradeśa. Even if we assume Bhandarkar's view to be correct, the Nāśik inscriptions will only show that in the days of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, in c. 100 A.D., Dharnikōṭa in Āndhradeśa had become a secondary capital of the Sātavāhana empire; it cannot prove that it enjoyed this honour in the 3rd century B.C. It may however be pointed out that the reading *Dhanakaṭa-sāmi* has been recently challenged. At this time the letters *dha* and *ba* were similar, and it has therefore been suggested that the reading is *Benākaṭa-sāmi* and not *Dhanakaṭa-sāmi*². Gautamīputra would thus become the lord of the banks of the Benā which may be either Waingāṅgā of Vidarbha or Kṛṣṇā-Veṇā of Mahārāṣṭra.

In the Stūpa at Amrāvati, we have discovered several votive Buddhist records belonging to the second and first centuries B.C. None of them refers to any contemporary Sātavāhana ruler or his officers. This is rather significant; for the second Sātavāhana ruler Kṛṣṇa, is known to have appointed a special officer (Mahāmātra) to look after the Buddhist Sramaṇas. It is clear that Buddhism received State patronage and it is therefore strange that if Amrāvati in Āndhradeśa was really included in the Sātavāhana empire, no votive records at the place belonging to the pre-Christian period, should have referred to Sātavāhana rulers or their officers. The only Sātavāhana kings figuring in the Amrāvati Stūpa records are Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Puṣumāvi and Śrī-sivamaka Śāta, who flourished in the 2nd century A.D. That the Amrāvati records should refer to only these two late

¹ In the Nāneghāt inscriptions, Śimuka calls himself a Sātavāhana and not an Āndhra. It is possible to argue that the inscriptions give the family name of the dynasty whereas the Purāṇas give its ethnic or territorial name. This argument fails to carry conviction. If they were Āndhras, they should have given this name at least in some of their numerous records.

² Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 19.

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rulers of the dynasty and should be silent about their early predecessors would show that the latter did not rule over the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī doab. This latter could not therefore have been their home.

There is fairly conclusive evidence to show that at about 200 B.C., the Sātavāhanas were not ruling in Āndhradeśa. The Bhatti-prolu inscription, which by general consent is placed a few decades after Aśoka, refers to a king named Kubīraka as ruling in the locality¹. It is clear that he did not belong to the Sātavāhana family. King Khāravela, who flourished from c. 185 to 165 B.C. as shown already, refers to his destruction of the city of Pithuṇḍa in the 11th year of his reign and to the consequent break up of the confederacy in Tramira (Draviḍa) country. Pithuṇḍa of the Hāthīgumphā inscription is obviously identical with Pithuṇḍa of Ptolemy, which has been located in the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī doab. No opposition of the Sātavāhanas is mentioned in connection with the destruction of Pithuṇḍa, as it is in connection with another expedition sent to the west in the second year of the reign. It is thus clear that the Sātavāhanas had not established themselves in Āndhradeśa by c. 200 B.C. It could not therefore have been their home.

Negative evidence is not generally conclusive, but when it becomes many sided, it cannot be ignored. All early Sātavāhana records have been found only in Western India. Why should not some of them at least have been found at Amrāvātī, which has many records going back to the second and first centuries B.C.? Most of the coins of the early Sātavāhana rulers come from Western India or Mālvā; hardly any hail from Āndhradeśa. One coin of a very early king named Sātavāhana has been found at Warrāṅgaḷ, but two other coins of this ruler were picked up, one in the heart of former Hyderābād State and the second at Poonā. The evidence of the find-spot becomes conclusive only when a large number of coins have been found at an ancient site, and not otherwise. Rapson has no doubt attributed a large lead coin found in the Godāvarī district and weighing 559.5 grains, to an early ruler of this dynasty. The legend on this coins is extremely fragmentary and therefore we cannot attribute it with confidence to any particular ruler. It may be also doubted as to whether it is a Sātavāhana coin at all.

On the strength of the use of the early form of *da* opening to left, Rapson assigns one coin bearing the fragmentary legend *gha Sadasa* to Meghasvātī, the 9th king of the dynasty and another to Māḍhari-putra Śakasena of the Kānherī inscription². Even if we accept these attributions, they will only show that Āndhra province was under the Sātavāhana rule in the first century B.C., as is clear from other evidence as well. They cannot prove that, that province was the home of the dynasty and the starting point of its expansion in c. 200 B.C. It is indeed strange that if Āndhra province was the home of the dynasty, only one coin of an early ruler should have been found in it. The earliest rulers whose coins are found in the Āndhra country is

¹ Cf. *Śaṅgaḥintāgamaputānam rājapāmukhānam Kubirako rājā E.I.*, I, p. 328.

² C.C.A., p. 10; p. 28.

Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvī, who flourished in c. 120 A.D. It is interesting to note that most of the big hoards of the Sātavāhana coins have been found in Mahārāṣṭra in districts like Cāndā, Akolā and Nāsik. None has been found in Āndhra country.

If Āndhradeśā was the home of the Sātavāhanas, it is indeed strange that the early rulers of the dynasty like Śimuka, Kṛṣṇa and Sātakarni I should have selected no place in their home province to inscribe records commemorating their glorious achievements; instead we find them selecting a far off and out of the way place like Nāneghāt in Western India to place their statues and inscribe their records commemorating great sacrifices and conquests. We have only three or four Sātavāhana records found in Āndhra country, and these too belong to the rulers of the 2nd century A.D. This fact can hardly support the Āndhra origin of the Sātavāhanas.

It has been recently argued that the inscriptions of the first three rulers are found in Western India, not because that was near their home, but because they had to shift their head-quarters to the west to counteract foreign invasions¹. The first invasion of the Greco-Bactrian rulers took place not earlier than c. 180 B.C.; and it had not threatened the Deccan in the least. It is therefore difficult to understand why Śimuka and Kṛṣṇa should have shifted their head-quarters to Nāsik and Ṭhāṇā districts as early as 200 B.C., if the aim was to make better preparations to thwart the Greek attack. Generally most of the northern invaders used to make Ajmer their base of attack and penetrate into the Deccan by crossing the Vindhya and the Narmadā near Houśāṅgābād. If Śimuka and Kṛṣṇa wanted to thwart an invasion from the north, they should have shifted their head-quarters to Itārasī-Barhānpūr area, and not to Nāsik or Ṭhāṇā district.

Dr. V. S. Sukhtankar has advanced the theory that the home of the Sātavāhanas should be located in Bellāry district, where a Sātavāhana record was discovered at Myakadoni, recording the construction of a tank in the reign of Śrī Puṣumāvī². This record describes the tank as situated in Sātavāhani-hāra and it is possible to argue that the Bellāry district happened to be so called because it was the original āhāra or district of the Sātavāhanas. This argument considered by itself, is not without some force. But we have to note that hardly any early Sātavāhana antiquities like coins and inscriptions have been found in Bellāry district or its neighbourhood. And it is quite possible to explain the origin of the term Sātavāhani-hāra for Bellāry by another assumption. The inscription refers itself to the

¹ Dr. Ram Rao has advocated this view in *Sātavāhana Commemoration* Volume, pp. 22, 37. On p. 56, he states that invasion of Saurāṣṭra by Śāliśūka and the capture of Ayodhyā and Pāṭalīputra by Antiochus were responsible for Śimuka fixing his head-quarters in Western India. The power which had occupied Pāṭalīputra could be better thwarted by shifting the head-quarters to Jabalpur than to Nāsik district. Śāliśūka's invasion of Saurāṣṭra is hardly a historical event. It may be passingly stated that not Antiochus but Demetrius or Menander had occupied the Gangetic plain and Pāṭalīputra.

² *E.I.*; XIV, pp. 151- ff, Hirahadagalli plates of Sivaskandavarman issued in c. 250 A.D. also refer to Bellāry district as Sātāhani-raṭṭha.

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reign of Puṣumāvi, who most probably was Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puṣumāvi; very probably he had recently annexed Bellāry district to the Sātavāhana dominion; and therefore it began to be called the district of the Sātavāhanas (Sātavāhani-hāra), in order to distinguish it from the kingdom of the neighbouring kings. During the British rule, it was customary to describe Sātārā as a British district as distinguished from its neighbour Kolhāpūr, which was under an Indian ruler. Sātārā however was not under the British from early times. The names British Borneo, Dutch Borneo, French Guiana, etc., given to different islands or provinces denote that they are under the British, the Dutch or the French. In the same way Sātavāhana-hāra may have denoted a district recently annexed to the Sātavāhana empire. It is also possible that like the terms Govardhanāhāra, Māmalāhāra and Kodūrāhāra, the term Sātavāhanihāra may be due to a town named Sātavāhana being its headquarters. A village named Satunūru exists in Bellāry district and its name may be a corruption of Sātavāhani¹.

It is also not impossible that the capital of a branch of the Sātavāhana dynasty may have existed in Bellāry district, which may have given the name Sātavāhani-āhāra to it.

The origin of the name Sātavāhani-āhāra for Bellāry district is probably to be explained by one of these hypotheses. There is no evidence to show that it was the original home of the Sātavāhanas in c. 200 B.C., from which they extended their power to north-west and north-east.

The available evidence thus tends to show that the home of the Sātavāhanas was somewhere in Mahārāṣṭra rather than in Āndhra province. The Jain tradition mentions² Pratiṣṭhāna or Paṭṭhaṇ in Marāṭhvāḍā as the capital of the Sātavāhanas. Nāṇeghāt and Nāsik are within about 200 miles to the west of Paṭṭhaṇ and one can therefore well understand how the earliest Sātavāhana records are found inscribed at these places. It is not unlikely that some deity in the vicinity of Nāṇeghāt was the tutelary god of the Sātavāhanas, which induced them to have their statues and early records at that place. The queen of the third ruler of the dynasty was the daughter of a Mahārāṭhī chief and there is ample evidence to show that Berār and Mahārāṣṭra were studded with Rāṭhika and Bhoja feudatories. More than 75 per cent. of the Sātavāhana epigraphs have been found in Mahārāṣṭra; this renders it extremely probable that their home lay somewhere in that province.

The circumstance that the Sātavāhana king adopted Māhārāṣṭrī as their court language and extended their liberal patronage to the poets in it, lends additional support in the view that their home was somewhere in Mahārāṣṭra. It has no doubt been argued³ that just as the continuance of English as the official language by the Indian

¹ *Sātavāhana Commemoration Volume*, p. 26.

² *The Kālakāchārya-kathānaka* states how Kālaka had visited Pratiṣṭhāna, the city of Sātavāhana.

³ *Sātavāhana Commemoration Volume*, p. 23.

Republic does not show that it is the mother-tongue of Indians, so also the continuance of Prākṛt as the court language by the Sātavāhanas would not necessarily show that they were not Telugu-speaking people. Prākṛt, it is contended, was the court language of all the early powers of the Deccan, the Sātavāhanas, the Ikṣvākus and the early Pallavas. Though the Sātavāhanas were Telugu-speaking people, they adopted Prākṛt as their court language, because it was the fashion of the age.

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There is not much force in this argument. It is claimed that the Deśi-bhāṣā, which is referred to in the story of Guṇāḍhya along with Sanskrit and Prākṛt, was the mother-tongue of the Sātavāhanas. If Telugu language existed so early, if it was the mother-tongue of the Sātavāhanas, one fails to see why Telugu literature should not have flourished in their court. No Telugu work can be taken back to the Sātavāhana era. The language of the conqueror is continued during the transition period; English will not be the official language of India after some time. Why should Prākṛt have been continued by the Sātavāhanas as their official language for more than 400 years? Why should king Hāla have extended his patronage to the poets of Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛt and not of Deśi-bhāṣā or Telugu, if it existed in his days and was his mother-tongue? The tradition that the Sātavāhanas had made a rule that Prākṛt should be spoken even in their harem is no doubt recorded by a late poet (Rājasekhara), but this circumstance along with Hāla's patronage of the poets in the Māhārāṣṭrī tends to show that Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛt was the mother-tongue of the Sātavāhanas. Their home also should, therefore, be placed somewhere in that province and not in Āndhra country.

Where precisely this capital was, is not yet definitely known. Pratiṣṭhāna or Paithān in Marāṭhvādā appears to have the greatest claim to be regarded as the capital of the dynasty during the greater part of its rule.

What particular region in Mahārāṣṭra was the home of the Sātavāhanas is not yet possible to state. Prof. Mirashi has argued that we should consider Berār as the home province of the dynasty and Dr. D. C. Sircar has tried to controvert his view¹. The evidence of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, on which Prof. Mirashi relies, is not, however, quite conclusive on the point. It no doubt describes king Sātakarni as a western neighbour of Khāravela and describes how the armies of the Kalinga ruler marched to the Kaṇhabenṇā and harassed Musikanagara. It is true that the river Kaṇhān, which flows through Berār, was known as Kaṇhabenṇā, as Prof. Mirashi has pointed out. But Musikanagara², which was harassed during the course of this campaign, was most probably situated on the bank of the Musi river, joining the Kṛṣṇā on the outskirts of the Guntur district. The Kṛṣṇā also was known as Kaṇhabenṇā in ancient times. A power which ruled over the wide territory

¹ J.N.S.I., II p. 94, III, p. 61.

² The correct reading is Asikanagara as pointed out by Barua. Asika, Sanskrit, Rṣika, was the ancient name of Khāndes A.B.O.R.I. XXV, 40 (V.V.M.).

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including northern and central Hyderābād, Berār and parts of eastern Madhyapradeśa, could have been appropriately described as his western neighbour by Khāravela¹ and the home of its ruler could have been as well in Berār as in Prātiṣṭhāna or modern Paithān. We cannot choose one of these places in preference to the other and maintain that it alone was positively the home of the Sātavāhanas.

The mention of Gautamīputra as Benākatasvāmī or lord of the bank of the Benā, would suggest that eastern Vidarbha through which the Waingāṅgā flows, may have been the home of the Sātavāhanas. This territory was known as Benākata, during the rule of the Vākātakas also. But another river also known as Veṅṇā, flows through the Sātārā district, and this district also may quite possibly have been known as Benākata in the past.

The occurrence of the earliest Sātavāhana inscriptions at Nāsik and Nāneghāt may indicate that the Sātavāhana home was either in Poona or Nāsik district, while the circumstance that Pratiṣṭhāna was the capital of the dynasty may lend some weight to the view that the home of the rulers was located in its vicinity. We have as yet no evidence to decide this question.

It is interesting to note that the Purāṇas nowhere describe the dynasty as Sātavāhana and inscriptions nowhere name it as Āndhra. How are we to explain this paradox? K. Gopalachari advances an ingenious theory in this connection. He suggests that the Sātavāhanas were really Āndhras by ethnical extraction. Under Aśoka, we find a Greek governor, probably a native of Kamboja, appointed to rule over Kāthiāvād. In the same way some scions of the extinct Āndhra dynasty may have been appointed as governors or district officers to rule in Mahārāṣṭra. Later on when Aśoka's empire began to decay, Śimuka, who was one of the Āndhra officers governing at Pratiṣṭhāna, declared independence and founded a new dynasty. Purāṇas knew this real origin of Śimuka and have given the correct name to his house².

This theory is ingenious, but not convincing. We have similar parallels in later history. The Cālukyas and Rāṣtrakūṭas established branches of their dynasties in Āndhradeśa and Gujarāt; the Senas from Karnāṭaka established a dynasty in Bengal. There is, therefore, nothing impossible in one of the Āndhra officers of Aśoka having established a house in Mahārāṣṭra. But why should the real name of the dynasty not occur even in a single official record issued by it? The Cālukyas of Veṅgī and the Rāṣtrakūṭas of Gujarāt always called themselves as scions of the Cālukya or the Rāṣtrakūṭa family. They never use any other name. Why then should the Sātavāhanas have been so careful as to eschew their

¹ Kalinga which Khāravela ruled, extended from the Godāvarī to the Vaitaraṇī and Baster State, Cāndā district and Berār, and Adilābād, Karīm-nagar and Wāraṅgaḷ districts of the ex-Hyderābād State can all be described as situated to its west.

² Gopalachari, *Early History of Andhra Country*, pp. 25-26.

original name from all their official records? Surely, there was no provincialism running riot in those days. A name which was so carefully boycotted by the dynasty from all its official records is not likely to be known to the Purāṇic writers who probably hailed from the distant Gangetic plain.

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The only probable explanation of the fact of the Purāṇas describing the Sātavāhanas as Āndhras, would appear to be the assumption that they knew only of the later history of the dynasty, when the centre of its power was shifted to Āndhradeśa. The inscriptions of Aśoka and the account of Megasthenes show that the modern Āndhradeśa was known by that name in the 3rd century B.C. The Mayidavolu plates prove that the nomenclature continued down to the 4th century A.D.; for it refers to a district in Āndhrapatha. A power which was ruling over the territory in c. 200 A.D. was naturally described as Āndhra by the Purāṇas. The nomenclature has no connection with the Andhaka subdivision of the Yādavas, who had no connection with the Sātavāhanas. Nor does it seem to be connected with the rivulet Āndhra flowing near Kārlī¹.

We have tried above to explain the derivation of the term Āndhra as applied to our dynasty in the Purāṇas. But the derivation of the term Sātavāhana, as used for this house in inscriptions and literature is not easy to understand or explain. Rapson has observed that Sātavāhana was the name of a clan and Sātakarni was the name of the dynasty². He has adduced no evidence in support of the theory. It may be pointed out that Sātavāhana is clearly a personal name, when it appears on the three early coins which have the legend *raṁno Sātavāhanasa*. It is also a personal name when it is written under one of the statues at Nāṇeghāt. It is clear that Sātavāhana was the founder of the fortunes of his family as Śrī-Gupta was in the case of the Gupta dynasty, and that the descendants in either case were known after the founder as the Sātavāhanas or the Guptas.

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In later times Sālivāhana is used as a variant name for the dynasty, but it occurs nowhere in any contemporary records. The term is used in connection with the Śaka era only after the 13th century, when it was believed to have been founded by a king named Sālivāhana. Rajawade's explanation that the dynasty was called Sālivāhana because its carts (*vāhanas*) were full of rice (*śāli*), which is so plentiful in Āndhra country, cannot be of much help to us, for the simple reason that the family was not known by that name at any time during its existence.

¹ S. A. Joglekar argues that the Sātavāhanas were called Āndhras because they lived on the banks of the river Āndhra flowing near Kārlī. *A.B.O.R.I.*, XXIII, pp. 169-205. If the Sātavāhanas had got the name Āndhra because of the association with the river Āndhra, one wonders why their inscriptions should not have described them as Āndhras at least in some places.

² *B.M.C.A.*, p. xv.

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Several derivations have been suggested for the term Sātavāhana, but none of them can be regarded as convincing. The root *san* in Sanskrit means to give and the term Sātavāhana can therefore be explained as those who used to give conveyances (liberally) (*sātāni vāhanāni yaiḥ*), or as those to whom a conveyance was given (as a mark of honour by their overlords) (*Sātāni vāhanāni yebhyah*). Gopalachari has proposed the latter derivation and suggested that the Sātavāhanas were so called because they had received from their overlords, the Mauryas, a conveyance as a mark of appreciation of their service¹. This is a possible explanation, but we do not know whether it is historically true. The first explanation refers to a legend recorded in the *Tirthakalpa* of Jinaprabhasūri as to how the founder of the dynasty was the son of a maiden through Śeṣa, how he was bred up in a potter's house where he used to make toy carts and horses for giving to his playmates, and how they were endowed with life by Śeṣa, the father of the boy in order to meet an invasion. This explanation is more interesting than historical. The same remark has to be made about another legend narrated in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*² where we are told how a Yakṣa named Sāta fell in love with a sage's daughter from whom he got a son; as his presence was disliked, he used to assume the form of a lion and carry the boy on his back; hence he was called Sātavāhana.

Przyluski thinks that *Sāta* and *vāhana*, the constituents of Sātavāhana, are both Muṇḍa words; the former is the Sanskritisation of the Muṇḍa word *sadam* meaning a horse and the latter of *hapan* meaning a son. Sātavāhanas were "sons of horse" as they believed themselves to be born of the chief queen with the sacrificial horse in the Aśvamedha sacrifice³. This derivation appears to be extremely fanciful. So many kings in the Purāṇic dynasties as well as in historic ruling families were celebrated performers of the Aśvamedha sacrifice; the descendants of none of them adopted the surname of *Aśvaputras* or *Vājiputras*. Why should the Sātavāhanas, who had championed the Vedic religion and the Prākṛt language, accept a surname derived from the Muṇḍa language? The earliest Sātavāhana king to celebrate the horse-sacrifice was Sātakarni I; but we find the founder of the dynasty bore this name, though he is not known to have performed any horse-sacrifice. The theory of Przyluski is thus hardly convincing.

Barnett identifies Sātavāhanas or Sātakarnis with Sātiyaputras of Aśoka's inscriptions⁴. The latter, however, were in the extreme south of India and were outside Aśoka's dominions along with the Colas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Keraḷas. It may be, therefore, doubted whether any scion of the stock had migrated to the Deccan to found the Sātavāhana empire. Further, Barnett takes *Sāta* to be a proper name and *vāhana* as a descendant; Sātavāhana thus becomes the

¹ Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, p. 31.

² I, 67.

³ J.R.A.S., 1929, p. 273.

⁴ C.H.I., I, p. 599.

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descendant of Sāta. The Canarese word for the son is *magana*, but it becomes *vagana*, when it is the second member of the compound; Sātavāgana was later Sanskritised into Sātavāhana. Barnett derives the name Sātakarni in the same manner. *Kanyā*, daughter, must have had a masculine form also as *Kanya*; Sātakanya or Sātakanna or Sātakarna would be a son or descendant of Sāta¹. On several coins Sāta appears as a proper name, and there is nothing improbable in Sātavāhana or Sātakarni meaning a descendant of Sāta. But one does not feel quite certain when one has to postulate a Sanskrit word *kanya* for the son or when one has to accept *vāhana* as a natural transformation of the Canarese word *magana*.

It has also been suggested that *vāhana* and *karni* both mean 'oars' and Sātavāhanas were so called because they had many ships with hundred oars². It is a possible derivation, but we have no evidence of the Sātavāhanas being a great naval power. Jayaswal took Sāta as a corruption of *Svāti* meaning a sword and interpreted Sātavāhana as one who carried a sword, i.e. one who is a warrior³. The word *Svāti* for a sword is not in general use and the name should have been *Sātavāhī* and not *Sātavāhana*, if it was intended to denote a warrior.

The sun's carriage is drawn by seven horses and he can, therefore, be well described as *saptavāhana*, which can be easily transformed into *sātavāhana*. S. A. Joglekar has, therefore, argued that the Sātavāhanas were so called because they were the devotees of the sun⁴. We may, however, point out that the sun does not figure among the several deities to whom homage has been paid at the beginning of the larger Nāneghāt inscription.⁵ Among the numerous donations of the dynasty recorded in its inscriptions, there is none in favour of the sun or a solar temple. It is, therefore, far from certain as to whether the Sātavāhanas were really devotees of the sun and owed their family name to the circumstance.

The name Sātakarni appears frequently in the dynastic list and deserves a few remarks. Rapson's view that it denoted the dynasty is not at any rate true of its early period. The name is borne only by two early rulers before the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarni. It, however, becomes more common in later times. In the Tarhālā hoard we have the legends of Kaṇa Sātakarni, Kubha Sātakarni, Khada Sātakarni, and Śaka Sātakarni. It is likely that these later rulers may have used the term Sātakarni as a family name or surname, but there is so far no evidence of the earlier rulers having done so.

The derivation of the term Sātakarni is as uncertain as that of Sātavāhana. A sage named Sātakarni is referred to in the *Raghu-varṇā* XIII, 38-40; so the name was not uncommon. But what

¹ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. IX, p. 327.

² *Aravamuthan, Kaveri, Maikhari and the Sangam Age*, p. 63.

³ *History of India*, p. 168.

⁴ *A. B. O. R. I.*, XXVIII, p. 237 ff.

⁵ [This is not correct. Homage is paid to both the sun and the moon in that inscription V.V.M.]

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it means it is difficult to say. Barnett explains the term as the descendant of Sāta, as pointed out already. But we do not know whether Sanskrit had really a word like *kanna* denoting the son. Rajawade has explained the word in a different way. *Saptakarna* means bulls or horses whose ears were marked with the figure seven; Sātakarnis were those who had several bullocks or horses whose ears were so marked. One, however, does not know why the Sātakarnis should have had bulls or horses marked with figure of seven only, and not with any other figure. It must be admitted that the proper derivation of the term Sātakarni is not yet known to us. Sāta, Sāti and Svāti were its abbreviations and Sātakarni, Sālakaṇa and Svātikarna were its variations.

The Sātavāhanas were Brāhmaṇas by caste. Gautamīputra is described in his mother's eulogy not only as *ekabamhaṇa*, the pre-eminent or unique Brāhmaṇa, but also as *Khatiyadapamā-nadamana*, 'the destroyer of the pride and haughtiness of the Kṣatriyas'. This would show that he was not a Kṣatriya, but a Brāhmaṇa. Sātakarni I (or his widow) had celebrated a number of Sattras like *gavāmayana*, which could be performed by Brāhmaṇas only. It is, therefore, evident that the Sātavāhanas were Brāhmaṇas who had, like their contemporaries, the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas, given up the sacrificial laddle for the sword.

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A few words are necessary at the outset about the number of the kings in the dynasty, their names, reign-periods and the total duration of the rule of the family. We have assumed that the dynasty consisted of 30 kings as stated in the *Vāyu*, the *Brahmāṇḍa*, the *Bhāgavata* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. It must be, however, pointed out that though these Purāṇas agree with one another in giving the number of rulers as thirty, they do not give 30 names. Different manuscripts of the *Vāyu* give 17, 18, or 19 names only; the *Brahmāṇḍa* gives 17, the *Bhāgavata* 23 and the *Viṣṇu* 23 or 24. On the other hand, while the *Matsya* states that there were only 19 kings, three of its manuscripts give as many as 30 names. Shorter lists usually omit kings Nos. 4-5, 9-14 and 24-25 of the list of kings accepted in this work. On the other hand, there are at least half a dozen kings known from coins and inscriptions whose names do not occur in the Purāṇic list. The data at our disposal is thus far from satisfactory to determine either the number of kings or their relative order. We have assumed as a tentative hypothesis that the Purāṇic list of 30 kings may be taken as approximately correct and have given our account on that basis. The kings known from coins and inscriptions but not occurring in the Purāṇic list, may perhaps have belonged to collateral branches. Their problem will be discussed at the end in a separate section.

There is considerable uncertainty also about the exact duration of the rule of the dynasty. We have already shown how the tradition in the *Bhaviṣya* Purāṇa of the Āndhra rule lasting for 300 years cannot be accepted. The dynasty had obviously ruled for more than 400 years. Our authorities are not unanimous about the exact duration. According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the dynasty

ruled for 460 years, according to the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Viṣṇu* for 456½ years and according to the *Vāyu* for 411 years. If we total together the reigns of the individual kings and accept the longer reign-periods where two are given, the duration of the dynasty is found to be 457½ years. According to the hypothesis accepted by us, the dynasty ruled from c. 222 B.C. to 226 A.D. and thus ruled for 448 years.

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We are not likely to be far wrong in this assumption. The *Purāṇas* appear to have had a fairly reliable tradition. In the case of four kings ruling almost successively,—Hāla, Maṇḍalaka, Sundara Svātikarṇa and Cakora Svātikarṇa,—they record very short reign periods of 5, 5, 1 and ½ year, respectively. This must be due to a definite and reliable tradition existing about their short rule. The *Purāṇas* assign a rule of 29 years to Gautamīputra Yājñaśrī Sātakarṇi, and we have found a record of his dated in the 25th year. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi ruled for 29 years according to *Purāṇas* and we have one of his records dated in his 24th regnal year. In the case of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, there is a discrepancy; the *Purāṇas* give him a reign of 21 years, while epigraphs show that he ruled at least for 24 years. But the discrepancy is a small one and does not affect seriously our general conclusion that the reigns as given in the *Purāṇic* tradition may be accepted as correct as a working hypothesis. It will be further shown how most of the known facts of history as determined by epigraphical, numismatic and foreign sources are quite in consonance with the main outline of the *Purāṇic* chronology.

A few words of caution, however, are necessary about the names of individual rulers and their reign-periods. Sometimes there is considerable difference in the form and spelling of the names of individual kings. Thus Śimuka appears as Śīśuka and Sindhuka, Sātakarṇi I as Mallakarṇi, Pūrṇotsaṅga as Pūrṇasaṅga, etc. We have selected that spelling which appeared to be the most probable one; but there is no certainty about its absolute correctness. Individual reign-periods are given only in some *Purāṇas* and they often differ. In the case of the 2nd king, Kṛṣṇa, the reign-period is 18 years according to some authorities and 10 years according to others. The 15th king Pulomā I ruled for 36 years according to one authority and for 24 years according to another. Reign-periods of the 19th king Purīndrasena and the 27th king Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi are not given at all. In such cases, we have been mainly guided by known or probable incidents of history in determining their probable reign-periods. It should be clearly understood that the dates given by us are merely tentative.

According to the unanimous testimony of the *Purāṇas*, Śimuka (Śrīmukha) was the founder of the dynasty¹. The dynasty, however, is expressly described as Sātavāhana-kula in several epigraphical records including the earliest ones. Just as the Gupta

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¹ His name is also spelt as Śimuka, Śipraka, Sindhuka, etc. But Śimuka may be taken to be the correct form, since it occurs in the Nānēghāt inscription, which is an almost contemporary and official record.

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dynasty owes its nomenclature to its progenitor king Gupta, who was undoubtedly a historical personage, it may well be argued that the Sātavāhana dynasty also owed its name to its founder bearing that name. In this connection it is worth noting that the Nāṇeghāt inscriptions expressly describe Śimuka as Sātavāhana. The Nāsik inscription of Kṛṣṇa describes him as born in the Sātavāhana family. One of his grandsons bore the name of Sātavāhana. It is very likely that like king Gupta of the Gupta dynasty, king Sātavāhana of the Sātavāhana house occupied an humble status and was not an independent ruler of any consequence. He, however, probably laid the foundation of the future greatness of his house and posterity gratefully remembered him by naming the family after him. Some later princes of the family were given the founder's name as occurred in many other houses of ancient India. How much earlier than the time of Śimuka, king Sātavāhana, flourished we do not know. But since Śimuka calls himself Sātavāhana and his brother Kṛṣṇa is described as born in the Sātavāhana family, it may not be improbable that he may have been the father of the two brothers¹. In the phrase Śimuka Sātavāhana of the Nāṇeghāt record, Sātavāhana may be a *taddhita* from Sātavāhana, meaning the son of Sātavāhana. As Aśoka's empire was more or less firmly rooted in the Deccan down to c. 240 B.C., it is not likely that Sātavāhana, the eponymous ancestor of the family, could have lived much earlier than Śimuka. We may, therefore, well assume as a tentative hypothesis that Śimuka's father was Sātavāhana. The Purāṇas may have omitted his name as he was eclipsed by his son Śimuka, who established the independence of the family.

Recently, however, three coins have been found bearing the clear legend Sātavāhana. Two of them are in copper and the third in lead. On the obverse they have elephant with the legend *Sirī Sādavāhanasa*; on the reverse there is the Ujjayinī symbol. Prof. Mirashi, who published the first Sātavāhana coin, says that Sātavāhana preceded Śimuka and Kṛṣṇa by some generations. The Purāṇas he argues, do not name him, probably because he was a local ruler who had not yet attained imperial status; that he had declared independence is, however, clear from his coins².

There are serious difficulties in accepting the above view. Prof. Mirashi places the rise of the Sātavāhanas under Śimuka in c. 225 B.C. The time of Sātavāhana, who preceded him by a few generations, could not be earlier than c. 275 B.C. At that time the Mauryas were ruling over Northern India and the Deccan and even they had not started issuing inscribed coins. It is, therefore, difficult to imagine how a small feudatory of theirs, ruling in the far off Deccan, should have thought of issuing inscribed currency, which was then practically unknown in India. If, however, we do not attribute these Sātavāhana coins to the founder of the dynasty, we are faced with the inconvenient fact of there being no later ruler in the dynasty

¹ [Had Kṛṣṇa been a son of Sātavāhana, the inscription would have used *Sātavāhana-puṛa* (not *Sātavāhana-kula*) *Kaṇhe rājani*.—V.V.M.].

² J. N. S. I., Vol. VII, pp. 3-4.

who bore that name and who could, therefore, be regarded as their issuer. Nāneghāt inscriptions no doubt refer to Kumāra Sātavāhana as one of the sons of Sātakarṇi, but he does not figure in the Purāṇic list. It is not unlikely that Kumāra Sātavāhana of the Nāneghāt inscriptions survived his elder brother, who died in his minority, and ascended the throne with the *biruda* of Pūrṇotsaṅga, which alone is preserved by the Purāṇas. The time of this ruler was c. 175 B.C., when inscribed coins had begun to be issued in Mathurā, Pāñcāla and Kauśāmbī. Sātavāhana *alias* Pūrṇotsaṅga may also have started them in the Deccan and the three Sātavāhana coins may be ascribed to him. This theory, however, is a mere hypothesis and lacks positive proof.

Sātavāhana, the father of Śimuka was probably a mere feudatory under Aśoka. Śahājī paved the way of the future greatness of Śivājī, though he remained all along a feudatory. In the same way Sātavāhana may have helped the rise of his son Śimuka to independence by the secret preparation he made in his life time. His time may be presumed to be c. 245 to c. 222 B.C.

Śālivāhana, the reputed founder of the Śaka era, is undoubtedly confused in later tradition with Sātavāhana, the founder of the dynasty of that name. The latter, however, neither founded an era nor flourished at c. 78 A.D., when the era started. The Sātavāhana records use regnal years and not any era; the era of 78 A.D. began to be called Śālivāhana Śaka only after c. 1300 A.D.¹ The Sātavāhanas had nothing to do with its foundation; it was a Scythian era.

Sātavāhana was succeeded by his son Śimuka, who may be presumed to have declared independence in c. 222 B.C., about ten years after the death of Aśoka. The Purāṇas unanimously give him a reign of 23 years; we may, therefore, presume that he ruled from c. 222 to 199 B.C.

Western India and Mahārāṣṭra were studded with Rāṭhikas and Bhojakas even during the reign of Aśoka and they enjoyed a semi-independent status. When the Mauryan empire began to disintegrate, they must have declared independence. Sātavāhana and Śimuka probably belonged to one such Rāṭhika or Bhojaka family². The opposition to their founding a new kingdom must have proceeded partly from the Central Mauryan Government and partly from other Rāṭhikas and Bhojakas, many of whom must have aspired to become the head of a new Deccan State. Śimuka overcame this twofold opposition successfully, but how he did it we do not yet know.

Śimuka is known from a relieve statue of his found in Nāneghāt which bears the legend *Simuka Sātavāhano* under it. Whether his home and capital was somewhere² in the territory in which the

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¹ [The earliest record calling it as the era of Śālavāhana is dated A. D. 1251, E. I., XXVI, p. 210, V. V. M.].

² Those who hold that the Sātavāhanas were Āndhras argue that the capital of Śimuka was at Pithwāṇḍa, and with that as his base, he proceeded to subjugate all the Rāṭhikas and Bhojas and annexed all the territory up to Nāneghāt. *Sātavāhana Commemoration Volume*, p. 55.

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Nāneghāt is situated, or whether it was near Pratiṣṭhāna, which soon became the capital of the dynasty, we do not know, nor do we have any definite information about the extent of his kingdom. Probably it may have extended from Nāsik to Pratiṣṭhāna or Paithan.

The Purāṇas state that Śimuka overthrew and killed Suśarman, the last Kāṇva ruler and also mopped out the remains of the Suṅga power. This would suggest that he advanced into the Gangetic plain, perhaps penetrated to Pāṭaliputra, and for some time occupied that imperial capital. Such an achievement for the founder of a ruling family in Western India is difficult to believe. In later times the Rāṣṭrakūṭas defeated the rulers of the imperial families of Northern India, but this feat became possible for them only during the 3rd and 4th reigns of their house. We have shown already that Śimuka was not a contemporary of Suśarman, who died in c. 25 B.C. A feat that was done by a later Sātavāhana king by the middle of the 1st century B.C. has been wrongly ascribed to Śimuka by the Purāṇas. Śimuka was too small a king even to venture an expedition in the Gangetic plain, much less to score a sensational victory in it.

There is a Jain tradition stating that the first Sātavāhana king built Jain temples, but that in the closing years of his reign he became wicked and was dethroned and killed¹. Whether this tradition is trustworthy we do not know. The statues of Śimuka, Kṛṣṇa and Sātavāhana which are preserved at Nāneghāt, would suggest that the three kings had normal careers and reigns. It does not appear probable that either Sātavāhana or his son Śimuka was dethroned and killed.

The revolts of Cetis in Kalinga and Śimuka in Mahārāṣṭra were almost simultaneous. It would appear that the Āndhras, who had a powerful kingdom before the rise of the Mauryas² also revolted at about the same time and founded a kingdom of their own in the Kṛṣṇa-Godāvarī doab. This kingdom was, however, different from that of the Sātavāhanas and appears to have come to an end when Khāravela destroyed its capital Pithuṇḍa in c. 190 B.C.

Kṛṣṇa
c. 199-189 B.C. Śimuka probably had no son and was, therefore, succeeded by his younger brother Kṛṣṇa. Unfortunately history knows very little about the career and achievements of this ruler. We may presume that he was co-operating with his elder brother during his reign³ and that he continued the work of expansion after the latter's death. Since Śimuka had ruled for 23 years; it is not likely that Kṛṣṇa, who was his younger brother, had a long reign. We may, therefore, assume that the Vāyu Purāṇa which ascribes to him a reign of ten years, is likely to be more correct than the *Matsya* which makes him rule for

¹ J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. X, p. 134.

² According to Pliny their army consisted of 1,00,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. They had thirty towns defended by walls and towers. *Natural History*, Book VI, 21-3.

³ The absence of his statue at Nāneghāt may be accidental; we need not necessarily infer from it that the two brothers were not on cordial terms. It may be further pointed out that there is clear evidence to show that two statues have disappeared. One of these may have been that of Kṛṣṇa.

18 years. It is not unlikely that Kṛṣṇa may have added southern Mahārāṣṭra and Konkan to his ancestral dominion. This statement, however, is based upon mere conjecture.

Kṛṣṇa's administration was to some extent modelled on that of the Mauryas. The only epigraph of his, known so far, refers to a cave excavated by a Nāsik official, who is described as *Samañānam mahāmātra*. Obviously this office of *Samañānam mahāmātra* was analogous to Dharmamahāmātras of Aśoka. The officer was expected to look after the Buddhist establishments and meet their needs. The Sātavāhanas were Hindus, and yet we find them solicitous about the welfare of the Buddhists.

The cave excavated in Kṛṣṇa's reign is the earliest one at Nāsik and is therefore naturally of no high architectural grandeur. Pillars have no capitals; they are square at the top and bottom and octagonal in the middle.

The next ruler of the dynasty was king Sātakarṇi¹. It is difficult to state whether he was the son or nephew of Kṛṣṇa. Purāṇas make him Kṛṣṇa's son, but the relievo figures at Nāneghāt however omit Kṛṣṇa altogether. First comes the statue of Śimuka, then those of Śrī Sātakarṇi, Nāganikā and Kumāra Bhāya. Then there is empty space of two statues now lost, after which follow the statues of Mahārāṭhī Traṇakayira, the father of Nāganikā, Kumāra Hakuśiri and Kumāra Sātavāhana. Kṛṣṇa is omitted altogether. This is rather inexplicable, if Kṛṣṇa were the father of Sātakarṇi. The order of the statues suggests that Sātakarṇi was the son of Śimuka. We have, however, assumed that the Purāṇic tradition is correct and taken Sātakarṇi to be the son of Kṛṣṇa.

A flood of light is thrown upon the Sātavāhana history of the time of Sātakarṇi and his predecessors and successors by several inscriptions discovered at Nāneghāt. The inscriptions are, however, mutilated and lend themselves to several conflicting interpretations. Bühler, who last edited the Nāneghāt inscriptions, maintained that the larger inscription was engraved during the minority of prince Vediśrī, when his mother Nāganikā was ruling as queen-regent. This view has been recently challenged by Prof. V. V. Mirashi, who maintains that Vediśrī was not a minor but a ruling king at the time when the record was incised². Bhagwanlal Indrajī, who first edited the inscriptions also thought that it was incised not during the regency of Nāganikā, but in the reign of her son Vediśrī³. Nāganikā is usually taken to be the widow of king Sātakarṇi, but since her relievo figure at Nāneghāt follows that of Śimuka and precedes that of Sātakarṇi, it is possible to argue, as Dr. Katare

¹ Mallakarṇi and Santakarṇi are two other variations of the name of this ruler.

² J.N.S.I., XIV, p. 26f. Prof. Mirashi does not construe the term *Kumāravarā* with word Vedisrī immediately following, but takes it to be the name of Kārttikeya, to whom homage is paid along with other deities.

³ J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XIII, p. 312.

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Kṛṣṇa
c. 189-189 B.C.

Sātakarṇi I
c. 189-179 B.C.

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has done¹; that Nāganikā was the wife of Śimuka and mother of Sātakarṇi. The Nāneghāt inscriptions further refer to Vediśrī and Sati, princes Bhāya, Hakuśrī and Sātavāhana. It is not yet possible to determine with certainty the relations of these princes either with Nāganikā or Śimuka or Sātakarṇi, nor can we identify them with any rulers mentioned in the Purāṇas.

Nāneghāt inscriptions undoubtedly refer to a mighty ruler ruling over the entire Deccan. The inscription of Khāravela also refers to a king named Sātakarṇi, ruling over the Deccan; he eventually succeeded in stemming the tide of Khāravela's invasion. We, therefore, assume that it is king Sātakarṇi, the third ruler of the dynasty, whose greatness and victories are described in the larger Nāneghāt inscription and that Nāganikā was his widow. The Purāṇas give a reign of only ten years to Sātakarṇi and it is, therefore, quite possible that his widow Nāganikā may have survived him by several years. Possibly she was a regent in the beginning². Kumāra Bhāya may have been a brother of king Sātakarṇi or a son of his who died early. Vediśrī Hakuśrī and Sātavāhana³ were probably the sons of king Sātakarṇi and queen Nāganikā. Vediśrī and Hakuśrī probably died in their childhood and Sātavāhana succeeded his father at the end of the regency with the *biruda* of Pūrṇotsaṅga. It should be however clearly understood that all these hypotheses are pure assumptions; we have no evidence to substantiate them, or any other rival theory, as proved facts of sober history.

Let us now revert to the career of king Sātakarṇi. Nāganikā's inscription at Nāneghāt describes him, as the first and the most prominent hero on the earth (*pathaviya pāthamavīrasa*), whose victorious army met no opposition (*apratihatacakasa*), who was the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha and who performed Rājasūya once and Aśvamedha twice. It is therefore, quite clear that Sātakarṇi had a number of victories to his credit which eventually made him the lord of the Deccan. Who his opponents were, is, however, not known.

It is not, however, possible to determine the precise extent of his kingdom. Dakṣiṇāpatha vaguely denotes the Deccan but this need not necessarily prove that the dominion of Sātakarṇi covered the entire peninsula. In the first century A.D., we find the Periplus distinguishing Dachinabades (Dakṣiṇāpatha) from Damarica, the extreme south of the peninsula. Dakṣiṇāpatha, over which Sātakarṇi ruled obviously excluded that portion of the peninsula which was to the south of Mysore. Khāravela's record shows that in the Eastern Deccan there was a Draviḍa confederacy in c. 200 B.C. It would, therefore, appear that Sātakarṇi I did not rule over the eastern Deccan as well. We would not be far wrong if we assume that his dominions included the modern States of Mahārāṣṭra and Mysore. His

¹ I. H. Q., XXVII, p. 213.

² [This is not likely. See her description in the Nāneghāt inscription as one who used to fast for a month, lived in her house the life of an ascetic, was self-controlled etc.—V.V.M.].

³ It is possible to argue that Hakuśrī and Sātavāhana were the grandsons of Sātakarṇi and sons of Vediśrī.

queen Nāgānikā belonged to Kaṭalāya family, coins issued by which no doubt at later date, have been found in Mysore. Kaṭalāyas were Mahārāthis and therefore merely feudatories and we may then well presume that the former princely State of Mysore was also included in Sātakarṇi's dominion. This is also suggested by his title Dakṣiṇāpathapati. The conquest of Bombay, Karnātak and Mysore was probably the achievement of Sātakarṇi. He may have celebrated it by the performance of one of his two Aśvamedhas.

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A fairly large number of copper coins have been found in Mālṽ with the legend Sirī Sātasa, and it has, therefore, been assumed by some scholars that Mālṽ might have been annexed by king Sātakarṇi I¹. Mālṽ has always been a bone of contention between the imperial powers of the north and the south and had changed hands frequently in the course of Indian history. There is, therefore, nothing improbable in Sātakarṇi having annexed it to his dominion in c. 180, when the Mauryan power had collapsed and the Śuṅgas had not yet succeeded in firmly establishing themselves. It is, however, not unlikely that king Sāta of the Mālṽ coins may be Sātakarṇi II. If Sātakarṇi I had conquered Mālṽ, it could be retained by his house only for a short time. For we find Agnimitra, the crown-prince of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, ruling there as Viceroy in c. 160 B.C.

According to the chronology accepted by us, king Khāravela of Kāliṅga was a contemporary of Sātakarṇi I and gave him considerable trouble. In the second year of his reign he sent an expedition to the West defying the power of Sātakarṇi and attacked Musikanagara, situated on the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the Musi, about 100 miles south east of the city of Hyderābād. Two years later he penetrated perhaps further west, as he claims to have received allegiance from a number of Rāṭhikas and Bhojakas, who were Sātavāhana feudatories ruling in Mahārāṣṭra. The humiliation of these feudatories must have been a blow to the prestige of Sātakarṇi. It appears that he was taken by surprise by these unexpected invasions and lost his ground in the beginning. He, however, soon managed to put his eastern frontier in a proper state of defence. Khāravela does not claim to have undertaken any further expedition against Sātakarṇi later than his 4th year. We may, therefore, well presume that Sātakarṇi soon succeeded in re-establishing his authority right up to the eastern border of the former State of Hyderābād.

Sātakarṇi was a devout orthodox Hindu and celebrated a number of Vedic sacrifices. These are all enumerated with due pomp by his widowed queen in her famous inscription at Nāneghāt. Two of these, Rājasūya and Aśvamedha (which was performed twice) undoubtedly had political significance and probably commemorated important victories or achievements. Others were purely religious. Among these were Agnyādheya, Āptoryāma, Daśārātra, Bhagāla-daśārātra, Trayodaśārātra, Aṅgirasatirātra, Śatātirātra and Chandopavamānatirātra. Gavāmāyanasattra was performed twice. Only Brāhmaṇas are entitled to perform this *sattra*; this would show that the Sātavāhanas belonged to that caste.

¹ C.H.I., I, p. 522.

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Honoraria to the presiding priests were given on these occasions in a liberal way. In the Aśvamedha sacrifice for example the *dakṣiṇā* consisted of an elephant, a horse with its silver accoutrement, a village and 14,000 *Kārṣāpaṇas*¹. In Gavāmāyana, the honorarium consisted of 10,000 cows.

The Nāneghāt record opens with a salutation to Prajāpati, Dharma, Indra, Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva of Candravamśa, and the four Lokapālas—Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Vāsava. It is interesting to note that at the time of the record Vāsava was distinguished from Indra and Yama from Dharma. Sātakarṇi had also a leaning towards the Bhāgavata school, which was becoming popular at this time; for Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, mentioned in the record, are the special deities of that school. Whether the last deity referred to in the record is Kumāra or Kārtikeya is not quite certain².

The Purāṇas unanimously allot a reign of only ten years to this ruler. It seems to be rather short for his numerous achievements. But the short reign is confirmed by the Nāneghāt inscription, which shows that his queen Nāganikā had to act as regent for a long time after the death of her illustrious husband³. The king left behind him not more than three sons, again showing that his life was cut short in its prime. The Nāneghāt records make distinct reference to three princes, Kumāra Vediśrī, Hakuśarī and Sātavāhana. The Purāṇas, however, unanimously state that the successor of Sātakarṇi was Pūrṇotsaṅga. Pūrṇotsaṅga was probably a *biruda* of one of these princes, most probably Sātavāhana. One of the Nāsik records mentions a donation by a lady who is described as a daughter of the royal minister and a grand-daughter of Mahāhakuśrī. Scholars have identified the grand-father of this lady with prince Hakuśarī, the son of Sātakarṇi. This, however, appears to be extremely improbable. The characters of the record definitely belong to the 1st and 2nd century A.D. The record gives the titles of all other relations of the lady; some of them are seen to be Amātyas (ministers or officers) and some Bhāṇḍāgārikas (treasurers). But it is strange that Hakuśarī, the grandfather, has no title whatsoever. This would prove that he was a mere commoner and not a king or a prince. The Jain tradition refers to a Sātavāhana king named Śaktikumāra, who is described as a lascivious king. But whether Śaktikumāra, can become Hakuśarī, is not certain. It appears that princes Vediśrī and Hakuśarī though elder ones, did not ascend the throne.⁴ They probably died before attaining majority. The youngest prince Kumāra Sātavāhana seems to have succeeded his father with the *biruda* of Pūrṇotsaṅga. We feel inclined to make this assumption because the coins bearing the legend Sātavāhana undoubtedly belong to the 2nd century B.C. and Kumāra Sātavāhana, the younger son of Sātakarṇi, is the only king

¹ *Kārṣāpaṇas* were silver pieces weighing about one-third tola. They are described as punch-marked silver coins in modern numismatic works.

² (See S.I., Vol. I, pp. 121 f. V.V.M.).

³ (Loc. cit. V.V.M.).

⁴ (It seems, on the other hand, that Vediśrī was reigning at the time. See S. I., Vol. I, pp. 121 f. V.V.M.).

with the name Sātavāhana who could have issued these pieces¹. We, therefore, suggest the identification of Prince Sātavāhana, the younger son of Sātakarṇi, with Pūrṇotsaṅga, mentioned as his successor in the Purāṇas.

The next ruler of the dynasty was Pūrṇotsaṅga² of the Purāṇic list and we have tentatively identified him with *Kumāra* Sātavāhana of the Nāṇeghāt record. He is not known to us from any epigraphs and Purāṇas do not give his relationship with his predecessor, Sātakarṇi I.

If the time allotted to this ruler is correct, he may well have come into hostile contact with the Śuṅgas. The Śuṅga crown-prince Agnimitra was ruling at Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhopāl) and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* refers to his conflict with Yajñasena, a king in Berār. The latter had imprisoned his cousin Mādhavasena and had refused to set him free, unless his own brother-in-law, who was a minister under the Mauryas was released by Puṣyamitra. Agnimitra then invaded Berār, defeated its king Yajñasena and got Mādhavasena released. Kālidāsa tells us that he then ordered that Berār should be divided between Yajñasena and his cousin Mādhavasena.

The plot of the drama, as given by Kālidāsa, refers to Yajñasena as an independent king. It is, however, not unlikely that he was under the sphere of influence of the Sātavāhanas. Otherwise, it would appear improbable how an insignificant king should thus boldly challenge the power of Agnimitra and his father Puṣyamitra who was the lord paramount of northern India. The plot of the drama would suggest that Berār was not being directly administered by the Sātavāhanas by c. 150 B.C. It was in the interest of Pūrṇotsaṅga to give diplomatic and military support to Yajñasena, who was a partisan of the Mauryas. For his immediate northern neighbours, the Śuṅgas, who were his rivals in the Deccan, were the deadliest enemies of the Mauryas. This probably was the beginning of the long struggle between the Sātavāhanas and Śuṅgas.

If our suggestion that Kumāra Sātavāhana of the Nāṇeghāt inscription is identical with Pūrṇotsaṅga is correct, the three coins bearing the name Sātavāhana should be attributed to this ruler. At this time c. 150 B.C., coins with the legend giving the king's name had become common in the north. Agnimitra, the Sātavāhana's rival at Vidiśā, had issued coins bearing his own name. Sātavāhana Pūrṇotsaṅga might have emulated his example. These coins have an elephant

¹ Professor V. V. Mirashi has attributed these coins to king Sātavāhana, the founder of the dynasty. He flourished in c. 250 B. C. and at that early period the pattern of inscribed coins was not adopted even by the kings of northern India, who were in closer contact with the Greeks. It, therefore, seems more probable that king Sātavāhana of the three coins was a later ruler and identical with the prince of the name mentioned at Nāṇeghāt. It may be pointed out that we have a similar case in the Vākātaka history. The regent Prabhavati-guptā had three or at least two sons Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena *alias* Pravarasena or Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena; of these Pravarasena, the youngest succeeded to the throne at the end of the regency.

² Pūrṇotsaṅga and Pūrṇasaṅga are other variations of this name. Pūrṇotsaṅga appears to be the correct reading.

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KINGS OF THE
DYNASTY.
SATAVAHANA
Pūrṇotsaṅga
c. 179-161 B.C.

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DYNASTY.
Skandastambhi
161-143 B.C.

Sātakarṇi II.
143-86 B.C.

on one side and the Ujjayinī symbol on the other¹. One of them was found in Koṇḍāpūr excavations and two others were purchased in the former Hyderābād State. It is likely that the type was intended for circulation in the home province of the Sātavāhana empire.

The next ruler Skandastambhi (c. 161-143 B.C.) is a shadowy personality. He is not only not referred to in the inscriptions, but those Purāṇas which give the shorter list of about 18 kings of this dynasty, also usually omit him. His relationship with his predecessor is also not stated. We do not know of any events in his reign. The Purāṇas state that he was succeeded by Sātakarṇi II, but the relationship of the two kings is not given.

Sātakarṇi II (c. 143 B.C. to 87 B.C.) had the longest reign in the dynasty; the Purāṇas unanimously state it to be of 56 years. During the long reign of Sātakarṇi II, the Śuṅga power was on the decline. It is but natural that Sātakarṇi should have taken advantage of this situation and pushed his frontiers further to the north. It appears that after defeating the Śuṅgas, he annexed Mālṡā-Jabalpūr region to the Sātavāhana empire in c. 90 B.C. The Śuṅga king, Bhāga was probably his opponent.

This inference is based almost entirely on the evidence of coins. A large number of coins have been found in Mālṡā and Western India bearing the legend *Siri Sāta* (or Śri Sāti) or Siri Satakaṇiśa. The provenance of the coins published by Rapson was vaguely known as Western India; some of them had elephant with trunk upraised on one side and Ujjayinī symbol on the other², while others substituted the elephant by the lion. In 1942, five more coins of Sāta were published by the present writer; 4 of them had an elephant on one side while the fifth had a lion. Other symbols were similar to those occurring on the Mālṡā coins. In some cases the legend was *Sāta*, in some Sātakarṇi and in some *Raño Śiri Sātakaṇiśa*³. The precise provenance of these coins was not known. Prof. Mirashi published in 1947 a lead round coin of the Bull type with the legend *Raño Śara Sātakaṇiśa*⁴. In 1951 Dr. Katare published a new Sātakarṇi coin found in Hośaṅgābād district of the usual Eran type but having the clear legend *Siri Sātasa*. In 1952 a large number of copper coins collected in Mālṡā have been published, which have the usual Sātavāhana motifs like Elephant, Lion etc., but are uninscribed⁵.

Rapson, Mirashi and Katare are all inclined to ascribe these coins to Sātakarṇi I. This king was a powerful ruler and there is nothing improbable in his having issued some of these coin-types, even

¹ J.N.S.I., VII p. I; XI p. 5.

² B.M.C.A.K. Pl. 1-5-6. Quite recently (in 1952) a large number of copper coins have been published, collected in Mālṡā by Mr. N. R. Advani, which have the usual Sātavāhana motifs of Elephant, Lion, etc., but are uninscribed. One of them contains a fragmentary legend, probably standing for [Sāta] kaṇi, J.N.S.I. XIII.

³ J.N.S.I., IV., pp. 25-28.

⁴ Ibid VIII 18.

⁵ Ibid., XIII, 209.

though he had a short reign of ten years. Inscribed coins had, however, not become common in his time (c. 189-179 B.C.) and were rare even in the Northern India. Tree within railing, river with fish and Ujjayinī symbol, which occur on most of the coins of Sātakarṇi, are characteristically Mālvā symbols and their occurrence on these coins may presuppose the conquest of that province, which had not taken place at the time of Sātakarṇi I; the Śuṅgas were firmly entrenched in Mālvā in 170 B.C. and were trying to interfere with the politics of the Deccan. It is difficult to understand how the coins of their opponent Sātakarṇi I could have become current in their dominion of Mālvā. The coin of Sātakarṇi published by Katare was actually found in Mālvā. It is true that on the strength of palaeography, it has been argued that the Sātakarṇi of the coins should be identified with Sātakarṇi I. But the difference between Sātakarṇi I and II is only about fifty years, and palaeography, especially on coins, will not be able to give any decisive clue. For instance the form of *ta* on the coin of Sāta published by Rapson (Pl. I, 1-2) is almost Aśokan, while that of the same letter on the coin published by Katare shows a round lower limb suggesting a later date. All things considered, I am inclined to attribute most of the early coins¹ having the legend Sāta or Sātakaṇi to Sātakarṇi II². A few of them might have been issued by Sātakarṇi I.

A short record on one of the Sāñcī gateways (*toranas*) refers to its erection by Ānanda, a foreman of king Sātakarṇi. This record renders it probable but not certain that Sātakarṇi, the master of Ānanda, was ruling over Sāñcī. This probably is rendered almost certain by the discovery of the coins of king Sāta or Sātakarṇi in Mālvā. For the reasons, already discussed above, we prefer to identify the king Sātakarṇi of the Sāñcī record with king Sātakarṇi II. Towards the end of the rule of this king (143-87 B.C.) the power of the Śuṅgas had declined, and Mālvā could well have been wrested from them by the Sātavāhanas. According to our view, the Sāñcī gateway was erected some time between 100 and 75 B.C.

Recent numismatic discoveries tend to show that after occupying Mālvā, Sātakarṇi II marched eastwards and occupied Dāhala or Jabalpūr area also. Two copper coins, one with the name Sātakarṇi and the other with the name Sāti, were found in a village at Tewar near Jabalpūr. A third coin of this king was found in the excavations at Tripurī in 1952, in a definitely Śuṅga stratum. Copper coins usually do not travel long and the discovery of these three coins near Jabalpūr makes it fairly certain that their issuer Sātakarṇi II had occupied the province of Dāhala also. This may be a step towards the march on Pāṭaliputra.

Lambodara, c. 87-69 B.C.

Āpilaka, c. 69-57 B.C.

Meghasvāti, c. 57-39 B.C.

Svāti, 30-21 B.C.

¹ King Sātakarṇi of the coins published in *B.M.C.A.*, VII, 179 to G. P. 4, is a ruler of the second century A.D.

² Smith had assigned these points to king Svātikarṇi or Sātakaṇi, the 10th ruler in the Purāṇic list, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1903, p. 607.

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Sātakarṇi II
(143-86 B.C.).

The Purāṇas expressly state that Lambodara was the son of Sātakarṇi II and that he was succeeded by his son Āpilaka. The relationship of the next two rulers with each other or with Āpilaka is not stated. There is divergence among the Purāṇas about the duration of the reign of the last king. We have assumed that he ruled for 12 years rather than 18. The name of this ruler Svāti or Svātikarṇa may have been an abbreviation and corruption of Sātakarṇi.

Very little is known about the political events in the Sātavāhana history of this period, but there are clear indications that the Sātavāhanas were extending their sphere of influence in the east and north-east at this time. There is some evidence to suggest that the Sātavāhanas had annexed Āndhra province during this period. A coin of Meghasvāti, the third ruler of the above group was found in Āndhra province. The legend on the coin is fragmentary and reads only *Ghasada* : but it can hardly stand for the name of any other ruler than Meghasvāti. Its palaeography also suggests that it was issued in the 1st century B.C., and according to our chronology the time of Meghasvāti is 57-39 B.C. A coin of Āpilaka, the 2nd ruler in the above group, was picked up in the Mahānadī, in the Chattisgaḍ division of Madhya Pradesh¹. The find-spot of this coin would tend to show that by c. 60 B.C. the Sātavāhanas were gradually advancing north-east perhaps with Pāṭaliputra as their ultimate goal. They had already occupied Jabalpur in the reign of Sātakarṇi II. It is true that the evidence for the spread of the Sātavāhana rule over Chattisgaḍ and Jubbulpore is very slender; it consists of only the find-spots of solitary coins. But it is confirmed by the Purāṇic tradition which ascribes the conquest of the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas to the Sātavāhanas at c. 50 B.C. The Sātavāhanas must have used Chattisgaḍ and Jubbulpore as spring-boards for the invasion of the Gangetic plain.

The power of the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas was declining during c. 87-21 B.C., when these rulers were ruling. With Chattisgaḍ and Jabalpur in their possession, the Sātavāhanas could well have penetrated into the Gangetic plain. We may therefore well believe the Purāṇic tradition in this respect, which suggests but does not prove that sometime between 75 B.C. and 25 B.C., the Sātavāhanas crossed sword with both these powers and perhaps penetrated right up to Pāṭaliputra. The occupation of Mālṡā and Jabalpur in the time of Sātakarṇi II would also have helped the northern

¹ See J.A.S.B., 1937 N. p. 93 for the coin of Āpilaka. Its legend is *Ramno Sivasiris Āpillakassa*. K. N. Dikshit, who published this coin, thought that its palaeography would place it in the 1st century A.D. rather than in the 1st century B.C. Since no Āpilaka is known to have ruled in the 1st or 2nd century A.D., it is best to attribute the coin to Āpilaka of the 1st century B.C., Palaeography of coins cannot be decisive when the difference is of 100 years only. The coin of Āpilaka is blank on one side, suggesting that it must be fairly early. The spelling of the king's name on the coin as Āpilaka would show that the variations of this king's name as Āpitaka, Āpadava, Āpistava are all due to the textual corruption.

expedition. In later times we find that when the Rāṣṭrakūṭas got a foothold in Mālṡvā, they used it as a spring-board for marching into the Gangetic plain.

We have so far discovered no Sātavāhana coins or inscriptions in the Gangetic plain or at Pāṭaliputra. The reason seems to be the short duration of the Sātavāhana occupation of the Gangetic plain. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* distinctly says that the base-born Āndhra king, who will kill the Kāṇva ruler Suśarman will enjoy the earth (i.e. Pāṭaliputra or Kāṇva dominion) only for a short time¹. The *Yuga-Purāṇa* in the *Gārgī-saṁhitā* states that the excellent Sāta king will frustrate the efforts of the Śakas, desirous of conquering Kāliṅga and Sātavāhana kingdoms, and then rule the earth for ten years only². This statement may, however, refer to the Kuṣāṇa occupation of Kāliṅga in the days of Wīmā Kadphises and Kaniṣka and an attempt to invade the Deccan from the east.

We have marshalled above such evidence, no doubt very slender, as is available at present to suggest the invasion of the Gangetic plain by the Sātavāhanas sometime between c. 50 B.C. and 25 B.C. It is far from conclusive, but renders the Purāṇic account not altogether unbelievable. We cannot state which king or kings are to be credited with this achievement. It may very probably have been Svāti or Svātikarṇa,³ the last ruler of this group, who ruled for eighteen years, from c. 39 to 21 B.C.

The Jain tradition, which states that Sātavāhana was the son of a maiden born from Śeṣa, narrates how king Vikramāditya attacked Paithaṇ in order to kill Sātavāhana. We do not know whether king Vikramāditya, the reputed founder of Vikrama era, was a historic king at Ujjayinī, and if so, whether he was at war with the Sātavāhanas. If there was a war between the two, we shall have to place it sometime during c. 40 and 30 B.C. The Mālavas who were at this time occupying Jaipur-Ajmer area, may not have liked the Sātavāhana occupation of Avanti and Ākara (Mālṡvā) and this may have been the cause of the war. Sātavāhanas, however, retained their hold on Mālṡvā, it may be after a short expulsion by Vikramāditya. The history of the whole period is extremely obscure and we can only suggest some tentative reconstruction on the above lines. Future archaeological discoveries alone will enable us to reconstruct it with confidence and certainty.

The relationship of these four kings is not given by the Purāṇas. They had very short reigns. Together they ruled for 20 years only. This would suggest disputed succession, internal commotion or foreign invasion. It is not unlikely that there was a revolt in the south

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Skandasvāti,
Mrgendra
Svātikarṇa,
Kuntala,
Svātikarṇa,
and Pulomā I
(21 B.C.—22 A.D.)

¹ *Haṭvā Kāṇvaṁ Suśarmanāṁ tad-bhṛtyo vṛśalo baḥ |*
Gāṁ bhokṣyaty Andhra-jāṭīyaḥ kañcit-kālam a-sattamaḥ ||
D.K.A., p. 38.

² J.B.O.R.S., XVI, p. 22.

³ It is quite likely that Svātikarṇa occurring in the name of the king may have been a corruption of Sātakarṇi.

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 Svātikarṇa,
 Kuntala
 Svātikarṇa,
 and Pulomā I
 (21 B.C.—22 A.D.)

during the reigns of Skandasvāti and Mrgendra Svātikarṇa, in which the province of Kuntala was lost and Mrgendra lost his life. His successor may perhaps have reconquered this province and taken the title Kuntala Svātikarṇa. If we are to believe the tradition recorded in the *Kāmasūtra*, this king put an end to the life of his chief queen by a pair of scissors¹. His successor Svātikarṇa had a very short reign of only one year. What was the cause of his quick exit, we do not know.

It is very probable that these short reigns are concealing a number of sordid facts; we, however, get no clue to their nature. Political turmoils and internecine wars might have been rampant. If Pāṭaliputra had been really occupied at c. 25 B.C., it must have been lost during this troubled period. We can therefore well believe in the Purāṇic tradition of a short rule of the Sātavāhanas in the Gangetic plain.

The Purāṇas give no clue to the relationship of Pulomā I, the 4th king in the above list, either to his predecessor or to his successor. His name has been frightfully distorted in different manuscripts of the Purāṇas; some of them credit him with a reign of 24 years and others with 36 years. We have accepted the former alternative. Since this king had a long reign, we may well presume that he restored stability to the empire after the period of anarchy through which it had passed.

Ariṣṭakarṇa.

Pulomā's successor was Ariṣṭakarṇa², and he had also a long reign of 25 years. It was towards the end of his reign that Bhūmaka, the Śaka Kṣatrapa, succeeded in establishing his rule in Gujārāt and Kāthiavād. These provinces did not belong to the Sātavāhana dominions, but towards the end of Ariṣṭakarṇa's reign in c. 45 A.D. Bhūmaka invaded Mālvā. Ariṣṭakarṇa was unable to oppose Bhūmaka and the Sātavāhanas appear to have lost Mālvā towards the end of his reign (c. 47 A.D.).

Hāla
 Maṇṭalaka,
 Purīndrasena,
 Sundara,
 Sātakarṇi,
 Cakora
 Svātikarṇa,
 and Sivasvāti
 (47—86 A.D.)

The next period of about 40 years, during which as many as six kings mentioned above came to throne was undoubtedly a dark period in the history of the Sātavāhana dynasty. The Purāṇas do not enlighten us about the mutual relationship of these six rulers. Their short reigns tell their own tale. The first two kings Hāla and Maṇṭalaka³ ruled for five years each. The reign period of the next king Purīndrasena is not recorded in the Matsya-purāṇa, and is variously given as 12 or 21 years in others. We have assumed it

¹ *Kartaryā Kuntalaḥ Sātakarṇiḥ Sātavāhano Mahādevīm Malayavatīm jaghāna—Kāmasūtra.*

² Nemikṛṣṇa, Nemikarṇa, Ariṣṭavarṇa are some of the important variations of the name of this ruler.

³ Mundulaka, Kundalaka, Pantalaka and Pattallaka are some of the important variations of the name of this ruler.

to be one year only since most of the reigns of this period are of short duration. The next king Sundara Sātakarṇi ruled for one year and his successor Cakora Svātikarṇa¹ for six months only. The Purāṇas must be relying on a definite tradition when they give short reigns of one year and six months. These short reigns may be due to internal revolts, disputed successions or foreign invasions and consequent disruption. There is ample evidence to show that the last is the correct hypothesis in the present case. It will be shown in Chapter VI how the date of Nahapāna can be shown to be c. 60 to 110 A.D. His predecessor Bhūmaka had already conquered Gujārāt and Kāthiavād. Nahapāna conquered Mālvā and then proceeded to attack the Sātavāhana dominion in its home province. There was a long struggle between the two rival houses; one Jain tradition records how the Sātavāhana king used to invest Broach every year. In the earlier phase of the struggle the Śakas inflicted several defeats on the Sātavāhanas; it is not improbable that some of the six kings of the above group had short reigns, because they were killed in war. The defeat on the battle field may have encouraged revolts at home. There may have been also disputed succession owing to sudden deaths of the ruling kings. During this period the Sātavāhanas lost Koṅkaṇ, Northern and Central Māhārāṣṭra and Mālvā. Some kind of stability may have been restored by Śivasvāti who could maintain himself upon the throne for twenty-eight years, from c. 58 to 86 A.D.

The first king of the above group, Hāla, is the reputed author of a Prākṛt anthology of erotic verses named *Gāthāsaptasatī*. A later tradition, as known to Rājaśekhara, asserted that the Sātavāhanas had issued a regulation that Prākṛt alone should be used in their court. All their official records are in Prākṛt; it is therefore no wonder that one of the kings of the dynasty should have completed an anthology of Prākṛt verses. It is likely that some of the poets, whose verses have been selected by Hāla, may have received patronage at his court. A tradition known to Merutuṅga asserted that he paid fabulous sums for the verses he selected. The *Gāthāsaptasatī* in its present form is a redaction of the 4th century A.D.,² but its kernel goes back to the 1st century A.D. and may be assigned to king Hāla. Tradition asserts that Guṇādhya, the author of the original *Bṛhatkathā*, as also Śarvavarman, the author of the Kātantra grammar, were the ministers of king Sātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna. Smith has identified this Sātavāhana with Hāla³ but the identification is by no means certain. Hāla had a short and troubled reign and one may wonder whether it was marked by an extensive literary activity.

A recently published Prākṛt work named *Lilāvai* credits king Hāla with an effort to invade Ceylon⁴. The adventure eventually became unnecessary as the king of Ceylon offered his daughter

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¹ Cakora is one of the mountains which was included in the kingdom of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi. Whether Cakora Sātakarṇi was connected with it we do not know.

² (It is of a still later age. See S. I., Vol. I, pp. 76 f.—V. V. M.)

³ Z.D.M.G., 1902, p. 660.

⁴ *Sātavāhana Commemoration Volume*, p. 100.

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Līlāvati in marriage to Hāla. Hāla had a short reign of five years and the rise of the Śaka power under Bhūmaka and Nahapāna must have rendered any military expedition to Ceylon almost impossible. Sober history is unaware of any Sātavāhana king having ever undertaken an expedition to Ceylon. The feat is not ascribed even to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, the greatest military genius of the dynasty. We need not therefore attach any historical value to the political events casually and cursorily mentioned in the *Līlāvati*.

Śivasvāti¹ the last king of this group, had a fairly long reign of 28 years from c. 58 to 80 A.D. He seems to have succeeded in establishing a stable rule and reorganising the administration in what remained of the old empire. Smith has identified this ruler with Mātharīputra Sivalakura of the Kolhāpūr coins². This identification is, however, untenable; it will be shown later how the Kolhāpūr kings who issued the bow-and-arrow type of coins do not belong to the Sātavāhana dynasty. It is also very doubtful whether he can be identified with king Śakasena of Kānherī inscriptions Nos. 14 and 19.

The Yugapurāṇa of the *Gārgī-saṃhitā* describes the Śaka occupation of Pāṭaliputra and then narrates how the greedy Śaka king will attack the Kāliṅga and Sāta (i.e. Sātavāhana) kingdoms and perish in the attempt. Whether this prophecy has any historical foundation, we do not know. The Śakas never reached Pāṭaliputra. It is possible that Wima Kaḍphises, who had penetrated right up to Pāṭaliputra in c. 70 A.D. may be the king referred to as the Śaka invader. The discovery of the Purī Kuśāṇa coins in large numbers in Orissā renders the invasion of Kāliṅga either by Wima Kaḍphises or Kanīṣka very probable. It may be that Kanīṣka launched an attack on the Sātavāhanas from Kāliṅga, while his Satrapa Nahapāna was harrying them from the north and the west. Śivasvāti and possibly his successor Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi had thus to fight the Scythian war on several fronts. We are only suggesting these possibilities without claiming any definite historicity for them. The evidence available is too slender to warrant a definite conclusion.

Gautamīputra
Sātakarṇi,
c. 86-110 A.D.

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi³ ascended the throne in c. 86 A.D. and ruled for about 24 years. His relationship with his predecessor is not given in the Purāṇas. The fortunes of his family had reached the lowest ebb at the time of his accession. Nahapāna had conquered a number of Sātavāhana provinces and was firmly entrenched there. Kanīṣka was perhaps trying to penetrate from the east. Before the end of his reign, Gautamīputra not only reoccupied all the lost provinces, but also carried the war into Nahapāna's dominions and conquered some of his provinces like Kāthiāvāḍ and Kukura (south-

¹ Z.D.M.G., 1902, p. 602.

² Śivasvāmi is another variation of this name. Śivasvāti may also have stood for Śiva Sātakarṇi.

शकानां सततो राजा ह्यर्थलुब्धो महाबलः । दुष्टभावश्च पापश्च कलिगान्तमुपस्थितः ।
कलिगशातराज्यार्थं विनाशं वै गमिष्यति । J. B.O.R.S. XVI. 22.

³ The Purāṇas assign him a period of 21 years only; the postscript to Nāsik Inscription No. 10 is however dated in the 24th year of his reign. We may therefore presume that he ruled for 24 years.

east Rājputānā). He may, therefore, well claim to be the establisher of the glory of the Sātavāhana dynasty, as he is actually described by his mother in her well-known record at Nāsik. Gautamīputra combined an attractive and majestic personality with rare personal courage and remarkable power of military leadership¹. How he reorganised his forces after their successive defeats in the earlier reigns, and how he reconquered provinces after provinces we do not know. Obviously he must have reconquered Central and Northern Mahārāṣṭra first and Koṅkaṇ thereafter. Eastern and Western Mālṡvā (Ākara-Avantī) and south-east Rājputānā (Kukura) must have been then occupied. A Jain tradition records that the Sātavāhana forces used to invest Bharukacha, the capital of king Naravāhana (obviously Nahapāna) every year for a long time, but without success. It is obvious that the struggle between the two dynasties was a long and protracted one and seems to have lasted for the greater part of the reign of Gautamīputra. Each side tried to weaken the other by diverting the ships to its main port—Kalyāṇ in the case of the Sātavāhanas and Broach in the case of Nahapāna. Eventually not only was Nahapāna overthrown, but his whole Kṣaharāta family was uprooted². Apparently there were some Śaka and Pārthian feudatories of Nahapāna in Kāthiāvāḍ; they shared the same fate³ and that province was also annexed. Gautamīputra celebrated his memorable victory over Nahapāna by recalling his silver currency and over-stamping it with his own symbols and legend. A large hoard of such coins was found at Jogathembī near Nāsik in 1907.

The precise extent of Gautamīputra's entire dominion is not easy to determine. The question whether his mother's inscription describes his entire dominion or names only the provinces he had conquered is hotly debated. That all the provinces of the kingdom are not mentioned would be clear from the circumstance that southern Mahārāṣṭra, and Karnāṭaka which undoubtedly formed part of Gautamīputra's kingdom are omitted from the list. The provinces mentioned are probably the important ones in the kingdom of Gautamīputra; they included Āsmaka (district watered by the lower Godāvarī), Mūlaka (Paithaṇ district), Vidarbha (Berār), Ākara and Avanti (Mālṡvā), Kukura (south-eastern Rājputānā), Surāṭha (Kāthiāvāḍ) and Aparānta (Koṅkaṇ). That Gautamīputra's empire extended much further to the south and the east is shown by the inclusion of the mountain Siritana (Śrīstana or Śrīśaila in Kurnool district) and mountain Mahendra which was situated between the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī. The inclusion of Mahendra mountain and Āsmaka would show that Āndhradeśa formed an integral part of the empire. We have shown already how it was conquered as early as 75 B.C. during the reign of Sātakarṇi II.

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¹ Cf. *Patipunnacandamanḍalasarikapiyadasanasa varavāranavikamacāruvīkamaśa aparimitam anekasamarāvajita-ripu-saghasa, ... ekasūrasa Nāsik Iscr. No. 2*

² *Khaharatavansa-niravasesakarasa.*

³ *Śaka-Yavana-Pallava-nisūdanasa.* It is doubtful whether there were also some Yavana principalities in the Deccan or Central India which Gautamīputra could have crushed. The mention of Yavanas is probably conventional.

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The view that it was conquered only in the days of the next king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvī, seems untenable. The non-discovery of the coins of Gautamīputra in that province is purely accidental¹. The description of Gautamīputra as one whose draft animals had drunk water of the three oceans² would also suggest that Āndhradeśa was included in his kingdom.

The exact southern extent of the kingdom of Gautamīputra is not easy to determine. Ptolemy mentions as the contemporaries of Polemaios (Puṣumāvī, the successor of Gautamīputra), Baleokuros of Hippokoura, Kerolothros (Keralaputra) of Karoura (Karur) and Pandion of Modoura (Madurā). It is doubtful whether Puṣumāvī had made any fresh conquests in the south. Śrīstana hill in Kurnool district is expressly included in Gautamīputra's dominion. It may have included part of the Coromandal coast. But the territories to the south and south-west of Mysore were excluded from it.

The prosperity and stability of the reign of Gautamīputra is fairly reflected in his coinage³. When he exterminated the Kṣaharāta family, he recalled the silver currency of Nahapāna and counterstruck it with the legend giving his name; he also introduced the symbols of his dynasty on the coins like Caitya above the river, Ujjayinī symbol etc. Whether Gautamīputra imitated the example of Nahapāna and issued his own silver currency is difficult to state. The Jogathermbī hoard, which contained more than 10,000 silver coins counterstruck by Gautamīputra, contained not a single silver coin which was his own issue. The coins in the hoard were in circulation for more than twenty-five years, and if they contained no silver coins of Gautamīputra, the presumption is that he issued none. We have however recently found a few rare silver coins, having the legend Gautamīputra only. They are most probably the issues of Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi⁴.

Gautamīputra however issued a large number of potin coins with Elephant on the obverse and the Caitya on the reverse. In the Tarhālā hoard of about 1,200 decipherable coins, 573 were of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. The attribution of large round potin coins with Elephant on the obverse and Tree with large leaves on the reverse to Gautamīputra is doubtful, as there is no full and clear legend upon them. The term Gautamī is there on these coins, but they could as well have been issued by Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi who also had occupied southern Gujarāt. It is now definitely proved that these coins were circulating in Gujarāt⁵. It is therefore clear that during their short occupation of this province, the Sātavāhanas had issued their own currency for the use of their new subjects.

¹ [As a matter of fact, some coins of Gautamīputra have been found in Āndhra.—V.V.M.]

² *Tisamudtoyapīta-vahanasa*.

³ D. R. Bhandarkar held that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was himself defeated by Rudradāman, *I.A.*, 1918, p. 154. This view presupposes the joint rule of the father and the son, which is very improbable. About the identity of the king defeated by Rudradāman, see Chapter VI.

⁴ See *J.N.S.I.*, VIII, p. III. For a contrary view, see *Ibid.*, IX p. 93, X, p. 23.

⁵ *J.N.S.I.*, XII, p. 26.

We shall now discuss a number of incidental problems connected with Gautamīputra. R. G. and D. R. Bhandarkar have argued that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvī were ruling conjointly. This theory is untenable. In Nāsik inscription No. 5 inscribed in the 24th year of Gautamīputra, his mother is described as *mahādevī* and *rājamātā*; in Nāsik inscription No. 2, issued in the 19th year of her grandson Puṣumāvī's reign, she is in addition described as *mahārājapitāmāhī*, obviously because her grandson was then on the throne. If we assume that the description of a lady as *mahādevī* and *rājamātā* justifies the inference that she was the wife and mother of a king at the same time, showing thereby that her husband and son were ruling jointly, will it not follow that the description of Balaśrī also as *mahārāja-pitāmāhī* would show that her husband, son and grandson were ruling together at one and the same time? And yet the Bhandarkars do not accept this conclusion. The argument that Nāsik inscription No. 10 issued in the 18th year of Gautamīputra's reign refers to a cave donated in the second year of Puṣumāvī in inscription No. 2, and thus shows that the two kings were ruling together at the end of the father's reign is also untenable. The inscription in question refers to an enlargement of the cave donated in the 18th year of Gautamīputra, which was carried out in the second year of the reign of Vāsiṣṭhīputra. It does not prove that the second year of Puṣumāvī was earlier than the 18th year of Gautamīputra. There is thus no ground to assume that Gautamīputra was ruling with his son. A king named Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura is known from the Bow and Arrow type coins found in Kolhāpur. It will be shown later that this prince cannot be identified with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

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It is from the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi that we notice inscriptions giving metronymics to many of Sātavāhana kings. It has been argued that this was due to matrilinear succession, the crown passing in the Sātavāhana dynasty, not to a ruler's son but to his sister's son. In several cases, however, the Purāṇas expressly state that the successor was the son of the predecessor. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi himself was succeeded by his own son and not his sister's son. There is in fact not a single known case in the Sātavāhana family of a sister's son succeeding the predecessor.

The custom of giving the metronymic was popular in Kauśāmbī, Central India, Mahārāṣṭra and the Eastern Deccan from c. 100 B.C. to c. 300 A.D. Not only the kings but also the commoners are seen following it. It may be probably due to polygamy. Thus Ajātaśatru was called Vaidehīputra to indicate that he was the son of a Vaidehī princess, and not of a Kosala one, both of whom were among his father's spouses. It is also possible that the custom of mentioning the *gotra* of the mother may have originated in families where not only the father's but also the maternal uncle's *gotra* was avoided in selecting a bride or bridegroom as is the case with the Yajurvedī Brāhmaṇas of Mahārāṣṭra even today. It is however not yet possible to give any convincing reason for the adoption of this nomenclature

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by a number of families during the centuries preceding and following the Christian era. The custom in a restricted sense goes back to the Vedic age. We find Kauśikīputras and Kautsīputras mentioned in the Vedic literature. But why it died down soon after the beginning of the Gupta age, is a mystery.

Gautamīputra died after a reign of about 24 years in c. 110 A.D. He was the greatest ruler among the Sātavāhanas and had the reputation of being a just and efficient ruler also. It is interesting to note that he owes the recognition of his place in history to his devotion to his mother¹. The latter had the misfortune to survive her son, and records his glorious achievements in a eulogy which she had got inscribed in a cave which she had jointly dedicated with her son. Had not this eulogy been composed, we could hardly have known much about the achievements of this distinguished ruler.

Vāsiṣṭhīputra
 Puṣumāvi
 c. 110-138 A.D.

Gautamīputra was succeeded by Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi in c. 110 A.D. Purāṇas expressly describe him as Gautamīputra's son and inscriptions confirm this information. The Purāṇic statement that he ruled for 28 years is rendered probable by one of his inscriptions being dated in his 24th year. We may, therefore, place his reign from c. 110 to 138 A.D. He is identical with king Polemaios of Baithana mentioned by Ptolemy and was the contemporary of Tiastenes or Caṣṭana of Ujjayinī who ruled from c. 115 A.D. to 125 A.D., as will be shown in Chapter VI.

Rapson has advanced the view that king Sātakarṇi, the overlord of the Deccan, who is claimed to have been defeated by Rudradāman twice before the year 150 A.D., should be identified with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi. He further identifies this ruler with, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi of the Kānherī inscription, who was the son-in-law of a daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman². There are almost unsurmountable difficulties in accepting this view. It is difficult to believe that Rudradāman would have committed the mistake of misnaming the king, who was his near relation and whom he had defeated twice. How could he have confounded a Sātakarṇi with a Puṣumāvi who ascended the throne in c. 110 A.D. It is not very likely that Puṣumāvi could have married a grand-daughter of his contemporary Caṣṭana. In the Nāśik *praśasti* (eulogy) of his grandmother, issued in his 19th regnal year, there is nothing to suggest that the extensive conquests of her son had already evaporated before the 19th year of her grandson's reign³. The silence of the record about the achieve-

¹ *Avipana-mātu-susūsākasa*. Rapson thinks that in the Post-script of Nāśik inscription dated in the 24th year of Gautamīputra's reign, the queen mother is associated with him probably because she was taking an active part in the administration owing to her son's failing health. This does not seem probable. If Gautamīputra was rather too old to administer the kingdom unaided, the case of his mother might have been worse. The association of the mother must obviously have been due to the charity in question being sanctioned at her request.

² B.M.C.A.K., Introduction pp. xxxviii.

³ Rapson thinks that Puṣumāvi had been already defeated before the 19th year of his reign because the territorial titles which Gautamīputra won by this conquests are not seen inherited by him. The construction of the *praśasti*, however, did not make it possible to again describe Vāsiṣṭhīputra as the ruler of the provinces, ruled over by his father.

ments of Puṣumāvi is obviously due to its express purpose being to eulogise Gautamīputra who was associated with the original dedication of the cave. Rudradāman claims to have wrested Koṅkan from the Sātavāhanas; we have got some records of Vāsiṣṭhiputra at Kānherī, which was certainly included in it. We have a large number of inscriptions of Puṣumāvi at Nāsik and Kārli, and none of them suggests that he had been defeated.

There are serious chronological difficulties in assuming that Gautamīputra continued to rule down to c. 130 A.D. and that his son was defeated by Rudradāman. These will be indicated in Chapter VI. In order to overcome them, R.G. Bhandarkar and D.R. Bhandarkar assumed that the father and the son were ruling together. We have however, already shown above how this theory of joint rule is untenable.

Political events in the reign of Puṣumāvi are shrouded in mystery. Caṣṭana was sent down from the north to reconquer the Deccan for the Scythians. From his outpost at Ajmer, he conquered Ujjayinī and then proceeded to occupy Cutch and Northern Gujarāt. Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puṣumāvi reconciled himself to the loss of Mālyā but decided to oppose any further expansion. In the meanwhile Caṣṭana died and was succeeded by his son Jayadāman. It seems very probable that towards the end of his reign, Puṣumāvi defeated Jayadāman and reduced him to the status of a mere Kṣatrapa¹. It is not improbable that the marriage of a daughter of Rudradāman with his younger brother Vāsiṣṭhiputra Sātakarṇi was dictated on the battle-field by Puṣumāvi.

The discovery of the coins of Puṣumāvi in Āndhra country and of an inscription of his at Amrāvati afford clear evidence of his holding a firm sway over that province. Several scholars have argued that it was Puṣumāvi, who for the first time conquered Āndhra province². But we have already shown above how it is very likely that the province was annexed to the Sātavāhana kingdom in the reign of Āpilaka and Meghasvāti by the middle of the 1st century B.C., if not even earlier. As shown in the last section there is no doubt that Gautamīputra was ruling over it. It was once argued that Puṣumāvi's sway extended over Coromandal coast also³. The coins with the motif of ship with two masts found near Coromandal coast, which were once doubtfully attributed to Puṣumāvi, have now been proved to be the issues of Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi⁴. A record of Puṣumāvi has been found in Bellāry district of Madras State. But whether he is this ruler or the last king of the dynasty, it is difficult to decide.

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c. 110-138 A.D.

¹ The other alternative is to hold that Jayadāman is seen using the lower title Kṣatrapa on the coins, because he predeceased his father Caṣṭana. See Chapter VI.

² J.B.B.R.A.S., N.S.I., pp. 10-11; *Early History of Andhra Country*, pp. 62-63.

³ B.M.C.A.K., pp. xxxix.

⁴ J.N.S.I., Vol. III, pp. 43 f.

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The record does not give the characteristic epithet of Puḷumāvi to him, viz. Vāsiṣṭhīputra. On the other hand it is dated in the eighth year of the king's reign, whereas the Purāṇas state that the last king Puḷomā ruled for seven years only. Whether the record belongs to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi or not, there can be no doubt that his dominions included the ceded district of the Madras State.

The belief long entertained by scholars that Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi was the king crushed by Rudradāman has prevented the proper appreciation of his career and achievements. It was no doubt true that he could not retain trans-Narmadā territories conquered by his father. But it must be admitted that very few Deccan states have succeeded in doing so in Indian history. There is no doubt that Puḷumāvi continued to hold northern Mahārāṣṭra and southern Gujarāt. It appears that he succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat if not on Caṣṭana at least on his son Jayadāman. A portrait silver coin of his discovered in 1952 shows that his features showed an aquiline nose and grim determination. He was a worthy successor of his father. He continued the toleration policy of his dynasty; we find him making several donations to Buddhist establishments, though he himself was an orthodox Hindu.

Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi
 c. 138-145 A.D.

According to the Purāṇas Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi was succeeded by Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi, who is credited with a short reign of seven years. Purāṇas do not give the metronymic in any case; it would therefore appear very probable that this Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi is identical with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi of the Kānheri record who had married a daughter of king Rudradāman. We may well infer from the common epithet Vāsiṣṭhīputra that Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi were uterine brothers; some weight is lent to this view by the circumstance of [Vāsiṣṭhīputra] Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi having a short reign of 7 years only. He had succeeded a brother who had a long reign of 28 years, and so his own reign was naturally not long. Purāṇas do not give the relationship between these two rulers. King Śrī Śivamaka Sāta of the Amrāvati record may perhaps be identical with this ruler.

Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śiva Śrī Sātakarṇi was the son-in-law of the Śaka King Rudradāman who ascended the throne in c. 140 A.D. The long standing rivalry between the two houses may have been probably kept under check for some time by this circumstance.

It appears that some Śaka chiefs entered the service of the Sātavāhanas as their generals and were granted the feudatory status with the right to issue coins. The coins of a Śaka king named Māna who was the son of Bharadvāja have recently come to light¹. His family was ruling in south Hyderābād.

¹ J.N.S.I., VII, p. 90; J.N.S.I. XI, p. 59.

The marriage of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi with the Śaka princess had a curious numismatic consequence. The son-in-law took a fancy for the Kṣatrapa coinage and issued some silver pieces, having the bust of the king on the obverse as on the Śaka coins. One such coin of this ruler, existing in the Prince of Wales Museum collection in Bombay, has been recently published¹.

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Numismatic and epigraphical evidence shows that this ruler was ruling over most of the Sātavāhana empire. The discovery of his record at Kānherī shows that he held Koṅkaṇ. The Tarhālā hoard, which contained 32 coins of this ruler, proves that he was holding sway over Berār. The lead coins with the legend Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śiva Śrī Sātakarṇi found in Āndhra country attest to his rule over it.

This king ruled down to 145 A.D. and it does not appear that Rudradāman launched any attack on him. The Junāgaḍ inscription describes the Sātavāhana king defeated as not a distant relation and surely that is not the phraseology to be used for a son-in-law.

Purāṇas mention Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi as the next ruler. He was the son of his predecessor Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi, as stated in the Purāṇas. Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi may have been abridged into Skanda Sātakarṇi, which in Prākṛt would appear as Khada Sātakarṇi. The present ruler may thus be identical with king Khada Sātakarṇi, 23 of whose coins were found in Tarhālā hoard². On some coins in Āndhra districts we have the name of the king as Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Canda-Sātakarṇi. It is not unlikely that the issuer of these coins may also be identical with the present ruler. Skanda can also become Canda in Prākṛt. Letters *ca* and *kha* are undistinguishable at this period and *ca* on the coins of Āndhradeśa can also stand for *Kha*. We therefore tentatively suggest the identity of Śiva Khada Sātakarṇi with Śrī Canda Sātakarṇi. Rapson has suggested that Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śiva Canda (=Śivaskanda) Sātakarṇi may have been a brother of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvī, as suggested by common metronymic. But there is nothing against a nephew of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvī having married a bride of Vāsiṣṭha gotra like his uncle.

Śivaskanda
Sātakarṇi,
145-175 A.D.

King Sātakarṇi, defeated twice by Rudradāman I before 150 A.D., was most probably Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi. Polygamy was common among kings and therefore Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi may well have been a son of Śiva Śrī Sātakarṇi, but born of a queen other than the Śaka princess. He would thus be a step son of Rudradāman's daughter and the Junāgaḍ record may well describe him as not distantly related with the Śaka conquerer. Rapson has assumed that the king

¹ A king named Rudra Sātakarṇi is known from some coins found in Āndhradeśa, *B.M.C.A.K.*, pp. 46-7. The name does not occur in the Purāṇic list and it is not impossible that he may be identical with Śiva Śrī Sātakarṇi. Śiva and Rudra are synonyms.

² *J.N.S.I.* II. p. 83.

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defeated was Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi who was Rudradāman's son-in-law, but we have already shown how this suggestion is untenable. All the known facts of history are very well explained by assuming that it was Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi who was defeated by Rudradāman. The defeated ruler is described as a Sātakarṇi and Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi had that name. He is shown above to be a contemporary of Rudradāman. He was most probably his daughter's step son, and is therefore naturally described as a not-distant relation.

The Sātavāhanas had probably lost Mālvā and Northern Gujarāt earlier. As a result of the two defeats suffered now, they lost Kāthiāvāḍ and Northern Koṅkaṇ. Their sway over Mahārāṣṭra, Berār and Āndhra country was not affected by these defeats. Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi is represented by 23 coins in the Tarhālā hoard and a large number of his coins are found in Āndhra country.

Purāṇas do not give the duration of the rule of Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi, and it is not therefore easy to determine it. One Ms. of the *Vāyupurāṇa*, however, omits king Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi and mentions a Sātakarṇi as the immediate successor of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi and credits him with a long reign of 29 years. We have therefore assumed that this ruler is identical with Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi and assigned him a reign of 29 years. This however is a pure hypothesis, to be proved or disproved by later discoveries.

One of the Kānherī records is dated in the 13th year of a king named Vāsiṣṭhīputra Chatarapaṇa Sātakarṇi. It is clear that the ruler belonged to the Sātavāhana dynasty but his identity is difficult to determine. The earlier view that he is to be identified with the father or son of Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi is no longer tenable; for it is now clear that the legend does not at all contain the name of Chatarapaṇa. The identity of the ruler would be difficult to determine until the meaning of the mysterious term Chatarapaṇa is known. If however our assumption that Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi ruled for about 29 years is tenable, it is not unlikely that he may be identical with the king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Chatarapaṇa Sātakarṇi of the Kānherī record. We have shown above how it is quite likely that this ruler may have had the epithet of Vāsiṣṭhīputra. The ruler of the Kānherī record cannot be identified with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi, because they were both Gautamīputras. He cannot be identified with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi, because he was not a Sātakarṇi. He therefore may be tentatively identified with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi.

The reason why we have credited this ruler with a long reign of 29 years may be indicated here. His successor Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi is known to have wrested some of the lost provinces from the Śakas. There was an internecine war in the Śaka dynasty from c. 181 to 196 A.D. It is likely that this struggle rendered the conquests of Yajña Śrī possible. We have therefore to place his reign between c. 174 and 203 and thus prolong that of his predecessor to c. 174 A.D.

Sivaskanda Sātakarṇi was succeeded by Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi as the Purāṇas do not mention the relationship between the two rulers. Yajñaśrī's inscription found at Chinna Gajam is dated in his 27th year; we may therefore well presume that he ruled for 29 years, as stated in most of the Purāṇas¹.

Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi was an able and ambitious prince; he considerably retrieved the fallen fortunes of his dynasty. A war of succession arose between Śaka Kṣatrapa Jivadāman and his uncle Rudrasirṇha in c. 180 A.D. Yajñaśrī took its full advantage and attacked the Śakas from the south. There is no doubt that he wrested back northern Koṅkaṇ from them, for two records of this ruler are found at Kānherī, giving endowments to the monks staying there. One of these is dated in his 16th year; this would show that the reconquest of Northern Koṅkaṇ took place by c. 190 A.D. One silver coin of Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi was found in Kāthiāvāḍ and another in Besnagar. But it would be hazardous to conclude from this that he had succeeded in reconquering Kāthiāvāḍ and Mālva. The solitary coins may have travelled there through commerce.

This king continued to rule over the territory from Koṅkaṇ to Āndhradeśa. His inscriptions have been found at Kānherī in Koṅkaṇ, Nāsik in Mahārāṣṭra and Chinna Gajam in Āndhradeśa. In the Cāndā and Tarhālā hoards he is richly represented², showing that he had a long and prosperous reign. In Āndhradeśa, his coins are found in large numbers at several places. The ship-mast type of coins which were for a long time attributed to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvī, have now been shown to be the issues of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. The findspot of these coins would suggest, but not prove, the extension of the Sātavāhana power to Coromandal Coast. The Sātavāhana empire under this rule extended practically over the whole of Deccan to the south of the Narmadā and the north of the Pennār river³.

Our knowledge of the Sātavāhana history is very meagre subsequent to the death of Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi. According to the Purāṇas, three kings mentioned above succeeded him in the stated order. Of these the second is stated by the Purāṇas to be the son of the first, but his relationship to the third ruler is not given. He is on the other hand described as some one among the Āndhras. He may have been a distant scion who usurped the throne. Bhandarkar had thought that the rule of the last rulers was confined only to the Eastern

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c. 174-203 A.D.

Vijaya Sātakarṇi.
Candra Śrī
Sātakarṇi.
Puṣumāvī III.

¹ Some Mss. assign him a reign of 19 years only. One Matsya Ms. changes the tense into the present and says *Nava varṣāṇi Yajñaśrīḥ kurute Sātakarṇikah*. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age* p. 42. This suggests that the Purāṇa was written in the 9th year of this monarch's reign.

² The Tarhālā hoard of about 1225 coins had 250 issued by this ruler.

³ A silver coin of this ruler was found in 1951 near Jabalpur; it may lend some weight to the view that the upper Narmadā valley was also included in his empire. We cannot however exclude the possibility of the coin having gone there with a pilgrim or a trader, *J.N.S.I.*, XIII, p. 46.

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Deccan, where the coins of Candra Śrī¹ have been found. But four coins of Vijaya and Puṣumāvī each were later found in the Tarhālā hoard, suggesting that the dominion included both Āndhradeśa and Berār and the adjoining territories.

How the mighty Sātavāhana empire dissolved in less than thirty years after the death of Yājñaśrī Sātakarṇi is not clearly known. We do not get any records of the successors of Yājña Śrī in Koṅkan and northern Mahārāṣṭra. On the other hand we begin to get inscriptions of the Ābhīras there towards the end of the 2nd century. These Ābhīras were building their power carefully. We find them playing the part of the king-makers at the Kṣatrapa court at c. 175 A.D. It appears that they eventually became strong enough to oust the later Sātavāhana rulers from Northern and Central Mahārāṣṭra.



¹ The *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta* states that Āndhra kings Candraśrī and Puṣumāvī were in the occupation of Pāṭaliputra just before the accession of Candragupta I in c 300 A.D. There was a difference of at least 75 years between Puṣumāvī III and Candragupta I and so they could not have been contemporaries. The Sātavāhanas are not at all likely to have held Pāṭaliputra towards the far end of their dynasty, when their power had become extremely feeble. The *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta* is more probably a late forgery. See *J.N.S.I.*, VI p. 34.

CHAPTER 3

THE SUCCESSORS OF THE SATAVAHANAS IN MAHARASTRA*

AFTER THE BREAK-UP OF THE SATAVAHANA EMPIRE ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THIRD CENTURY A. D. several small kingdoms arose in the different parts of Mahārāṣṭra. The Purāṇas mention the Āndhras, Ābhīras, Gardabhins, Yavanas, Tuṣāras, Śakas, Muṇḍas, Maunas and Kilakilas as the successors of the Āndhras (*i.e.* the Sātavāhanas)¹. This statement has not been fully borne out by the records discovered so far; but there is no doubt that some of these families were ruling in the Deccan after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas. That the Ābhīras rose to power in Northern Mahārāṣṭra is shown by the inscription of the Ābhīra Rājān Īśvarasena in a cave at Nāsik². The names of some other Ābhīra kings are known from inscriptional and literary records. The Āndhras were evidently identical with the Śrīparvatīyas mentioned by the Purāṇas in the same context later on. They were undoubtedly the kings of the Ikṣvāku family whose records have been found in the lower Kṛṣṇā valley at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and neighbouring places³. The Śakas were probably the descendants of the Mahāsenāpati Māna, who declared his independence in the country of Māhiṣaka⁴. No records of the remaining dynasties such as the Gardabhins, Yavanas, Tuṣāras, Muṇḍas, Maunas and Kilakilas have yet been discovered. We have indeed some references to the king Vikramāditya of the Gardabhilla family in late literary works, but he belongs to a much earlier age, *viz.*, the first century B.C., in which, however, his existence is rendered doubtful on account of the far-spread Empire of the Sātavāhanas. One other family, on the other hand, which the Purāṇas mention as having risen to power after the Kilakilas is known from inscriptions and Sanskrit and Prākṛt literature. This is the illustrious family of the Vākātakas, whose founder Vindhyaśakti, the Purāṇas tell us, succeeded the Kilakilas or Kolikilas⁵. The Purāṇic account of the successors of the Sātavāhanas cannot therefore be accepted *in toto*, but to a certain extent it is corroborated by the

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* This chapter is contributed by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi, M. A. D. Litt., University of Nagpur.

¹ D.K.A., p. 45 f.

² Inscr. No. 1, C.I.I., Vol. IV.

³ Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 1 f.

⁴ Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, pp. 98 f.

⁵ D.K.A., p. 48.

CHAPTER 3. existing sources. We are here concerned only with the dynasties that were ruling in Mahārāṣṭra.

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ABHIRAS

The Ābhīras were an ancient race whose original habitat lay in the north-western parts of India. The *Mahābhārata* mentions three divisions of the Ābhīras, viz., those who lived on the bank of the Sarasvatī, fishermen and mountaineers¹. In this part of the country lay the holy place called *vinaśana*, where the sacred river Sarasvatī is said to have gone underground through hatred of the Sūdras and Ābhīras living there. Elsewhere, the Puñjāb is stated to be the strong-hold of the Ābhīras. It was in that part of the country that Arjuna was attacked by the Ābhīras as he was escorting the wives of the Yādavas after the death of Kṛṣṇa. These and other references indicate that the part of the Punjab between the Satlaj and the Yamunā was their home-land. Like some other tribes of the Punjab, they appear to have spread from there to the east and the south. Ptolemy places their country Abiria in Central Sindh. The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of Varāhamihira mentions the Ābhīra and Koṅkaṇ countries among the *Janapadas* of the South. Some Ābhīras occupied influential positions in Saurāṣṭra in the early centuries of the Christian era. In some Purāṇas they are classed with the people of the southern countries like Mahārāṣṭra, Vidarbha, Āsmaka and Kuntala. Gradually Khāndeś became their stronghold. Even now the Ābhīras or Ahīrs predominate in that part of Mahārāṣṭra.

The Ābhīras generally followed the profession of cowherds. They were consequently associated with the Sūdras. Patañjali discusses in his *Mahābhāṣya* whether Ābhīra was a sub-caste of the Sūdras and concludes that it is a different caste. In the *Kāśikā*, a commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the Ābhīras are called *Mahāsūdras* or superior Sūdras. A Mahāsūdra was one of the functionaries at the coronation ceremony of kings. Commentators explain the term Mahāsūdra as 'a Commander of the Sūdra army'. This shows that the Ābhīras from very early times occupied positions of power and vantage at the royal courts.

Like other tribes of the Punjab, the Ābhīras had a republican form of government. In the Allāhābād stone pillar inscription of the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta they are mentioned together with such other well-known republican tribes of the North as the Mālavas and the Ārjunāyanas. Unlike these latter tribes, however, they are not known to have struck any coins in the name of their *gaṇa* or republic.

Some Ābhīras are known to have occupied high political position under the Western Kṣatrapas. An inscription found in Saurāṣṭra mentions an Ābhīra General named Rudrabhūti who was serving under the Western Kṣatrapa Rudrasimha. According to the Purāṇas, the Ābhīras who rose to power after the Āndhras (i.e. the Sātavāhanas) were *Āndhrabhṛtyas*, i.e., servants of the Āndhras. They were therefore occupying influential positions in the State. One of them, Išvarasena, usurped power after the downfall of the last Sātavāhana king Puṣumāvī IV.

¹For this and other references see C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. xxxi f.

Very few inscriptions of the Ābhīras have been discovered so far. The earliest of them is in a cave at Nāsik¹. It is dated in the ninth regnal year of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena, the son of the Ābhīra Śivadatta. Īśvarasena, following the custom of the Sātavāhanas, called himself Mādharīputra, i.e., son of a lady who belonged to the Mādharā gotra. Like the earlier Kṣatrapas and the Sātavāhanas, he bore the simple title *Rājan*, but there is no doubt that he was independent as he mentions no suzerain. His father Śivadatta bears no royal title, which shows that Īśvarasena himself was the founder of the Ābhīra dynasty.

Īśvarasena founded an era which continued in use for nearly a thousand years and became known in later times as the Kalacuri or Cedi Sainvat²; for it was then used by the Kalacuri kings of Tripurī, who were ruling over the Cedi country. It was started in A.D. 249-50. So its epoch for a current year is A.D. 248-49 and that for an expired year is A.D. 249-50. Its year began on Kārttika śukla pratipadā. Its months were *amānta* in Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarāt and *pūrṇimānta* in Madhya Pradesh including Chattisgaḍh.

The Nāsik cave inscription is the only known record of the reign of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena. He did not strike any coins. At least none have been discovered so far. So it is not possible to say how far his rule extended. But judging by the spread of his era which must have been consequent on his conquests, his kingdom probably comprised Gujarāt, Koṅkaṇ and Western Mahārāṣṭra³.

According to the Purāṇas, ten Ābhīra kings ruled for sixty-seven years. The Purāṇas do not, however, mention any royal names. Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* mentions one Ābhīra Koṭṭarāja, who was murdered in another's house by a washerman at the instigation of his brother⁴. Yaśodhara, a commentator of the *Kāmasūtra*, states that he was ruling at Koṭṭa, but Koṭṭarāja was probably his personal name. He may have been one of the successors of Īśvarasena.

Recently another Ābhīra king named Vasuṣeṇa has become known from an inscription discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. It is dated in the year 30, which is referred to the Ābhīra era founded by Īśvarasena⁵. The date, therefore, corresponds to A.D. 279-80. It records the installation of the image of Aṣṭabhujaśvāmin on Śvetagiri.

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the Sātavāhanas.THE ABHIRAS
C & SC

¹ Inscr. No. 1, C.I., Vol. IV,

² C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. xxii.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. xxxiv.

⁴ *Kāmasūtra* (Kashiram Series), p. 260, C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. xxxiv, n. 1.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXXIV pp. 197 f. This is, however, very doubtful.

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The period of sixty-seven years assigned by the Purāṇas to the rule of ten Ābhīra kings appears to be too short. Perhaps the expression of *sapta-ṣaṣṭi-śatān-īha* stating the period of Ābhīra rule, which occurs in a manuscript of the *Vāyupurāṇa*¹, is a mistake for *sapta-ṣaṣṭim śatān-ch-eha*. In that case Ābhīra rule may have lasted for 167 years, *i.e.* till A.D. 416.

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THE ĀBHĪRAS
C & SC

Though the names of Ābhīra kings have passed into oblivion, those of some of their feudatories have become known from inscriptions discovered in Central India, Gujarāt and Khāndeśa. One of these was Īśvararāta, whose fragmentary copper-plate inscription was discovered some years ago at Kalachala near Choṭā Udaipur in Gujarāt². Only the first plate of the grant has been found. It mentions Īśvararāta as meditating on the feet of a lord paramount (*paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta*). The plates were issued from Pracakāśa, which seems to be identical with Prakāśa on the Tāpī in North Khāndeśa. They record the grant of the village Kupikā, situated in the paṭṭa of Vaṅkikā. The donated village cannot now be traced, but Vaṅkikā, the head-quarters of the territorial division in which it was situated, may be identical with Vaṅkaḍ, about 20 miles from Choṭā Udaipur. Īśvararāta seems, therefore, to have been ruling over Central Gujarāt and some portion of North Khāndeśa.

The names of three other feudatories, *viz.*, *Mahārāja Svāmīdāsa* (Year 67), *Mahārāja Bhulunḍa* (Year 107) and *Mahārāja Rudradāsa* (Year 117), have become known from their copper-plate grants³. Those of the first two were discovered at Indore and so their dates were referred to the Gupta era when they were edited by R. C. Majumdar. But their close similarity to the third grant found at Sirpur in Khāndeśa in respect of characters, phraseology and mode of dating leaves no doubt that they, like the latter grant, originally belonged to Khāndeśa. Their dates must therefore be referred to the Ābhīra era and taken to correspond to A.D. 316-17, 356-57 and 366-67 respectively. All of them were issued from Valkha, which was evidently their capital. This place has not yet been definitely identified, but may be identical with Vāghlī, now a small village, about 6 miles north by east of Cālisgānv in the Jalgānv District.

¹ D. K. A., p. 46, n. 37.

² C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 603 f.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Inscr. Nos. 2-4.

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Svāmidāsa, Bhulūṇḍa and Rudradāsa, though they bear the title *Mahārāja*, describe themselves in their grants as *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta*, i.e., 'meditating on the feet of the lord paramount'. They were therefore feudatories of the contemporary Ābhīra Emperors.

One other feudatory family ruling in Khāndeśa, which had similar names ending in *dāsa*¹, has become known from an inscription in Cave XVII at Ajinṭhā. It gives the following genealogy :—



The elder son of Kṛṣṇadāsa whose name is lost became overwhelmed with sorrow at the premature death of his younger brother Ravisāmba. He began to lead a pious life and got the Vihāra cave XVII and the Caitya Cave XIX excavated at Ajinṭhā for the use of the Buddhist Bhikṣus during the reign of Hariṣeṇa, 'the moon among the princes'. This Hariṣeṇa was the last known Vākāṭaka king who was ruling in *circa* A.D. 475-500. The elder son of Kṛṣṇadāsa was thus a feudatory of the Vākāṭakas. He was preceded by ten princes, the first of whom must have been ruling in *circa* A.D. 275-300. In its earlier period the family evidently owed allegiance to the Ābhīras, but later on it seems to have transferred it to the Vākāṭakas.

The Ābhīras seem to have soon extended their sway to Central India also. One of their feudatories in this part of the country was the Śaka king Śrīdhavarman, whose inscriptions have been found at Kānākhedā near Sāñcī² and at Eraṇ in the Saugor district.³

SOME OTHER
FEUDATORIES.

¹ Inscr. No. 27, *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

² Inscr. No. 5, *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

³ Inscr. No. 119, *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

CHAPTER 3. The former bears a date which has been variously read. The present writer has shown elsewhere that the correct reading of it appears to be the year 102, which, on the evidence of palaeography, must be referred to the Ābhīra era. It therefore corresponds to A.D. 351-52. The title *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* which is prefixed to the name of Śrīdharavarman indicates that he began his career as a military officer of the contemporary Ābhīra king. Later, he seems to have risen to the status of a feudatory. As the power of the Ābhīras declined, he declared his independence and assumed the title *Rājān* and *Mahākṣatrapa*, which are noticed in his other inscription discovered at Eraṇ.

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FEUDATORIES

The Eraṇ inscription is incised on a pillar called *yaṣṭi*, erected by Satyanāga, the *Ārakṣika* and *Senāpati* of the Śaka king Śrīdharavarman as a memorial to the Nāga soldiers who had laid down their lives in a battle fought at the *adhīṣṭhāna* of Erikiṇa (Eraṇ). In this inscription Satyanāga, who hailed from Mahārāṣṭra, expresses the hope that the *yaṣṭi*, raised by the Nāgas themselves, would inspire future generations to perform similar brave deeds ; for it was a place where friends and foes met together in a spirit of service and reverence. Satyanāga's hope was fulfilled in later times ; for another inscription on the same pillar has recorded that the brave king Goparāja, the ally of the Gupta Emperor Bhānugupta, died at the same place, fighting bravely against the enemy who was probably the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa and that his wife immolated herself on his funeral pyre. The aforementioned inscription of Śrīdharavarman is also noteworthy as containing the earliest epigraphical reference to the name Mahārāṣṭra.

Another feudatory of the Ābhīras was Subandhu, who was ruling from Māhiṣmatī, modern Maheśvar in Madhya Pradeśa. Only two grants of this king have been discovered so far, one of them being from some place in the former Badwānī State¹ and the other from the famous Bāgh Caves². The former bears the date 167, which in view of the close resemblance of the grant to those of the *Mahārājas* of Khāndeśa mentioned above in respect of characters, phraseology and royal sign manual, must be referred to the Ābhīra era. It is therefore equivalent to A.D. 416-17. Unlike the *Mahārājas* of Khāndeśa, Subandhu does not refer to any suzerain even in general terms, which shows that he had declared his independence. It is noteworthy that Ābhīra rule ended just about this time according to the Purāṇas. Subandhu's kingdom which lay between the flourishing Gupta Empire north of the Narmadā and the rising Traikūṭaka power in the south may have served as a buffer State. Subandhu ruled from Māhiṣmatī. His successors may have continued to hold the country until it was annexed by the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa in the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.

¹ Inscr. No. 6, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

² Inscr. No. 7, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

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the Sātavāhanas.
THE TRAIKUTAKAS

The Traikūṭakas derived their name from Trikūṭa, the Three-peaked Mountain or the district in which it was situated. From Kālidāsa's reference to this mountain in the description of Raghu's *digvijaya*¹ it was clear that it was situated in Aparānta or North Koṅkaṇ, but its exact location was uncertain for a long time. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji identified it with Junnar in the Poonā district, which is encircled by three ranges of hills². Rai Bahadur Hirallal proposed its identification with the Sātpuḍā hills,³ but this is precluded by the fact that the inscriptions and coins of the Traikūṭakas have been found only in South Gujarāt, North Koṅkaṇ and Mahārāṣṭra. The matter is now finally settled by the mention of the Pūrva-Trikūṭa-*Viṣaya* or the Eastern Trikūṭa district in the Añjanerī plates of the Hariścandriya King Bhogaśakti⁴ which shows that Trikūṭa was the name of the range of hills bordering the Nāsik district on the west. A tax levied on the residents of that district was assigned for the worship of the god Bhogeśvara whose temple was situated at Jayapura near Nāsik.

The names of the known Traikūṭaka kings end in either *datta* or *sena* and thus resemble those of the Ābhīras Śivadatta and his son Īśvarasena mentioned in the Nāsik cave inscription. Bhagwanlal Indraji therefore thought that the Traikūṭakas were identical with the Ābhīras. He suggested that Ābhīra was the racial and Traikūṭaka the territorial designation of the dynasty. The Candravallī inscription of the Kadamba king Mayūrasarman⁵, which, on palaeographic grounds, can be referred to the beginning of the fourth century A.D., mentions Trekūṭa (i.e. the Traikūṭakas) separately from Ābhīra. It shows, therefore, that the two dynasties, though contemporary, were different. The Ābhīra was an imperial family to which the Traikūṭaka owed allegiance. Khāndeśa was the stronghold of the Ābhīras as the Nāsik district was that of the Traikūṭakas.

The Traikūṭakas seem to have risen into prominence soon after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas, but we have no records of the family during the first two centuries of their rule. The first known Traikūṭaka king is *Mahārāja* Indradatta, whose name is mentioned only in the legends of the coins of his son *Mahārāja* Dahrasena⁶. The coins of the Traikūṭakas are closely imitated from those of the Western Kṣatrapas which were previously current in Mahārāṣṭra. They have, on the obverse, the king's bust as on the Kṣatrapa coins but without any date, while, on the reverse, they have the usual Kṣatrapa symbols, the caitya, the sun and the moon inside a circularly written legend.

¹ *Raghuvamśa*, Canto IV, v. 59.

² *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I (Old ed.), Vol. I, Part i, p. 57.

³ *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 283-84.

⁴ *Inscr. No. 31, C. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

⁵ *A. R., A. S. M.*, (1929), p. 50.

⁶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. clxxix f.

CHAPTER 3. From inscriptions and coins we get the following genealogy of the Traikūṭaka kings :—

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Indradatta
|
(son)
Mahārāja Dahrasena (K. 207 = A.D. 456-57)
|
(son)
Mahārāja Vyāghrasena (K. 241 = A.D. 490-91).

As stated above, no records of the reign of the first king Indradatta have yet been found. He is known only from the coins of his son Dahrasena. These coins have been found at Daman and Kamrej in South Gujarāt, Karhād in the Sātārā district and Kāzad, in the Indāpur taluka of the Poona district. His copper-plate inscription found at Pārḍī in the Surat district mentions his Aśvamedha or horse-sacrifice, which shows that he had declared his independence after the downfall of the Imperial Ābhīras. The Pārḍī plates were issued from the king's victorious camp at Āmrakā and record the grant of a village in the Antar-Maṇḍalī *viśaya*, which evidently included the territory on both the banks of the Maṇḍalī or Miṇḍholā river. Dahrasena was a worshipper of Viṣṇu as he calls himself, *parama-vaiṣṇava* on his coins and *Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara* in his copper-plate grant. His empire comprised southern Gujarāt, Koṅkaṇ and Northern Mahārāṣṭra. He may have reigned from *circa* A.D. 440 to A.D. 456.

His son and successor Vyāghrasena is known from a copper-plate inscription found at Surat² and silver coins found at Kāzad and other places. The plates were issued from Aniruddhapura, which has not yet been satisfactorily identified. They record the grant of a village in the *āhāra* or territorial division of Ikṣarakī, which has been identified with Acchāran, about 9 miles north of Surat. Like his father, Vyāghrasena was a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu. He ruled from *circa* A.D. 465 to A.D. 492.

One more inscription of the Traikūṭakas, inscribed on a single copper plate, was found deposited inside a Buddhist Stūpa at Kānherī near Bombay³. It is dated in the year 245 (A.D. 494-95) and records the construction of a *Caitya* (i.e. Stūpa) which a pilgrim from Sindh dedicated to Śāradvatīputra (Śārīputra), a famous disciple of the Buddha. The inscription does not mention any king, but refers in general terms to the victorious reign of the Traikūṭakas. The king ruling at the time must have been the successor of Vyāghrasena. About this time the Traikūṭaka kingdom was invaded by the mighty Vākāṭaka king, Hariṣeṇa. As in other cases, he did not probably annex the territory but was content with exacting a tribute. About fifty years thereafter the country was overrun by the Kalacuri king

¹ Inscr. No. 8, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

² Inscr. No. 9, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

³ Inscr. No. 10, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

Kṛṣṇarāja or his father. **Kṛṣṇarāja's** coins have been found all over the territory which was previously under the rule of the **Traikūṭakas**. He therefore seems to have brought Northern **Mahārāṣṭra** and **Koṅkaṇ** under his rule by the middle of the sixth century A.D.

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THE VAKATAKAS.

The **Vākātakas** occupy the same position of eminence in the ancient history of South India that the **Guptas** do in that of North India. At one time their empire extended from **Mālvā** in the North to the **Tuṅgabhadra** in the South and from the **Arabian Sea** in the west to the **Bay of Bengal** in the east. They were great patrons of art and literature. The liberal patronage which they extended to **Sanskṛt** and **Prākṛt** poets made the **Vaidarbhī** and **Vachchhomī rītis** famous throughout the country. They themselves composed **Prākṛt kāvyas** and **Sanskṛt** and **Prākṛt subhāṣitas** which have evoked unstinted praise from poets and rhetoricians. Some of the most magnificent **Vihāras** and **Caityas** at **Ajīṇṭhā** were excavated and decorated by their ministers and feudatories. There is therefore no doubt that they exercised most profound influence on the culture and civilization of the **Deccan**.

Still the history and even the name of this illustrious dynasty had passed into oblivion. The **Purāṇas** no doubt mention **Vindhyaśakti** and his son **Pravīra**¹ (who is evidently identical with **Pravarasena I**), but they place the former after the **Kilakilas** or **Kolikilas**, who succeeded the **Sātavāhanas**. The **Viṣṇupurāṇa** states that these **Kolikilas** were **Yavanas** or **Greeks**. **Dr. Bhau Daji** thought that **Vindhyaśakti** also belonged to the same race and so he remarked in 1862 that "the **Vākātakas** were a dynasty of the **Yavanas** or **Greeks** who took the lead in the performance of **Vedic sacrifices** as well as in the execution of most substantial and costly works for the encouragement of **Buddhism**²". It is now accepted that **Vindhyaśakti** was a **Brāhmaṇa** of the **Viṣṇuvṛddha gotra**³. This well illustrates the great strides that research has made in the history of the **Vākātakas** during the last hundred years.

Even the period during which the **Vākātakas** flourished was long uncertain. All their records are dated in regnal years which afford no clue to their age. Their grants are written in box-headed characters which soon became stereotyped. Experts therefore differed widely in interpreting their palaeographic evidence. While **Bühler** placed the **Vākātakas** in the fifth century A.D.⁴, **Kielhorn** and **Sukhtankar** relegated them to the eighth century⁵. The latter estimate of their age appeared to be supported by the mention, in the **Vākāṭaka** grants, of **Mahārājādhirāja Devagupta**, the maternal grandfather of **Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II**, whom **Fleet** identified with

¹ *D. K. A.*, pp. 48 and 50.

² *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 69 f.

³ *Inscr. No. 3, C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁴ *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 119.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III, p. 213 f.

CHAPTER 3. Mahārājādhirāja Devagupta of Magadha¹, who flourished towards the close of the seventh century A.D. Bühler's estimate of the age of the Vākātakas was, however, proved to be correct by the discovery, in 1912, of the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatīguptā², which showed for the first time that Prabhāvatīguptā, the chief queen of Vākātaka Rudrasena II and mother of the crown-prince Divākarasena, was the daughter of the illustrious Gupta king Candragupta II. Further progress in our knowledge of the history of the dynasty was made by the discovery, in 1939, of the Bāsim plates³ of Vindhyaśakti II, which proved that the Vākātaka family branched off as early as the end of Pravarasena I's reign. The plates thus corroborated the statement in the Purāṇas that Pravīra (*i.e.*, Pravarasena I) had four sons, all of whom came to the throne. Two of these sons *viz.*, Gautamīputra and Sarvasena have now become known from the records of their descendants; the names of the remaining two are still unknown. Still, the progress so far achieved in our knowledge of the history of the Vākātakas is not inconsiderable.

Chronology.

The chronology of the Vākātakas is still more or less conjectural and there are wide differences of opinion in regard to the interpretation of available evidence. Jayaswal's view that the Vākātaka king Vindhyaśakti was the founder of the so-called Kalacurī-Cedi era is untenable; for the Vākātakas themselves did not use it in dating their own records. Still, like the Ābhīras, they may have risen to power in *circa* A.D. 250.⁴ We may tentatively assign a period of about twenty years to Vindhyaśakti's reign (A.D. 250 to 270). His son Pravarasena I is stated in the Purāṇas to have ruled for sixty years⁵. This does not appear improbable in view of his performance of four Aśvamedhas and several Vājapeya and other Śrauta sacrifices. He may therefore have ruled from about A.D. 270 to A.D. 330. The Vākātaka family branched off after the death of Pravarasena I. The Purāṇas tell us that Pravarasena I had four sons, all of whom founded separate kingdoms⁶. Only two of these have so far become known *viz.* one ruling from Nandivardhana near Nāgpūr and the other from Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim in the Akolā district. As Pravarasena had a long reign of sixty years, his eldest son Gautamīputra predeceased him. He was therefore succeeded in the Nandivardhana branch by his grandson Rudrasena I. The latter may have ruled for about twenty years (A.D. 330-350). Vākātaka grants tell us that when his son Prthivīsenā I succeeded him, his treasure and army had been accumulating for a hundred years⁷. He may therefore have begun to reign in A.D. 350. He seems to have had a long reign; for he is said to have lived to see a succession of sons and grandsons. Besides, his son Rudrasena II was a junior contemporary of the Gupta Emperor Candragupta II (A.D. 380-413),

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 13.

² *Inscr. No. 2, C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

³ *Inscr. No. 23, C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁴ *History of India 150 A.D.—350 A.D.*, pp. 108 f.

⁵ *D. K. A.* p. 50.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁷ See *Inscr. No. 3, C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

whose daughter Prabhāvatīguptā was married to him. Prthivīśena I may therefore have had a long reign of about fifty years (A.D. 350-400). Rudrasena II, who succeeded him, had a short reign; for his wife Prabhāvatī was acting as a regent for his son Divākaramitra for thirteen years at least¹. Rudrasena II may therefore have ruled for about 5 years (*circa* A.D. 400-405). So far there is not much difference of opinion as regards the periods of rule of the Vākāṭaka kings.

R. C. Majumdar has tried to determine subsequent chronology as follows² :—

“The Riddhapur plates dated in the 19th regnal year of Pravara-sena II describe the dowager queen Prabhāvatīguptā as *sāgra-varṣa-śata-diva-putra-pautrā*. This passage means that Prabhāvatīguptā lived for more than a hundred years and had sons and grandsons. She appears to have survived her brother Kumāragupta, whose reign came to an end in A.D. 455. She was probably born about A.D. 365. She became a widow about A.D. 420, when she had three minor sons Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena. She acted as regent for Divākarasena for thirteen years. As the 100th year of Prabhāvatīguptā fell before the 19th regnal year of Pravarasena II, working backwards, we get the following approximate years of accession of her three sons—Divākarasena A.D. 420, Dāmodarasena A.D. 435, and Pravarasena A.D. 450”.

The main plank in the chronological structure raised by Dr. Majumdar is the description of Prabhāvatīguptā in the Riddhapur plates as *sāgravarṣa-śata-diva-putra-pautrā*, which he has altered into *sāgra-varṣa-śata-ḥiva-putra-pautrā* and translated as ‘one who lived for a full hundred years and had sons and grandsons living at the time’. As the compound stands, it seems to connect the expression *sāgra-varṣa-śata-ḥiva* with *putra-pautra*, the intended meaning being that Prabhāvatīguptā had sons and grandsons living a life of full hundred years. This is not of course to be understood literally. The intention is to express the wish that they would be long-lived, as when such adjectives as *dirghāyu* or *āyusmat* are used in the description of small children. The expression must therefore be taken to mean that Prabhāvatīguptā had at the time sons and grandsons who, it was hoped, would be long-lived. It does not refer to the long life of Prabhāvatīguptā at all³. To a widow like Prabhāvatīguptā a long life of a hundred years would be most distasteful. She is not likely to have boasted of it in her own grant.

Besides, Majumdar’s interpretation of the expression in question would lead to an absurd position. Majumdar supposes that the Vākāṭaka queen had three sons, Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena and

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¹ Inser. No. 2, C. I. I. Vol. V.

² J. R. A. S. B., VI. XII, p. 1 f.

³ To have living sons is regarded as a sign of good fortune and so the epithet *ḥivaputrā* is often noticed in the description of women in literature and inscriptions. The preceding expression indicating long life must evidently be connected with *ḥiva*. For *ḥivaputrā* used in the description of women, see *Rgveda*, X, 36, 9; *Mahābhārata*, V, 144, 2; *Rāmāyaṇa* IV, 19, 11. See also the Nāśik Cave inscription of Gautamī Balaśrī Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 73.

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Pravarasena. This is against the evidence furnished by the wording in the Rddhapur plates¹. Again, Dr. Majumdar says that Prabhāvatī-guptā was born about A. D. 365 and became a widow in A.D. 420, i.e., when she was in the advanced age of 55 years. Her eldest son was then about six years old; for she was acting as Regent for him for at least thirteen years. We shall therefore have to suppose that Prabhāvatī had no male children till she was nearly fifty years old, or that all her sons born before had died and that after that age she had these three sons in close succession. Such a supposition does not appear reasonable. It does not therefore appear that Prabhāvatī was a hundred years old in the nineteenth regnal year of Pravarasena II when she issued her Rddhapur plates.

We have shown above that Rudrasena II died in *circa* A.D. 405. Thereafter Prabhāvatī was acting as Regent for her son Divākarsena for at least thirteen years. The young prince also seems to have been short-lived. He appears to have died soon after Prabhāvatī's Poonā plates. So he may be referred to the period A.D. 405-420. He was succeeded by his younger brother Dāmodarasena *alias* Pravarasena II who had a long reign of about thirty years (A.D. 420-450)². His son Narendrasena and grandson Prthivīśena II may each have reigned for about twenty years — the former from A.D. 450 to A.D. 470, and the latter from A.D. 470 to A.D. 490. The period thus conjecturally assigned to Prthivīśena II, is corroborated by the date of his feudatory, the Uchchakalpa prince Vyāghra, whose stone inscriptions have been found at Nahnā and Gañj in Central India³. He was probably ruling from G. 150 to G. 170, i.e., from *circa* A.D. 470 to A.D. 490 and was thus a contemporary of the Vākāṭaka Prthivīśena II, who flourished in the same period.

As regards the Vatsagulma branch, its founder Sarvasena was a contemporary of Rudrasena I of the Nandivardhana branch. He may therefore have flourished from c. A.D. 330 to A.D. 350. His son Vindhyaśakti's Bāsim plates are dated in the 37th year⁴. So he had evidently a long reign of about 45 years. He may therefore have reigned from A.D. 355 to A.D. 400. His son Pravarasena II seems to have died young; for on his death his son ascended the throne at the early age of 8⁵, Pravarasena II of this branch may have therefore reigned from A.D. 400 to A.D. 410 and his son, whose name is unfortunately lost, from A.D. 410 to A.D. 450. Devasena, who succeeded the latter may have ruled from A.D. 450 to A.D. 475 and his son Hariśena from A.D. 475 to A.D. 500. The story in the eighth chapter of the *Daśakumāracarita* seems to have had a historical

¹ In the Rddhapur plates the expression *Vākāṭakānām Mahārājah*, which is invariably used in Vākāṭaka records in connection with the names of ruling kings, is used with the name of Dāmodarasena, but not with that of Pravarasena II, who was actually reigning at the time. This would be strange unless the two were identical.

² His Paṇḍhurnā plates (No. 14, C. I. I., Vol. V) are dated in his twenty-ninth regnal year.

³ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 233 f.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 12.

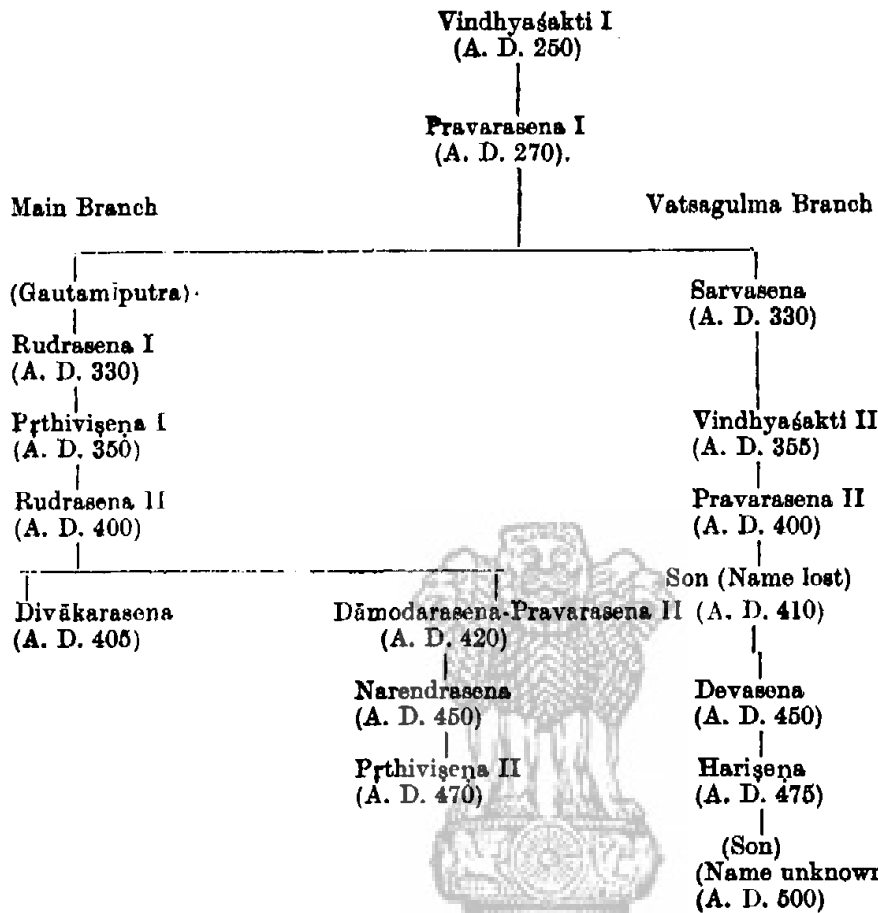
⁴ Inser. No. 23, C. I. I., Vol. V.

⁵ Inser. No. 25, C. I. I., Vol. V.

basis. If so, Hariṣeṇa was succeeded by his son who may have ruled for a short period of ten years (A.D. 500 to A.D. 510). Soon thereafter the country was conquered by the Kalacuris.

The Vākāṭaka chronology may therefore be stated as follows¹:-

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The original home of the Vākāṭakas is generally believed to have been in North India. Vincent Smith thought that the origin of the family must be sought somewhere in the area known as Central India². With this clue, Jayaswal derived the dynastic name Vākāṭaka from Vākāṭa, which he identified with Bāgāṭ, a village in the northernmost part of the former Orissā State, six miles east of Cingāum in the District of Jhānsī³. The following arguments are generally advanced to prove the northern origin of the Vākāṭakas:—

(1) The Purāṇas mention Vindhyaśakti I, the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, and his son Pravīra (i.e. Pravarasena I), towards the close of the section dealing with the kings of Vidiśā⁴. Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra were therefore ruling somewhere in Central India, not far from Vidiśā.

(2) Rudradeva, mentioned in the Allāhābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta as a king of Āryāvarta exterminated by Samudragupta⁵, is identical with Rudrasena I of the Vākāṭaka family. He is

¹ The years in the brackets give the approximate years of accession.

² J. R. A. S., (1914), p. 317 f.

³ History of India 150 A. D. to 350 A.D., p. 67.

⁴ D. K. A., pp. 49-50.

⁵ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 7.

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one of the very early kings of the family and as he is mentioned as a king of Āryāvarta, the family must have been ruling north of the Narmadā in its early period.

(3) Two stone inscriptions of a prince named Vyāghradeva, who describes himself as 'meditating on the feet of Vākātaka Pṛthivī-śeṇa' have been found in Central India, at Nācne-ki-talāi in the former Jaso State and at Gañj in the former Ajayagadh State¹. This Pṛthivīśeṇa must on the evidence of palaeography be identified with the first Vākātaka king of that name, who was the son and successor of Rudrasena I. That this Vyāghra flourished in this period is also shown by the mention of his name among the princes exterminated by Samudragupta.

(4) Some records and coins of the Vākātakas have been found in North India. A set of plates issued by Pravarasena II was found at Indore². Coins of Pravarasena and Rudrasena bearing the dates 76 and 100 have been found in North India³. Jayaswal has shown that these dates refer to the so-called Kalacuri-Cedi era, which was really started by the Vākātakas.

On these grounds the Vākātakas are believed to have originally hailed from North India. We shall now examine these grounds critically.

(1) The names of Vindhyaśakti I and Pravīra (i.e. Pravarasena I) occur in the Purāṇas not in connection with the history of Vidiśā, but with reference to the rulers of Purikā. This is shown by the preceding verse which mentions Śīśuka, the daughter's son of the king of Vidiśā, who ruled at Purikā⁴ viz.,

दौहित्रः शिशुको नाम पुरिकायां नृपोभवत् ।

विन्ध्यशक्तिस्तुतश्चापि प्रवीरो नाम वीर्यवान् ।

भोक्ष्यते च समाः षष्टि पुरिकां चनकां च वै ॥

The Purāṇas next proceed to state that thereafter Pravīra, the son of Vindhyaśakti, ruled from two capitals Purikā and Canakā for sixty years⁵. Purikā, we know from the *Harivaṃśa*, was situated at the foot of the Rkṣavat mountain which is usually identified with the Sātpudā range⁶. The town was, therefore, situated south of the Narmadā. Pravīra annexed the kingdom of Śīśuka and made Purikā a second capital of his empire which then extended to the Vindhya mountain. This Purāṇic passage is therefore no indication that the Vākātakas were ruling north of the Narmadā in the early period of their history.

¹ *Ibid* Vol. III, p. 233, f; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 71 f.

² Inscr. No. 9, C. I. I., Vol. V.

³ Jayaswal, *History of India*, 150 A. D.—350 A. D., pp. 71 f.

⁴ *D. K. A.*, pp. 49-50.

⁵ Fargier's critical text reads *bhoksyate ca samāh śastīm purīm Kāñcanakām ca vai*; but Jayaswal very ingeniously conjectured *Purikām canakām*, which is also suggested by a MS. of the *Vāyupurāṇa*, See *D. K. A.*, p. 60 note 33.

⁶ See *Harivaṃśa* Viṣṇuparvan, 38, 22. For the identification of Rkṣavat with the Sātpudā mountain, see *Raghuvamśa* canto V, v44. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* mentions the Rkṣavat mountain as the source of the Tāpī, Payoṣṇī, and Nirvindhya, which take their rise in the Sātpudā mountain.

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(2) Rudradeva mentioned in the Allāhābād pillar inscription as exterminated by Samudragupta cannot be identified with the Vākātaka king Rudrasena I; for the former was a king of Āryāvarta whereas no inscriptions of the latter have been found north of the Narmadā. The only stone inscription of Rudrasena I's reign discovered so far was at Deotek in the Cāndā District. He was therefore ruling in Vidarbha. Besides, as Dr. Altekar has pointed out¹, if Rudrasena I had been exterminated by Samudragupta, it is extremely unlikely that his son Pṛthiviṣeṇa I would ever have selected a Gupta Princess (Prabhāvati-guptā) to be his daughter-in-law. The argument based on the identification of Rudradeva with Rudrasena I has thus no weight.

(3) Pṛthiviṣeṇa whose feudatory's inscriptions have been discovered in Central India is probably identical with Pṛthiviṣeṇa II, not with Pṛthiviṣeṇa I; for we have no indication of the spread of Vākātaka rule north of the Narmadā in the earlier age. On the other hand, in the later period of their history the Vākātakas are known to have extended their supremacy north of the Vindhya. The Bālāghāt plates of Pṛthiviṣeṇa II state that his father Narendrasena's commands were honoured by the king of Mekalā, (the country round Amara-kaṇṭaka)². This is also shown by the covert references to Narendrasena in the Bamhani plates of Bhāratabala who was ruling over this territory³. Narendrasena's son Pṛthiviṣeṇa II seems to have extended his rule still further in the North. His feudatory Vyāghradeva is probably identical with the Uccakalpa prince of the same name, who was ruling over the territory in c. A.D. 470-490⁴. This Vyāghradeva cannot be identified with Vyāghrarāja, the ruler of Mahākāntāra, who was defeated by Samudragupta; for the latter was a prince of Dakṣiṇāpatha. The inscriptions of Vyāghradeva at Nācne-ki-talāi and Gañj do not therefore evidence early rule of the Vākātakas, much less their home-land, north of the Narmadā.

(4) Almost all the records of the Vākātakas have been discovered in South India. The only record which is said to have been found in North India is the Indore copper-plate grant of Pravarasena II. It was in the collection of Pandit Vāmanaśāstri Islāmpurkar⁵. The Pandit used to collect Sanskrit manuscripts and historical records from different parts of the country. Two other grants found in his possession at Indore belong to the *Mahārājas* of Khāndeśa⁶. The Indore plates of Pravarasena therefore probably belonged to some part of Vidarbha. Some of the places mentioned in them can be traced in Vidarbha.

As for the coins said to have been issued by the Vākātaka king Pravarasena I and Rudrasena I, Dr. Altekar has shown that Jayaswal's readings and interpretations of their legends are

¹ *N. H. I. P.*, Vol. VI, p. 105.

² *Inscr.* No. 18 *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

³ *Inscr.* No. 19, *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁴ *Inscr.* Nos. 20 22 *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 52.

⁶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 5 and 8.

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incorrect¹. The coin ascribed to Pravarasena is really of Virasena. The symbols which Jayaswal read as 76 are the branches of a tree. As for the coins of Rudrasena, what Jayaswal read as *Rudra* is really the *tri-ratna* symbol. The symbol supposed to denote the number 100 is really a *svastika*. Besides, the figures on the coin, supposing they are correctly read, cannot refer to the Kalacuri-Cedi era; for the era was not started by the Vākātakas and has not been used by them in dating their own records.

There is thus not an iota of evidence to prove the northern origin of the Vākātakas. On the other hand there are several indications which point to the Deccan as their home-land. Some of them may be noted here.

(1) The earliest mention of the name Vākāṭaka occurs in a pilgrim's record at Amarāvati in the Guntur taluka of the Āndhra State². It records certain donations of a *grhapati* named Vākāṭaka. Most of the inscriptions at Amarāvati mention countries, rivers and places of South India. The name of the native village of this *grhapati* Vākāṭaka is unfortunately lost, but it must have been situated somewhere in South India, perhaps in the neighbouring country of the Deccan. This Vākāṭaka was probably the founder of the family which later adopted his name even as Gupta was the progenitor of the Gupta family and Sātavāhana was of the Sātavāhana family.

(2) Several technical terms which occur in the land-grants of the Vākātakas are noticed in those of the Pallavas also³. They are, however, conspicuous by their absence in northern records. This points to the southern origin of the Vākātakas.

(3) Some of the titles which the Vākātakas assumed in their early records e.g., *Hāritiputra* and *Dharmamahārāja* are noticed only in the grants of southern dynasties such as the Viṅhukaṣa Sātakarṇis, the Pallavas, the Kadambas and the Early Cālukyas. They are not noticed in northern grants⁴.

(4) A ministerial family which served the Vākātakas loyally for several generations hailed from Vallūra in the Southern region⁵. This place has not yet been definitely identified, but may be identical with modern Velur, which lies about 30 miles north by east of Hyderābād. The royal family also may have belonged to a place in South India, not very far from Vallūra.

The evidence adduced above clearly points to the southern origin of the Vākātakas.

Early Rulers.

Vindhyasak'i I is the earliest known king of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. According to the Purāṇas, he rose to power after the Kilakila or Kolikila Yavanas⁶. The inscription in Cave XVI at Ajinṭhā glorifies

¹ J. N. S. I., Vol. V, pp. 130 f.

² See *Amrāvati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum.*, p. 304.

³ C. I. I., Vol. V, p. xv.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. xv.

⁵ Inscr. No. 26, C. I. I., Vol. V.

⁶ *Id.*, Vol. V, p. 10.

him as 'the banner of the Vākāṭaka family' and gives the valuable information that he was a *dvija*, which usually means a Brāhmaṇa. Later Vākāṭaka inscriptions mention Viṣṇuvṛddha as the *gotra* of the Vākāṭakas. How Vindhyaśakti was related to the *grhapati* Vākāṭaka mentioned in the Amarāvati inscription we do not know, but it is not unlikely that like the *Mahāsenāpati* Māna who founded an independent kingdom in the country of Māhiṣaka, he occupied an influential position under the last Sātavāhana king, which facilitated his rise to power.

According to some scholars, Vindhyaśakti originally hailed from Central India. His name occurs at the end of a passage which enumerates the kings of Vidiśā. It is therefore supposed that he was ruling at that city. This is, however, a mistaken view. The passage mentions not him but his son Pravīra (i.e. Pravarasena I) as the ruler of Purikā, which was previously governed by the daughter's son of the king of Vidiśā. As shown above, Purikā was situated at the foot of the Rkṣvat or Sāṭpuḍā mountain. Vindhyaśakti I may have belonged to the Central Deccan. The Purāṇas state that Pravarasena I had two capitals Canakā and Purikā. The former may have been the original capital of the Vākāṭakas¹. It has not yet been definitely identified, but may have been situated in the Deccan not far from Vallūra, the home of a ministerial family which served the Vākāṭakas for several generations.

Vindhyaśakti is mentioned only in one record viz., the inscription in Cave XVI Ajinṭhā². He is said to have increased his power by fighting great battles. When enraged, he was irresistible. He defeated all enemies by the might of his arms. He had a large cavalry, by means of which he exacted submission from his foes. We have no information about the extent of his kingdom. His name is supposed to indicate that he spread his rule to the Vindhya mountain; but according to the Purāṇas, this was achieved not by him but by his son Pravīra who overthrew the king of Purikā. Vindhyaśakti may however have extended his power to Vidarbha. His name is generally omitted in the Sanskrit and Prākṛt charters of his descendants. Even in the Ajinṭhā inscription no royal title is prefixed to his name. From this it is argued that he received no formal coronation³. This is hardly convincing. The reason for the omission of his name in subsequent charters is that not he but his son Pravarasena I was the real founder of the Vākāṭaka Empire. No royal title is prefixed to his name in the Ajinṭhā inscription because that record is in verse. It may be noted that it mentions no such title in the case of other rulers also who were undoubtedly crowned. In fact the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* explicitly states that Vindhyaśakti was *mūrdhābhīṣikta* or crowned.⁴ So there is no reason to doubt that he reigned as an independent king. He probably flourished in the

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¹ D.K.A., p. 50. Jayaswal suggests *Purikām canakām ca vat* in place of *purīm Kāñcanakām ca vat*, as already stated.

² Insor. No. 25, C. I. I., Vol. V.

³ N. H. I. P., Vol. VI, p. 12.

⁴ D. K. A., p. 48, No. 84.

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Vindhyāsakti I's successor Pravarasena I was the most powerful king of the Vākāṭaka family. He is invariably mentioned at the head of the royal genealogy in all Vākāṭaka grants. He invaded and annexed the kingdom of Purikā where a scion of the Nāga king of Vidiśā was reigning, and thus extended the northern limit of his empire to the Narmadā. He then seems to have made Purikā his second capital. We have no further knowledge of his conquests; but it is not unlikely that he raided Dakṣiṇa Kosala (Chattisgaḍh), Kalinga and Āndhra. Definite proof of these conquests is, however, lacking. He may also have conquered parts of North Kuntala comprising the Kolhāpūr, Sātārā and Solāpūr Districts of Mahārāṣṭra, but of this also we have no definite proof. That he had a large kingdom is shown by his performance of four Aśvamedha sacrifices, indicative, perhaps, of the extension of his political power in the four directions of his kingdom.

It is suggested by some scholars that Pravarasena I, carried his arms north of the Narmadā and succeeded in extending his suzerainty over the Śaka Kṣatrapas of Mālvā and Saurāṣṭra. It is pointed out in support of this view that the Kṣatrapas Rudrasimha II and Yaśodāman II, who were the contemporaries of Pravarasena I, did not, unlike their predecessors, assume the title *Mahākṣatrapa*.² This may, however, be due to the rise of another powerful Śaka prince in Central India, viz., Śrīdharavarman, whose inscriptions have been found at Kānākhedā near Sāñci and Eraṇ in the Saugor District³. Jayaswal's view⁴ that Pravarasena I had a large empire in North India is also untenable; for we have no vestiges of Vākāṭaka rule north of the Narmadā in this early period. The only proof of Vākāṭaka suzerainty in North India is furnished by the lithic records of Vyāghrarāja, the feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Emperor Pṛthiviṣeṇa, at Nacnā and Gañj in Bāghelkhaṇḍ, but as shown elsewhere, these records belong to a much later age, Pṛthiviṣeṇa mentioned therein being the second king of that name who flourished nearly two centuries after Pravarasena I.

Pravarasena I was a pious man and a staunch supporter of the Vedic religion. He performed, besides the four Aśvamedhas already mentioned, all the seven Soma sacrifices⁵. The Purāṇas make a special mention of his Vājapeya sacrifices which, they say were marked by munificent gifts to Brāhmaṇas⁶. Thereafter he assumed the unique

¹ D.K.A., p. 48.

² N. H. I. P., Vol. VI, p. 58 f.

³ Inscr. Nos. 5 and 119, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

⁴ History of India, 150 A. D.—350 A. D., p. 93 f.

⁵ The seven Soma sacrifices (*sapta-soma-samsthā*) are usually named as follows—

Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Uk'thya, Śoḍaśin, Vājapeya, Atirātra and Āptoryāma. Vākāṭaka inscriptions generally name all these except Atyagniṣṭoma and add Brhaspatisava and Sādyaskra to them. See inscr. No. 3, C. I. I., Vol. V.

⁶ D. K. A., p. 50. One MS. of the *Vāyupurāṇa* mentions Vājimedhas (i.e. Aśvamedhas) in place of Vājapeyas

Imperial title *Samrāt* or Emperor. He is the only known king of historical times who assumed this title. The Bāsim plates¹ mention two other titles of his viz. *Dharmamahārāja* and *Hārītipūra*, which indicate his association with the Southern Kings like the Pallavas and the Kadāmbas.

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It is not possible to state the exact limits of the Empire of Pravarasena I. That Vidarbha, Northern Kuntala, and Dakṣiṇa Kosala were under his rule seems pretty certain. His sphere of influence may have extended to Kalinga and Āndhra. By his Aśvamedha sacrifices he proclaimed his supremacy in the Deccan. He sought to strengthen his position still further by a matrimonial alliance with the Bhāraśivas, the powerful Nāga rulers of Padmāvati. The Bhāraśivas originally belonged to Vidarbha; for a stone inscription² of the second century A.D. mentioning the Bhāra king Bhagadatta has been found at Pauni in the Bhaṇḍārā District of Vidarbha. Later, they seem to have migrated to North India where they carved out an independent kingdom for themselves at Padmāvati, modern Padam Pavāyā in the former Gwalior State. Padmāvati is mentioned in the Purāṇas as one of the four principal seats of Nāga power. Copper coins of Bhavanāga, the *Adhirāja* of the Bhāraśivas have been found at Padmāvati³. The Vākāṭaka grants give considerable information about the Bhāraśivas⁴. They were so called because they carried on their shoulders the emblem of Śiva (perhaps his *triśūla* or trident) and believed that they owed their royal power to his grace. They performed as many as ten Aśvamedha sacrifices and got themselves crowned with the water of the Gaṅgā which they had obtained by their valour. The description plainly indicates what prominent part the Bhāraśivas played in the liberation of the country from the yoke of the Kuśāṇas. The Bhāraśivas drove the foreigners away from North India and recovered the holy places of Prayāga and Banāras from their grip. Jayaswal conjectured that the Daśāśvamedha ghāt at Banāras was reminiscent of their performance of ten Aśvamedhas. Bhavanāga, the *Mahārāja* of the Bhāraśivas was a powerful king. He gave his daughter in marriage to Gautamīputra, the eldest son of Pravarasena I. This matrimonial alliance seems to have greatly increased the power and prestige of the Vākāṭakas; for it is invariably mentioned in the grants of the descendants of Gautamīputra even as the Licchavi alliance is mentioned in the records of the Guptas. The Purāṇas assign a period of sixty years to the rule of Pravarasena I, whom they call Pravira. This is not unlikely in view of his performance of four Aśvamedhas and several Vājapeya and other Soma sacrifices. He reigned probably from A.D. 270 to A.D. 330.

The Ghatotkaca cave inscription mentions Deva, a very active, learned and pious Brāhmaṇa, by whose influence the whole country together with the king performed religious duties. He seems to have been the Prime Minister of Pravarasena I and was mainly responsible for the phenomenal religious activity noticed in the latter's reign.

¹ Insor. No. 23, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p. 11 f.

³ See Catalogue of the Coins of the Nāga Kings of Padmāvati, p. 27 f.

⁴ Insor. No. 2, C. I. I., Vol V.

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Early Rulers.

According to the Purāṇas, Pravarasena I had four sons, all of whom became kings. It seems therefore that the extensive Empire of Pravarasena I was divided among his sons after his death. Until recently this statement of the Purāṇas appeared incredible; for there was no evidence that the Vākāṭaka family had branched off so early. All the discovered records were therefore assigned to the same line, notwithstanding apparent discrepancies in the genealogy noticed in them. The discovery of the Bāsim plates in 1939 showed for the first time that besides Gautamīputra mentioned in several land-grants, Pravarasena I had another son named Sarvasena. The present writer next showed that his name was also mentioned in the inscription in Ajinṭhā cave XVI, but had been misread by the earlier editors of the record¹. We may therefore well believe the statement in the Purāṇas that Pravarasena had four sons, though the names of only two of them viz., Gautamīputra and Sarvasena have so far become known. The extensive empire of the Vākāṭakas was divided among them. The eldest son Gautamīputra had predeceased Pravarasena I, but his son Rudrasena I seems to have continued to reign from Purikā. The second son Sarvasena established himself at Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim in the Akolā District of Vidarbha, which had long been known as a holy place. The names of the other two sons are not yet known as no records of their families have been discovered so far. One of them may have been ruling over the upper Kṛṣṇā valley, comprising the modern districts of Kolhāpūr, Sātārā and Solāpur. This branch seems to have been soon overthrown by Mānāṅka, the founder of the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, who rose to power about A.D. 375². The fourth branch may have been holding Dakṣiṇa Kosala (or Chattisgaḍh). It was also ousted by a king named Mahendra, who was ruling over the territory when Samudragupta invaded it in the course of his southern *digvijaya*³.

The Main Branch. As stated above, Gautamīputra, the eldest son of Pravarasena I, predeceased his father; for in the records of his successors the expression *Vākāṭakānām Mahārājah*, which invariably precedes the name of every ruling prince, is not applied to him. His son Rudrasena I succeeded Pravarasena I and ruled over northern parts of Vidarbha probably from the old capital Purikā. In later Vākāṭaka records of this branch he is invariably described as the daughter's son of Bhavanāga, the *Mahārāja* of the Bhāraśivas. This plainly indicates that he had the powerful support of the Nāga rulers of Padmāvātī. Only one inscription of his reign has been discovered so far viz., that at Deotek in the Cāndā District. It is not dated, but its palaeographic evidence⁴ leaves no doubt that Rudrasena mentioned in it was the first Vākāṭaka king of that name.

The Deotek inscription⁵ records the construction of a Dharma-sthāna or temple by Rudrasena at Cikkamburi, modern Cikkamārā near

¹ Mirashi, 'The Vatsagulma Branch of the Vākāṭaka Dynasty', *P. I. H. C.* IV, p. 79, f.

² Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 178 f.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 7.

⁴ Inscr. No. 1, *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

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Deotek. It is incised on a large slab of stone after chiselling off an earlier record, issued probably by a *Mahāmātra* of Aśoka, prohibiting the capture and slaughter of animals. Rudrasena I was a devout worshipper of Mahābhairava, the terrific god created by Śiva for the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice. He had therefore no regard for the *ahimsā* doctrine of Aśoka. He caused the earlier inscription of the great Buddhist Emperor to be chiselled off to make room for his own record.

Rudrasena I was a contemporary of the mighty Gupta Emperor Samudragupta. His age was therefore a period of great convulsion in North India. Soon after his accession, Samudragupta, with the powerful support of the Licchavis of Viśālī, embarked upon a career of conquest and annexation in North India. He overthrew a large number of princes of Āryāvarta. Among them is mentioned one Rudradeva¹, who, according to some scholars, is identical with Vākāṭaka Rudrasena I; but as shown above, the Vākāṭakas were not ruling north of the Narmadā in this early period. Rudrasena I can therefore hardly be described as a ruler of Āryāvarta. Perhaps Rudradeva was the Western Kṣatrapa Rudrasena III, who flourished in that period. Among other kings exterminated by Samudragupta were the Nāga princes Nāgadatta, Gaṇapatiṇāga and Nāgasena. Of these, Gaṇapatiṇāga was probably a ruler of Padmāvati; for his coins have been found there². He seems to have succeeded Bhavanāga. The other Nāga princes may have been ruling over small states in Central India. Their overthrow by Samudragupta must have deprived Rudrasena I of the powerful support of the confederacy of Nāga kings of North India and greatly lowered his power and prestige.

After these northern conquests Samudragupta led an expedition to the South. His way lay through Dakṣiṇa Kosala, the ruler of which was probably a feudatory of the Vākāṭakas. It is not known what measures Rudrasena adopted for his aid, but the prince Mahendra was defeated and had to acknowledge Gupta suzerainty³. He had to allow Samudragupta to pass through his territory for the conquest of other southern kingdoms. His successors continued to acknowledge Gupta supremacy and dated their records in the Gupta era as shown by the Āraṅ plates⁴ of Bhīmasena II of G. 182 (A.D. 501-02).

Samudragupta continued his victorious march and subjugated Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntara (Bastār District), who probably belonged to the Nala family, Maṇṭarāja of Kurāḷa, Mehendragiri of Piṣṭapura and several other kings of Kalinga and Āndhra. These kings were previously under the sphere of influence of the Vākāṭakas. They now threw off the Vākāṭaka yoke and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas.

¹ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 7.

² Catalogue of the Coins of the Nāga Kings of Padmāvati, p. 49 f.

³ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 7.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 342 f. I have shown that the correct reading of the date of this inscription is 182 (A. D. 501) not G. 282 as read by Hiralal.

CHAPTER 3. Though the kingdom of Rudrasena I was thus much reduced in size, he maintained his independence and did not submit to the mighty Gupta Emperor. Perhaps Samudragupta prudently avoided a direct conflict with the Vākātaka king. The latter's kingdom occupied a strategic position with regard to the dominion of the Western Kṣatrapas, whom he had not yet been able to overthrow. He therefore thought it wise to maintain friendly relations with the king of Vidarbha. There are no signs of Gupta supremacy in the Vākātaka records of that age. Some scholars have drawn attention to the use of the title *Mahārāja* applied to early Vākātaka kings as contrasted with the dignified title *Mahārājādhirāja* used in connection with the Gupta king Devagupta (i.e. Candragupta II), from which they have inferred that the Vākātaka kings were occupying a subordinate position¹. This view is untenable. Grandiloquent royal titles were not in vogue in South India. Išvarasena, the founder of the Ābhīra dynasty, has only the ordinary title *Rājan* prefixed to his name in the Nāsik cave inscription. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I, who performed as many as eleven Aśvamedhas, uses only the title *Mahārāja* in his records². The powerful Kalacuri Emperors Kṛṣṇarāja, Śaṅkaragaṇa and Buddharāja, whose dominion comprised Mālṡvā, Gujarāt, Koṅkaṇ and Mahārāṣṭra including Vidarbha, have no title prefixed to their names in their own records³. Pravarasena I, no doubt, assumed the imperial title *Samrāt*, but that was because he had performed the Vājapeya sacrifices, which entitled him to do so⁴. The drafters of Vākātaka records were therefore following the current practice when they prefixed the title *Mahārāja* to the names of the Vākātaka kings and *Mahārājādhirāja* to that of the Gupta king Candragupta II. The titles do not indicate any subordinate status of the Vākātakas.

That the Vākātaka kings were not feudatories of the Guptas is also indicated by the fact that they did not adopt the Gupta era, but dated all their records in regnal years. As they did not themselves strike any coins, they were not loth to use Gupta currency as they had previously been using Śaka coinage⁵, but that was no indication of Gupta suzerainty. Their relations with the Guptas seem, however, to have been very friendly.

Rudrasena I was succeeded in *circa* A.D. 350 by his son Pṛthivīṣeṇa I. He is highly eulogised in the grants of his successors as possessing the noble qualities of truthfulness, compassion, self-restraint and charity, besides heroism and political wisdom. He is compared with Yudhiṣṭhira, the great Pāṇḍava hero of the Mahābhārata fame, who was well known for such virtues. Pṛthivīṣeṇa I followed a peaceful policy which brought happiness and contentment to his people. The contemporary Gupta kings Samudragupta and Candragupta II were follow-

¹ H. C. I. P., Vol. IV, p. 180.

² J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VI, p. 25; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 338.

³ Inscr. Nos. 12, 14 and 15, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

⁴ Inscr. No. 3, C. I. I., Vol. V; D. K. A., p. 50.

⁵ Several hoards of Śaka coins have been found in the Chindavādā District of Madhya Pradesh and Wardhā and Akolā Districts of Vidarbha.

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ing an aggressive policy in the north, subduing their neighbours and annexing their kingdoms. Pr̥thiviṣeṇa I wisely refrained from being entangled in these wars and devoted himself to the consolidation of his position in the south and ameliorating the condition of his subjects. The results of his policy are summed up in the following words in the official records — “Pr̥thiviṣeṇa I had a continuous supply of treasure and army which had been accumulating for a hundred years.”

Pr̥thiviṣeṇa lived to a good old age. The description in the Vākāṭaka grants shows that he had sons and grandsons when he died. He may therefore have reigned for about fifty years from A.D. 350 to A.D. 400. It was previously supposed on the evidence of some readings in the inscription in Ajinṭhā cave XVI that he defeated the king of Kuntala and annexed his kingdom¹. It has since been pointed out that the inscription describes Vindhyasena (or Vindhyaśakti II) of the Vatsagulma branch, not Pr̥thiviṣeṇa of the main branch². The latter, however, took part in another campaign which took place a few years before the close of his reign. In *circa* A.D. 395, Candragupta II, who by that time had become the lord paramount of a large part of North India, launched his attack on the Western Kṣatrapas of Māl̥vā and Saurāṣṭra. The causes of this war are not known. The Kṣatrapas were ruling over these provinces for more than three hundred years and had grown very powerful. It is therefore not unlikely that in this campaign Candragupta II sought the alliance of the Vākāṭaka Emperor Pr̥thiviṣeṇa I, whose country bordered on that of the Kṣatrapas. The combined strength of the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas was sufficient to wipe out the Western Kṣatrapas, who disappeared from history about this time. Candragupta II then annexed the provinces of Māl̥vā and Saurāṣṭra to his dominion and made Ujjayinī his second capital. He is the prototype of the legendary Vikramāditya who exterminated the Sakas, ruled from Ujjayinī and was a great patron of art and literature. To cement the political alliance formed on this occasion, Candragupta gave his daughter Prabhāvatīguptā in marriage to the Vākāṭaka prince Rudrasena II, the son of Pr̥thiviṣeṇa I. This matrimonial alliance between the ruling houses of Māl̥vā and Vidarbha recalled a similar event which had occurred some five centuries before in the time of the Śuṅgas. Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* which has for its theme the marriage of Agnimitra, the king of Vidiśā, with the Vidarbha princess Mālavikā, was probably staged at Ujjayinī on the occasion of this royal wedding³.

Like his father Pr̥thiviṣeṇa I was a devout worshipper of Śiva. During his time the Vākāṭaka capital seems to have been shifted from Purikā to Nandivardhana, modern Nandardhan or Nagardhan, about 28 miles from Nāgpūr. This place is surrounded by strongly fortified forts such as Bhivgaḍh and Ghughusgaḍh, which may have been the reason for its selection as the royal capital.

¹ A. S. W. I., Vol. IV, pp. 124 f.

² Mirashi, 'The Vatsagulma Branch of the Vākāṭaka Dynasty', *P. I. H. C.* IV, p. 79 f.; No. 25, *C. I. P.*, Vol. V.

³ Some Sanskrit plays such as the *Viddhaśālabhaṣṭikā* of Jayaśekhara and the *Karpasundarī* of Bilhana were first staged on similar occasions.

CHAPTER 3. Prthiviṣeṇa I was succeeded by his son Rudrasena II in *circa* A.D. 400. Unlike his ancestors who were all Śaivas, this prince was a Vaiṣṇava; for he ascribed his prosperity to the grace of Cakrapāṇi (Viṣṇu¹). This change in his religious creed was evidently due to the influence of his wife Prabhāvatīguptā, who, like her father Candragupta II, was a devout worshipper of Bhagavat (i.e., Viṣṇu). She greatly venerated the *pāda-mūlas* of Rāmagirivāmin i.e., Rāmacandra on the hill Rāmagiri, modern Rāmtek, which lies just three miles from the then Vākāṭaka capital Nandivardhana. Both of her known grants were made near the foot-prints (*pādamūlas*) of the god after fasting on the Kārttika-śukla-pratipadā².

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Rudrasena II died soon after his accession, in A. D. 405, leaving behind two sons Divākarasena and Dāmodarasena. The former was about five years old at the time. At this crisis in the history of the Vākāṭakas, Candragupta II came to the help of his daughter. He sent some of his trusted generals and statesmen to help her in governing her kingdom. Prabhāvatīguptā's Poonā plates³ which were issued from the capital Nandivardhana in the thirteenth year, evidently of the reign of the boy prince, revealed for the first time that she was a daughter of the famous Gupta Emperor Candragupta II and thus placed Vākāṭaka genealogy on a sound footing. Unlike other charters of the Vākāṭakas, this grant is inscribed in nail-headed characters and gives in its initial portion the genealogy, not of the Vākāṭakas, but of the Guptas. Gupta influence was evidently predominant then at the Vākāṭaka court. Among the Officers who visited the Vākāṭaka court at the time was the great Sanskr̥t poet Kālidāsa. He composed his world famous lyric *Meghadūta* while in Vidarbha; for he makes Rāmagiri (modern Rāmtek) near the Vākāṭaka capital the place of the exiled Yakṣa's residence⁴. The route of the cloud-messenger from Rāmagiri to Vidiśā, described in the *Meghadūta* suits only Rāmtek and no other place. Kālidāsa's graphic description of the six-year old Sudarśana in the 18th canto of *Raghuvamśa* was probably suggested by what the poet saw at the Vākāṭaka court.

Divākarasena also was short-lived. He was succeeded in *circa* A.D. 420 by his younger brother Dāmodarasena, who, on coronation, assumed the name of Pravarsena II. Several land grants⁵ of this prince have come down to us. They record his donations of fields or villages in the modern districts of Amarāvatī, Wardhā, Nāgpūr, Betūl, Chindwādā, Bhaṇḍārā and Bālāghāt. The latest of these grants is dated in the 29th regnal year. Pravarsena II had therefore a long reign of about thirty years (A.D. 420-450).

The earlier grants of Pravarsena II were made at the old capital Nandivardhana. The latest of these is that recorded in the Belorā plates and belongs to the 11th regnal year. The next known grant

¹ Inscr. No. 3, C. I. I. Vol. V.

² Inscr. Nos. 2 and 8, C. I. I. Vol. V.

³ Inscr. No. 2, C. I. I. Vol. V.

⁴ Mirashi, Location of Rāmagiri, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I. pp. 12 f.

⁵ Inscr. Nos. 3-10, C. I. I. Vol. V.

is of the 18th regnal year, issued from Pravarapura. It seems therefore that he founded a city named Pravarapura and shifted his capital there some time between his 11th and 18th regnal years. This Pravarapura is probably identical with Pavnār in the Wardhā District where some interesting sculptures of the Vākāṭaka age have recently come to notice¹.

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Pravarasena II was a devout worshipper of Śaṁbhu (i.e. Śiva), by whose grace he is said to have established on earth the *Kṛtayuga* or Golden Age. He was a very liberal king. More than a dozen land-grants of his have been discovered so far. He was also a poet of no mean order. Some of his Sanskrit verses have been preserved in Sanskrit anthologies. He composed also several Prakṛt *gāthās*, some of which have been incorporated in the *Gāthāsaptasatī*. The well-known Prakṛt *Kāvya Setubandha* is also ascribed to him². Some scholars doubt his authorship of this *kāvya* on the ground that its theme is Vaiṣṇava, while the king was a devotee of Śiva³. The argument has little force. We might as well doubt Kālidāsa's authorship of the *Raghuvamśa*, for he also was a Śaiva while the theme of that *kāvya* is the glorification of the family of Rāmacandra, an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Pravarasena may have undertaken to compose the *Setubandha* at the instance of his mother who was a devotee of Viṣṇu. From stanza 9 of the first Canto of this *kāvya* it seems that Pravarasena began to compose it soon after his accession and evidently received considerable help from Kālidāsa in case of difficulties. Hence in the colophons of the different cantos the authorship of the *kāvya* is ascribed to both Pravarasena and Kālidāsa. Pravarasena built a magnificent temple of Rāmacandra at Pravarapura when he shifted his capital there. He decorated it with beautiful panels illustrating various incidents in the story of Rāma. Some of these panels have recently been discovered at the site of the temple on the bank of the river Dhām near Pavnār.

Pravarasena II was succeeded by his son Narendrasena in *circa* A.D. 450. The Bālāghāt plates state that he enticed the royal fortune by means of the confidence which he had produced in her by his good qualities⁴. Dr. Kielhorn took this description as suggesting that he superseded his elder brother⁵. It has also been supposed that there was a division of the kingdom between him and his elder brother whose name is lost in the inscription in Ajinṭhā Cave XVI. Both these suppositions have been proved to be baseless; for the princes mentioned in the Ajinṭhā inscription belonged to the Vatsagulma branch which had already been separated from the main branch of the Vākāṭaka family⁶. Narendrasena is also referred to

¹ Mirashi, 'Pravarapura, An Ancient Capital of the Vākāṭakas', *Sarūpa-Bhārati*, p. 270 f.

² Mirashi, 'Some Royal Poets of the Vākāṭaka Age', *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, pp. 96 f.

³ *H. C. I. P.*, Vol. IV, pp. 183 f.

⁴ Inscr. No. 18 *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 269.

⁶ Inscr. No. 25, *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

CHAPTER 3. covertly in the Bahmanī plates of the Pāṇḍavavaṃśī king Bhāratabala who was his feudatory¹.

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Narendrasena followed an aggressive policy in the north and east and made some conquests. The Bālāghaṭ plates state² that his commands were obeyed by the rulers of Kosalā, Mekalā and Malava. Since the time of Rudrasena I the country of Kosala (or Chattisgaḍh) was being ruled by a feudatory family which owned the supremacy of the Guptas. It used the Gupta era in dating its records. At this time, however, Gupta power was tottering on account of the onslaughts of the Hūṇas. The ruler of Dakṣiṇa Kosala, who was probably Bhīmasena I mentioned in the Āraṅ plates³ seems to have submitted to the Vākāṭaka king.

Mekalā is the country near Amarkaṇṭak, where the Narmadā called *Mekalasutā* takes its rise. Before the rise of the Guptas this country was under the Maghas. When Samudragupta defeated the Maghas and annexed their territory, he seems to have placed a Pāṇḍavavaṃśī feudatory in charge of this country. The Bahmanī plates give the following genealogy of this family — Jayabala, his son Vatsarāja, his son Nāgabala and his son Bharatabala. Of these, the first two owned the suzerainty of the Guptas. Nāgabala, who was reigning when the Gupta Empire was convulsed by the Hūṇa invasions, declared his independence and assumed the title *Mahārāja*. He tried to increase his power by forming a matrimonial alliance with the contemporary king of Dakṣiṇa Kosala. His son Bharatabala was married to Lokaprakāśā, the daughter of the afore-mentioned king Bhīmasena I of Chattisgaḍh. Narendrasena seems to have forced him to acknowledge his suzerainty. Bharatabala makes a veiled reference to it in his Bahmanī plates.

Malava the third country whose ruler is said to have honoured the commands of the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena, was under the direct rule of the Guptas ever since it was conquered from the Western Kṣatrapas. The Hūṇa invasions seem to have weakened the power of the Guptas in this part of the country. The Mandasor inscription⁴ of V. 529 (A.D. 473-74), states that during the short period of 36 years (between V. 493 and 529) several princes held the country of Daśapura (modern Mandasor) which lies only a few miles north of Ujjayinī. The Mandasor inscription of V. 524 also indicates that there were several uprisings of the enemies of the Guptas which were quelled by their feudatory Prabhākara ruling at Daśapura. Some of these hostile princes might have sought the aid of the Vākāṭaka king in throwing off the Gupta yoke.

Towards the end of Narendrasena's reign, the Vākāṭaka territory was invaded by the Nala king Bhavadattavarman. The Nalas were ruling over the Bastār State and the adjoining territory where their

¹ Inscr. No. 19, C. I. I., Vol. V.

² Inscr. No. 18, C. I. I., Vol. V.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 342 f.

⁴ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 83.

inscriptions¹ and coins² have been found. Bhavadattavarman pressed as far as Nandivardhana, the former capital of the Vākātakas, which he occupied for some time. A copper-plate inscription issued from Nandivardhana records his grant of a village in the Yeotmāl District in Vidarbha. It plainly indicates that the Nalas had occupied a considerable portion of the Vākātika dominion.

The Vākātakas also admit this disaster to their arms. The Bālāghāṭ plates³ state that Narendrasena's son Pṛthiviṣeṇa II raised his sunken family. He seems to have been forced to shift his capital from Pravarapura to Padmapura, now a small village near Āmgāñv in the Bhaṇḍārā District. This place is mentioned as the place of issue in an unfinished copper-plate inscription⁴ found in the Durg District of Madhya Pradesh. Here Pṛthiviṣeṇa consolidated his power. He then raided the enemy's territory and devastated their capital Puṣkarī⁵. The Nalas were then forced to abandon Vidarbha and return to their home province.

Pṛthiviṣeṇa was the son of Narendrasena from Ajjhitabhāṭṭārikā, a princess of Kuntala⁶. Some scholars identify her family with the Kadambas of Vanavāsī⁷, but it is more likely to be the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family of Mānapura. This latter family was founded by Mānānka, who is described in the Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī plates discovered near Kolhāpūr as the ruler of the prosperous Kuntala country⁸. This family appears to have wielded considerable power and often came into conflict with the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākātakas. Ajjhitabhāṭṭārikā married to Narendrasena, was probably a daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Avidheya, who flourished in *circa* A.D. 440-455.

Pṛthiviṣeṇa II, who succeeded his father in *circa* A.D. 470, was an ambitious prince. He not only retrieved his position in Vidarbha and regained his kingdom but carried his arms even farther than his father. Two stone inscriptions of his feudatory Vyāghradeva, who expressly mentions the suzerainty of the Vākātika Mahārāja Pṛthiviṣeṇa have been discovered at Nācnā and Gañj in Central India⁹. As shown above, this Pṛthiviṣeṇa must be identified with the second Vākātika king of that name¹⁰. His feudatory Vyāghradeva was evidently identical with the Uccakalpa prince Vyāghra who flourished in the same period (A.D. 470-490) in that part of the country. The Uccakalpa kings were previously the feudatories of the Guptas whose era they used in dating their records. When the power of the Guptas declined in the second half of the fifth century A.D. they seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Vākātakas.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 153 f.

² *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. I, p. 29 f.

³ *Inscr. No. 18, C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁴ *Inscr. No. 17, C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 155 f.

⁶ *Inscr. No. 18, C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁷ *N. H. J. P.*, Vol. VI, p. 108; *H. C. I. P.*, Vol. IV, p. 184.

⁸ Mirashi, 'The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura', *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I p. 178 f.

⁹ *Inscr. Nos. 20-22, C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

¹⁰ Mirashi, 'Vākātika Pṛthiviṣeṇa, the Suzerain of Vyāghra', *Belwalkar Felicitation Volume*, p. 286 f.

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Unlike most of his ancestors, Prthiviṣeṇa II was a devotee of Viṣṇu.

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He is the last known member of this main branch of the Vākāṭaka family. He may have closed his reign about A.D. 490. Thereafter, his kingdom was incorporated in the dominion of Hariṣeṇa of the Vatsagulma branch.

The Vatsagulma
Branch.

The existence of the Vatsagulma branch was unknown until the discovery of the Bāśim plates in 1939. Several members of it were indeed mentioned in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajinṭhā, but owing to a sad mutilation of that record their names were misread by its previous editors. These names have since been restored and it has been conclusively shown that the princes of this branch ruled over South Vidarbha stretching from the Indhyādri range in the north to the Godāvarī in the south¹.

The founder of this family was Sarvasena, who is mentioned in the Bāśim plates as the son of Pravarasena I. His name occurs also in the mutilated Ajinṭhā inscription but it was misread as Rudrasena and taken to refer to Rudrasena I, though the latter was not the son but was the grandson of Pravarasena I. Sarvasena made Vatsagulma, modern Bāśim in the Akolā District, the capital of his kingdom. In course of time this place became a great centre of learning and culture and gave its name to Vachhomī, the best poetic style².

From the Bāśim plates³ we learn that Sarvasena continued the title *Dharmamahārāja* which his father Pravarasena I had assumed in imitation of southern kings. In extending his kingdom Sarvasena was assisted by his minister Ravi, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Soma from a Kṣatriya wife. The descendants of this Ravi served this branch of the Vākāṭakas loyally for several generations⁴.

Sarvasena is known as the author of the Prākṛt *Kāvya Harivijaya*, which has been highly eulogised by Sanskrit poets and rhetoricians⁵. This *kāvya* has unfortunately not yet come to light, but from quotations in rhetorical works its theme seems to be the removal, by Kṛṣṇa, of the Pārijāta tree from heaven for the appeasement of his wife Satyabhāmā. The theme is embellished with the descriptions of the city Dvārakā, the hero Kṛṣṇa, the season spring, sunset, horses, elephants, etc., as required in a *Mahākāvya*. It is one of the earliest *kāvyas* in Sanskrit and Prākṛt literatures. It seems to have served as a model for the later Sanskrit and Prākṛt *kāvyas* of Kālidāsa and Pravarasena II. Sarvasena also composed several Prākṛt *gāthās*, some of which have been incorporated into the Prākṛt anthology *Gāthāsaptasatī*.

¹ Inscr. No. 26, C. I. I., Vol. V.

² Rājasekhara, *Karpūramāñjarī*, Act I, v. 1; *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (First Ed. G.O.S.) p. 10.

³ Inscr. No. 23, C. I. I., Vol. V.

⁴ Inscr. No. 26, C. I. I., Vol. V.

⁵ Mirashi, 'Some Royal Poets of the Vākāṭaka Age', *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 96 f.

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Sarvasena flourished in the period *circa* A.D. 330-355. He was followed by Vindhyaśakti II. His name in the form *Vindhyaśena* occurs in the Ajinṭhā cave inscription, but it was misread as *Prthivī-ṣeṇa* by the editors of the record. The correct name has since been restored.

Vindhyaśena came into conflict with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Mānānka, who was just then rising to power in the upper Kṛṣṇā valley. The Ajinṭhā inscription states that Vindhyaśena vanquished the ruler of Kuntala, while the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions record Mānānka's victory over Vidarbha and Āśmaka¹. As both Vindhyaśena and Mānānka claim a victory over each other, neither of them seems to have emerged completely victorious from this war. The relations of the two families appear to have improved later on when Mānānka's successor Devarāja came under the political influence of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II.

The Bāsim plates, which brought the existence of this branch to notice for the first time, are dated in the 37th regnal year of Vindhyaśakti II. They were issued from the royal capital Vatsagulma, and register the grant of a village situated in the territorial division of Nāndikāṭa, modern Nānded in Marāṭhvāḍā. The genealogical portion of the grant is written in Sanskrit and the formal portion in Prākṛt. This grant shows how Sanskrit was gradually asserting itself. Other inscriptions of both the branches of the Vākāṭaka family are all in Sanskrit. Vindhyaśakti also assumed the title *Dharmamahirāja* like his father and grandfather. He may have closed his reign in *circa* A.D. 400.

Vindhyaśena was succeeded by his son Pravaraśena II, about whom little is known. He receives only conventional praise in the Ajinṭhā Cave inscription. He had probably a short reign (A.D. 400-415); for when he died his son was only eight years old. The name of this boy prince has not been preserved in the Ajinṭhā inscription. He was followed in *circa* A.D. 450 by Devasena, whose fragmentary inscription, found somewhere in Vidarbha, has been preserved in the British Museum². It was issued from Vatsagulma, which shows that the city continued to be the capital of this branch to the last.

Devasena had a very pious and capable minister named Hastibhoja. The Vākāṭaka king entrusted the government entirely to him and gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures. Hastibhoja is eulogised in the Ajinṭhā³ and Ghaṭotkaca Cave inscriptions⁴ which were caused to be incised by his son Varāhadeva.

Devasena was succeeded in *circa* A.D. 475 by his son Hariṣeṇa, who is the last known Vākāṭaka king. He was a brave and ambitious king who extended the limits of his Empire in all directions. The

¹ Mirashi, 'The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura', 'Studies in Indology', Vol. I, p. 178 f.

² Inscr. No. 24, C. I. I., Vol. V. Another inscription of this King has recently come to notice near Bāsim.

³ Inscr. No. 25, C. I. I., Vol. V.

⁴ Inscr. No. 26, C. I. I., Vol. V.

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inscription in Cave XVI at Ajinṭhā, which is unfortunately very much mutilated, mentions in lines 14-15 several countries which Hariṣeṇa had conquered or made to pay tribute. They lay in all the four directions of Vidarbha viz., Avanti (Mālvā) in the North, Kosala, Kalinga and Āndhra in the East, Lāṭa and Trikūṭa in the West and Kuntala in the South. Hariṣeṇa thus became the undisputed suzerain of a vast Empire extending from Mālvā in the North to Kuntala in the South and from the Arabian Sea in the West to the Bay of Bengal in the East. All this vast country was not under the direct administration of Hariṣeṇa. The rulers of most of these countries were probably allowed to retain their respective kingdoms on condition of regular payment of tribute. Since Hariṣeṇa claims to have subjugated Mālvā, he must have overrun and annexed the kingdom of the main branch of the Vākātakas. The king of Mālvā may have been Dravyavardhana, who just at this time had overrun and occupied Ujjayinī (A.D. 475-495)¹. In Kalinga Hariṣeṇa's invasion led to the establishment of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty, which started a new era of its own in A.D. 498². In Āndhra Hariṣeṇa overthrew the contemporary Śālaṅkāyana king and gave the throne to the Viṣṇukunḍin prince Govindavarman. The latter's son Mādhavavarman I married a Vākāṭaka princess who may have been Hariṣeṇa's own daughter³. Similarly in Kosala we find that the family of Śūra was supplanted by the Kings of Śarabhapura⁴. In the West the ruler of Rṣika (Khāndeśa) was a feudatory of Hariṣeṇa as stated explicitly in the inscription in Cave XVII at Ajinṭhā⁵. The Traikūṭakas, who ruled further in the West, were allowed to continue in the enjoyment of their kingdom on payment of tribute. In the South the ruler who belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family continued to rule as a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Emperor⁶. Hariṣeṇa probably reigned from circa A.D. 475 to A.D. 500.

Hariṣeṇa had a pious and efficient minister named Varāhadeva, who was liked alike by the king and his subjects. He was a son of the afore-mentioned Hastibhoja. He was a pious Buddhist. He caused the magnificent Ajinṭhā Cave XVI to be excavated and decorated with paintings. The inscription⁷ which he caused to be incised in its verandah is our chief source of information for the history of the Vatsagulma branch. At Gulvādā, a few miles from Ajinṭhā he caused some more caves to be excavated for the Buddhist monks. The inscription⁸ he has left there gives the complete genealogy of the ministerial family to which Varāhadeva belonged.

¹ Mirashi 'New Light on Yaśodharman' *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 206 f.

² Mirashi, 'Epoch of the Gaṅga Era', *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 327 f.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 193.

⁴ Mirashi, 'Three Ancient Dynasties of Mahākosala', *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 231 f.

⁵ Inscr. No. 27, *C. I. I.* Vol. V.

⁶ See that the ruler of Kuntala is mentioned as a feudatory of the King of Vidarbha in the story of Viśruta in the *Daśakumāracarita*. As shown below, the story has a historical basis.

⁷ Inscr. No. 25, *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁸ Inscr. No. 26, *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

Hariṣeṇa closed his reign by A.D. 500. He may have been followed by one or two princes, but even their names have not come down to us. Ultimately in *circa* A.D. 550 Vidarbha was conquered by the Kalacuri king Kṛṣṇarāja of Māhiṣmatī. He placed his feudatory Svāmīrāja in charge of it. The latter's plates¹ dated in the Kalacuri year 322 (A.D. 573) have been discovered at Nandardhan.

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Hariṣeṇa at his death was ruling over an extensive empire – larger than any since the time of the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra. On his death it seems to have suddenly crumbled to pieces. The causes that led to the disintegration of the mighty Vākāṭaka Empire have not been recorded in history, but the story in the eighth chapter called Viśrutacarita of Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* seems to have preserved a trustworthy tradition about the last period of the Vākāṭaka rule².

The narrative points to the existence of a large Southern Empire. The Emperor was directly administering the country of Vidarbha, but he had a number of feudatories who ruled over Kuntala, Āśmaka, Rṣika, Murala, Nāsikya and Koṅkaṇ. A young prince succeeded to this vast Empire after the death of his illustrious father. This prince, though intelligent and accomplished in all arts, neglected the study of the science of politics. His father's old minister advised him again and again to apply himself to the study of the *daṇḍanīti*, but he turned a deaf ear to it. Coming under the evil influence of his licentious courtier, he gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures and indulged in all kinds of vices. His subjects imitated him. Confusion and chaos became rampant in the state. Finding this a suitable opportunity, the crafty ruler of the neighbouring country of Āśmaka sent his minister's son to the court of Vidarbha to egg the king on in his dissolute life. He also contrived to decimate his forces by various means. Ultimately, when the country was thoroughly disorganised, the ruler of Āśmaka instigated the king of Vanavāsī (North Kānaḍā District) to invade Vidarbha. The latter advanced with a large force and encamped on the bank of the Wardhā. The young emperor of Vidarbha also mobilised his forces and called his feudatories to his aid. Among those who joined him were, besides the treacherous prince of Āśmaka, the rulers of Kuntala, Murala, Rṣika, Nāsikya and Koṅkaṇ. The prince of Āśmaka secretly caused disaffection among the feudatories also. They treacherously attacked the emperor in the rear while he was fighting with the invader. The young prince was killed in the battle. The crafty ruler of Āśmaka then caused dissensions among the feudatories, who fought among themselves for the spoils of the war and destroyed one another. The ruler of Āśmaka then appropriated the whole booty and giving some part of it to the King of Vanavāsī, induced him to go back and himself annexed the whole of Vidarbha. In the meantime, the old minister of Vidarbha safely escorted the queen with

¹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 611 f.

² Mirashi, 'Historical Data in Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*' *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 165 f.

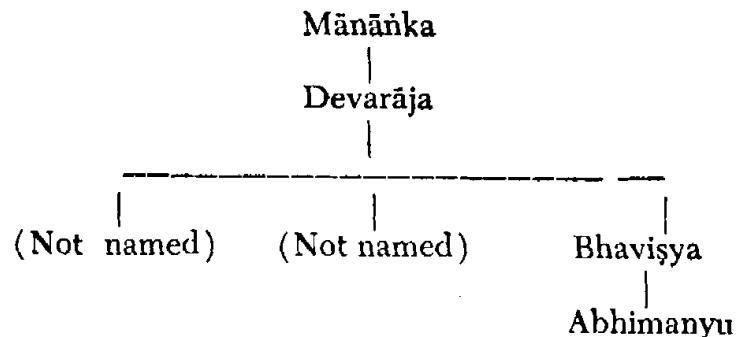
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her son and daughter to Māhiṣmatī where the late emperor's half brother was ruling. The latter made advances to the widowed queen, but was repulsed. He then wanted to kill the little prince, but was himself murdered by Viśruta, who turned out to be a relative of the latter. Viśruta placed the boy prince on the throne of Māhiṣmatī and vowed to oust the ruler of Aśmaka from Vidarbha and place the prince on his ancestral throne.

The narrative seems to reflect truthfully the political condition in Vidarbha soon after the death of Hariṣeṇa. Daṇḍin, whose ancestors originally belonged to Vidarbha, had evidently reliable sources of information. The details which he has given about the kingdoms flourishing in the period are substantiated in all material points by contemporary inscriptional evidence. It seems, therefore, that the vast empire of Hariṣeṇa suddenly crumbled to pieces through the incompetence of his successor and the defection of his feudatories. As Daṇḍin's narrative ends abruptly, we do not know if Hariṣeṇa's grandson regained the throne of Vidarbha with external aid. He may have succeeded in doing so with the support of the Viṣṇukunḍin emperor Mādhavavarman I, who was his relative. But he could not have ruled for a long time; for as stated before, the Kalacurī king Kṛṣṇarāja, who, in the meantime, had established himself at Māhiṣmatī extended his rule to Vidarbha, North Mahārāṣṭra, Gujarāt and Konkan by A.D. 550. The Somavamśīs conquered Dakṣiṇa Kosala, while the Gaṅgas and Viṣṇukunḍins proclaimed their independence in Kālīṅga and Āndhra, respectively. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were growing powerful in Kuntala or Southern Marāṭhā Country. Thus disappeared the last vestiges of Vākāṭaka power after a glorious rule of about 300 years.

THE RASHTRA-
KUTAS
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The history of the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas has been unfolded during the last few years¹. The first grant of the family to be discovered was that published by Bhagwanlal Indraji. Its findspot is not known, but as it was from the collection of Dr. Bhāu Dājī, it was probably found somewhere in Mahārāṣṭra. It gives the following genealogy:—



The plates were issued by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Abhimanyu while residing at Mānapura and record the grant of the village Uṇḍikavāṭikā in honour of god Dakṣiṇa-śiva. Fleet identified Uṇḍikavāṭikā with Oontia, about 300 miles from the Mahādeva Hills in Madhya

¹ Mirashi, 'Historical Data in Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracarita', *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 178 f.

Pradeśa, and Dakṣiṇa-Siva with the shrine of Mahādeva in the same hills. He thought that Mānapura, the king's capital, was the place of the same name in Mālvā, about 12 miles south-east of Mhow. Later, Dubreuil identified Devarāja with Sudevarāja, and Mānānka with Mānamātra, both belonging to the so-called dynasty of Śarabhapura, which ruled in Chattisgaḍ. Jayarāja mentioned in Śarabhapura grants was, according to Dubreuil, one of the sons of Devarāja not named in the Uṇḍikavātikā plates. Some years ago, another set of plates, called the Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli plates, was discovered in a village near Kolhāpūr. These plates brought to notice another son of Devarāja named Avidheya. While editing these plates, Dr. Krishna, who accepted the aforementioned identifications proposed by Dubreuil, put forward the theory that Devarāja (or Sudevarāja), the son of Mānānka (or Mānamātra), had three sons, viz., Avidheya, Jayarāja and Bhaviṣya, among whom was divided the extensive Rāṣtrakūṭa Empire of the Deccan which extended from the Mahānadī and the Tāpī to the Bhīmā, comprising the three Mahārāṣṭras. Jayarāja was ruling over the eastern part on the bank of the Mahānadī, Bhaviṣya over Northern Mahārāṣṭra and Madhya Pradeśa, and Avidheya over Southern Mahārāṣṭra extending up to the banks of the Bhīmā. Kṛṣṇa, the son of Indra, and Govinda, who are mentioned as defeated by the Cālukya Jayasimha and Pulakeśin II of Badāmi, belonged to this family. After overthrowing Govinda, Pulakeśin II became the lord of the three Mahārāṣṭras.

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This theory was contested by Dr. Altekar¹, who pointed out that there could not have been any extensive Rāṣtrakūṭa Empire in the Deccan in the sixth century A.D., because, firstly, most of these kings do not describe themselves as Rāṣtrakūṭas and secondly, there were other kings such as the Nalas, the Mauryas, the Kalacuris and the Kadambas, who were ruling over the major part of Mahārāṣṭra, and not the Rāṣtrakūṭas.

In an article which the present writer published subsequently², he stated that he agreed with the main conclusion of Dr. Altekar that there was no extensive Empire of the Rāṣtrakūṭas in the sixth century A.D. before the rise of the Cālukyas of Badāmi. The theory of the existence of such an empire is based on the identification of Mānamātra with Mānānka and Devarāja with Sudevarāja, for which there is no basis. Besides, the characters and seals of the grants of the descendants of Mānānka differ from those of the grants of the descendants of Mānamātra. Mānānka was therefore altogether different from Mānamātra. While the former and his descendants were ruling over Southern Mahārāṣṭra, the latter and his successors were holding the Bilāspur and Raipur Districts of Madhya Pradeśa. They are known as the kings of Śarabhapura.

There is, however, no reason to doubt, as Dr. Altekar has done, the identification of Mānānka and Devarāja mentioned in the Uṇḍikavātikā plates with the homonymous princes mentioned in

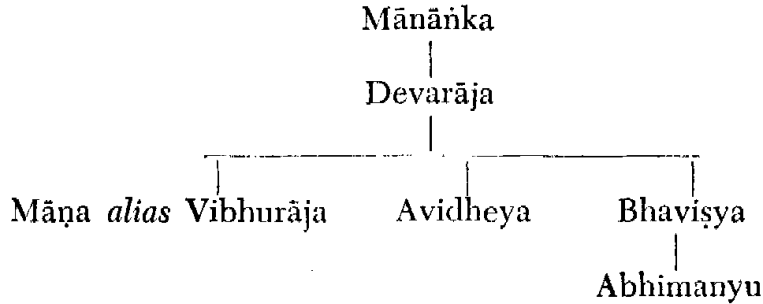
¹ A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXIV, p. 148 f.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 25 f.

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the Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī plates. Another grant of this dynasty which was recently found in the Daund Taluka of the Poonā District, has brought to notice the third son of Devarāja viz, Māṇa *alias* Vibhurāja. The genealogy of these Early Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings may therefore be stated as follows :—

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From the find-spots of the plates in the Kolhāpūr and Poonā Districts it is clear that this family was ruling in Southern Mahārāṣṭra. Mānāṅka, the founder of the dynasty, is described as the ruler of the prosperous Kuntala country¹. We know that Kuntala was the name of the upper Kṛṣṇā valley. The places mentioned in the Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī plates can be identified in the Sātārā District. These Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas were, therefore, ruling over Kolhāpūr, Sātārā and Solāpūr districts. Their capital Mānapura, which was plainly founded by Mānāṅka and named after himself, is probably identical with the town Māṇ, the head-quarters of the Māṇ *tālukā* of the Sātārā District.

On palaeographic grounds the Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī and Uṇḍikavāṭikā grants have been referred to the 5th century A.D. The use of the Jovian year Bhādrapada in recording the date of the Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī plates also corroborates this date; for these Jovian years were not generally used in the South after the 5th century A.D. Unfortunately, all these grants are either undated or are dated in regnal years. They consequently afford no help in definitely fixing the period of these Rāṣṭrakūṭas. They seem, however, to be contemporaries of the Traikūṭakas, who were ruling over North Konkan Gujarāt and North Mahārāṣṭra and of the Vākātakas who held Vidarbha during the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. They were probably known in their days as *Kuntaleśas* or Lords of Kuntala; for as stated above, Mānāṅka, the founder of the dynasty, is described as the ruler of Kuntala. The records of the Vākātakas contain occasional references to their clashes or to their matrimonial alliances with the kings of Kuntala. The inscription in Cave XVI at Ajinṭhā mentions, for instance, that Vindhyasena (or Vindhyaśakti II) of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka family defeated the Lord of Kuntala. The latter was previously identified with the contemporary Kadamba king of Vanavāsī, but the kingdom of the Kadambas was not conterminous with that of the Vākātakas as none of their records have been found in Southern Mahārāṣṭra. Mānāṅka, on the other hand, is described as the Lord

¹ *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 182 f.

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of Kuntala and is said to have conquered the Vidarbha and Āsmaka countries. These references may be to the same indecisive battle fought between the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura and the Vākātakas of Vatsagulma. Mānāṅka, who was thus a contemporary of Vindhya-sena, may have flourished about A.D. 400. From the Bālāghāt plates¹ we learn that Narendrasena of the Pravarapura branch married the Kuntala princess Ajjhitabhāṭṭārikā. She also must have belonged to this very Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. Finally, the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajinṭhā² records a victory of the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa over a ruler of Kuntala. The latter must have belonged to this very family.

From certain passages in the *Kuntaleśvaradautya*, a Sanskrit work ascribed to Kālidāsa, which have been cited in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of Rāṣeśekhara, the *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa* and *Sarasvatikanṭhābharana* of Bhoja and the *Aucityavicāracarcā* of Kṣemendra, we learn that the famous Gupta king Candragupta II-Vikramāditya sent Kālidāsa as an ambassador to the court of the Lord of Kuntala. Kālidāsa was not at first well received there³, but he gradually gained Kuntaleśa's favour and stayed at his court for some time. When he returned, he reported to Vikramāditya that the Lord of Kuntala was spending his time in enjoyment, throwing the responsibility of governing his kingdom on him i.e., Vikramāditya⁴. This Kuntaleśa is supposed by some scholars to be the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II⁵, but this view does not appear to be correct. Gupta influence was no doubt predominant at the Vākāṭaka court during the reign of Pravarasena II, but the Vākātakas did not call themselves *Kuntaleśas* and their rule does not seem to have extended to the Kuntala country in this period, though some of them are known to have raided it. This Kuntaleśa to whose court Kālidāsa was sent as an ambassador seems to be an early member of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family of Mānapura, perhaps Devarāja, who flourished in *circa* A.D. 400-425. The influence of Candragupta II, at the court of two such important families of the South as the Vākātakas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas corroborates the statement in the Mehrauli pillar inscription that even then (*i.e.*, after the death of Candra or Candragupta II), the southern ocean was perfumed by the breezes of his prowess⁶.

Hariṣeṇa's raid on Kuntala does not appear to have resulted in the extermination of this family. Hariṣeṇa may have contented himself with exacting a tribute from it as he appears to have done in the case of some others such as the Traikūṭakas. It is noteworthy that a Kuntaleśa appears as a feudatory of the Emperor of Vidarbha in the story of Viśruta, which has been shown above to have a historical basis.

¹ Inscr. No. 18, *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

² Inscr. No. 25, *ibid.*

³ Mirashi, 'The Kuntaleśvaradautya of Kālidāsa', *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 1 f.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 3.

⁵ S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, Vol. I, pp. 271-74.

⁶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 141.

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Some records of the Later Cālukyas state that Jayasimha of the Early Cālukya dynasty of Badāmī defeated the Rāṣtrakūṭa king Indra, the son of Kṛṣṇa. As Dr. Altekar has pointed out, this statement occurs in very late records, composed more than five centuries after the event. So one cannot be sure that these kings actually reigned in the 6th century A.D. But Govinda who invaded with his troop of elephants the territory to the north of the Bhīmarathī (*i.e.* the Bhīmā, a tributary of the Kṛṣṇā) at the time of the accession of Pulakeśin II, may have belonged to this family as already conjectured by Dr. R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar¹. This king could not, however, have been the great-grandfather of the Rāṣtrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa I, as supposed by Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar, for the interval between these kings is too large to be covered by three generations.

The Aihole inscription² states that this Govinda immediately obtained a reward for the services he rendered to Pulakeśin II. Ravikīrti, the author of that inscription, is unfortunately not explicit on this matter, but he undoubtedly implies that Govinda was won over by Pulakeśin II and induced to turn back. The very fact that Pulakeśin thought it wise to adopt conciliatory measures in dealing with him shows that he was a powerful foe. His descendants do not, however, appear to have held Southern Mahārāṣṭra for a long time; for Pulakeśin soon annexed both Northern and Southern Mahārāṣṭras and extended the northern limit of his Empire to the bank of the Narmadā. That he ousted the Rāṣtrakūṭas from Southern Mahārāṣṭra is shown by the Sātārā plates³ of his brother Viṣṇu-vardhana which record the grant of a village on the southern bank of the Bhīmā. This Early Rāṣtrakūṭa family of Mānapura seems thus to have come to an end in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D.

सत्यमेव जयते

THE EARLY
KALACHURIS OF
MAHISHMATI.

The inscriptions of the Kaṭaccuris or Early Kalacuris do not mention their capital. Still, they probably ruled from Māhiṣmatī. This city is usually identified with Omkar Māndhātā which from very early times has been famous as a holy place. The description in the *Raghuvamśa* that it was surrounded by the Narmadā like a girdle suits Māndhātā very well; for it is situated in the midst of the Narmadā. Some other references⁴ however, seem to indicate that Māhiṣmatī was identical with Maheśvar. Māhiṣmatī is often referred to in Sanskrit literature as the capital of the Kalacuris. It was the capital of Kārtavīrya Sahasrārjuna, from whom the Kalacuris claimed descent. Besides, some later princes of the Haihaya dynasty, who ruled in the South as feudatories of the Cālukyas, mention with pride their title *Māhiṣmatī-pura-var-ādhiśvara* 'Lords of Māhiṣmatī, the best of towns', which shows that their ancestors were previously ruling from Māhiṣmatī.

¹ *Early History of India*, (Collected Works of Bhandarkar, Vol. III), p. 170.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 1 f.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 303 f.

⁴ *Poidar Commemoration Volume*, p. 317 f.

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We have seen above that Subandhu was ruling at Māhiṣmatī in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. It is not known if the early Kalacuris, who rose to power at the same place, were descended from him; for there is a long period of nearly 150 years which separates them and for which no records have yet come to light. The early Kalacuris rose into prominence of the downfall of the Traikūṭakas. The last known date of the Traikūṭakas is the year 245 (A.D. 494-95) furnished by the Kānherī plate. The next known date of the Kalacuri era from Gujarāt and Mahārāṣṭra is the year 299 (A.D. 541) furnished by the Sunao Kala plates¹ of Saṅgamasinhā. He was evidently ruling over some territory which was previously included in the Traikūṭaka kingdom. Saṅgamasinhā, who calls himself *Makāsāmanta* was evidently a feudatory of some other power. The only powerful dynasty to which he may have owed allegiance was that of the Kalacuris. The Kalacuri king ruling at the time must have been the father of Kṛṣṇarāja. His name unfortunately has not come down to us.

Kṛṣṇarāja's father, using Māhiṣmatī as his base, seems to have extended his power in the east, west and south. In the west he overthrew the Traikūṭakas, whose territory he divided among his feudatories. The Mauryas were placed in charge of Aparānta or North Koṅkaṇ, while Saṅgamasinhā was appointed to rule over Gujarāt or at least the central part of it. We do not know whether Mahārāṣṭra was annexed during his reign or during that of his successor.

Kṛṣṇarāja, who succeeded his father in circa A.D. 550, seems to have extended his kingdom still further. His coins² are imitated from those of the Traikūṭakas. They have on the obverse the bust of the King and on the reverse the figure of the bull (Nandī) surrounded by the legend running round the edge viz. *Parama-Māheśvara-mātā-pitr-pād ānudhyāta-śrī-Kṛṣṇarāja*, meaning that (this is a coin of) the illustrious Kṛṣṇarāja, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father and is a devout worshipper of Maheśvara. These coins have been discovered over a very wide area including Rājputānā and Mālva in the north, the districts of Nāśik and Sātārā in the south, the islands of Bombay and Sāṣṭī in the west and the districts of Amrāvati in Vidarbha and Betūl and Jabalpūr in Madhya Pradeśa. As these coins were in circulation for 150 years after the time of Kṛṣṇarāja and were used by several later dynasties, it is not possible to say whether all this territory was included in the dominion of Kṛṣṇarāja, but there is no doubt that Gujarāt, Koṅkaṇ and Mahārāṣṭra including Vidarbha were comprised in it.

The only record of the reign of Kṛṣṇarāja is that incised on the Nagardhan plates³ of Svāmīrāja. They were issued from the erstwhile Vākāṭaka capital Nandivardhana near Nāgpūr by Svāmīrāja's brother Nannarāja and record two grants—(i) one of twelve

¹ C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 33 f.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. clxxx f.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 611 f.

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nivartanas of land made by a Corporation of Mahāmātras (Elephant-drivers) and (ii) the other of the village Āṅkollikā made by the king Svāmīrāja at Prayāg. Svāmīrāja is described in the grant as 'meditating on the feet of the lord paramount', which indicates his feudatory status. His suzerain is not named, but he could have been none other than the Kalacurī Kṛṣṇarāja, as the date K. 322 (A.D. 573-74) falls in his reign (A.D. 550-575). The family of Svāmīrāja is also not named in the grant, but as the names Svāmīrāja and Nannarāja occur in some other Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants found in Vidarbha, Svāmīrāja and his brother must have belonged to the same lineage.

Kṛṣṇarāja's son and successor Śaṅkaragaṇa is known from several records. His own Ābhona plates¹ were issued from his camp at Ujjayinī and record the donation of some land in a village in the Marāṭhvādā region of Mahārāṣṭra. The grant shows that Śaṅkaragaṇa's empire extended from Mālṡvā in the north to Mahārāṣṭra in the south. That Gujarāt also was included in it is shown by the Śaṅkheḍā plate of his General Śāntilla. Śaṅkaragaṇa ruled probably from *circa* A.D. 575 to A.D. 600.

Śaṅkaragaṇa was succeeded by his son Buddharāja. Soon after his accession Buddharāja had to face an invasion of his territory by his southern neighbour Maṅgaleśa of the Early Cālukya Dynasty of Badāmī. In this struggle Buddharāja was completely routed and fled away leaving his whole treasure behind him, which was captured by Maṅgaleśa². The latter then resolved that he would make an expedition of conquest in the north and plant a pillar of victory on the bank of the Bhāgīrathī, but he could not follow up his victory because just then his feudatory Svāmīrāja of the Cālukya family who was ruling at Redī in South Koṅkaṇ rose in rebellion. Maṅgaleśa had to rush to Redī to chastise the rebellious feudatory. He killed him and made a grant by way of thanksgiving. The Mahākūṭa inscription³ which contains the earliest reference to Maṅgaleśa's victory over Buddharāja is dated in A.D. 601-02. Its contents show that it was put up soon after the defeat of Buddharāja, which may therefore have occurred in *circa* A.D. 601.

Maṅgaleśa could not execute his plan of leading an expedition to North India for planting a pillar of victory on the bank of Bhāgīrathī; for he was fully occupied in ensuring the succession of his son and thwarting the schemes of his ambitious nephew Pulakeśin II. This gave the necessary respite to Buddharāja, who seems to have soon consolidated his position. Both his known grants are dated after his defeat by Maṅgaleśa. The earlier of them⁴ was made at Vidiśā in Central India and is dated in K. 360 (A.D. 610). It registers

¹ C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 38 f.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. xlviii.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 17, 18.

⁴ C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 47 f.

the donation of a village in the Nāśik District. The other grant¹ was made at Ānandapura (modern Vaḍnagar in North Gujarāt) a few months later and registers the donation of a village in the Broach District. Both these grants were made during the victorious campaigns of the Kalacuri king, which were probably undertaken to meet the danger of invasion of Maḷvā by the contemporary powerful king Śilāditya I—Dharmāditya.

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Some scholars² identify the Maḷvā king who, according to Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* invaded Kanauj, killed Grahavarman and threw his wife Rājyaśrī into prison, with the Kalacuri Buddharāja; but the theory does not stand scrutiny. In A.D. 605, when these events took place, Maṅgaleśa was still supreme in the south. Though he could not, for some reason, carry out his original plan of leading an expedition to North India, the danger of his attack could not have passed altogether. Buddharāja could not therefore have thought of carrying his arms as far north as Kanauj, leaving the southern frontier of his own kingdom exposed to the attack of his powerful neighbour.

With the accession of Pulakeśin II in *circa* A.D. 610, the political situation in South India changed completely. The young Čālukya prince was as ambitious as he was powerful. After consolidating his position in the Karnāṭaka he subdued the neighbouring princes, the Gaṅgas and the Ālupas. He next turned his attention to the north. He stormed Purī, the capital of the Mauryas, who owed allegiance to the Kalacuris³. It is not known what measures Buddharāja took to defend his feudatory against the mighty invader. Pulakeśin reduced Purī after a hard-fought battle. He then invaded Mahārāṣṭra. The Aihole inscription says that Pulakeśin used all the three royal powers '(viz. energy, counsel and royal position)' to gain his object and ultimately became the lord of the three Mahārāṣṭras comprising ninety-nine thousand villages⁴. Diplomacy seems to have played as great a part in achieving this victory as actual fighting. The inscription does not mention Pulakeśin's adversary, but there is little doubt that he was Buddharāja. His defeat may have taken place in *circa* A.D. 620.

After conquering Mahārāṣṭra, Gujarāt and Koṅkaṇ, Pulakeśin parcelled out the territory among his relatives and feudatories. He placed his brother Viṣṇuvardhana in charge of Southern Mahārāṣṭra⁵. Northern Mahārāṣṭra may similarly have been given to some other relative. Gujarāt was made over to the Sendrakas⁶. In Vidarbha the old feudatory family of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas may have been allowed to continue⁷. Who was appointed to govern Koṅkaṇ is not known.

¹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 51.

² *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIX, p. 406 f.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 6.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 303 f.

⁶ *C. I. I.* Vol. IV, p. lvii f.

⁷ We have some inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha of later times. *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, pp. 25 f.

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History does not know the names of Buddharāja's successors. They probably continued to rule at Māhiṣmatī as feudatories of the Cālukyas. One of them made a last attempt to regain the kingdom of his ancestors, but it was not successful and the Haihayas (as the Kalacuris came to be called) were reduced to the same position of servitude as the Gaṅgas and Ālupas who had already submitted to the Cālukyas². As this revolt is mentioned in Vinayāditya's grant of Śaka 609, it must have occurred before A.D. 687. Thereafter the Haihayas or Kalacuris remained loyal to their suzerains and gaining their confidence, became matrimonially allied with them. Later, they turned their attention to the north where they found a suitable opportunity to carve out a kingdom for themselves in the second half of the seventh century A.D.³.

THE MAURYS.

The province of Aparānta (North Konkan) was included in the kingdom of the Traikūṭakas, as shown by the copper-plate inscription of the dynasty found in the Stūpa at Kānherī⁴. Their capital of this province may have been Sūrpāraka, modern Sopārā in the Thānā District, where fragments of Aśoka's edicts have been found. After the overthrow of the Traikūṭakas, Aparānta was included in the dominion of the Kalacuris. Coins of the Kalacuri king Kṛṣṇarāja have been found in the island of Bombay. But the country was not directly administered by the Kalacuris. They gave it to a feudatory family called the Mauryas. Whether this family was descended from the Imperial Maurya dynasty of Pāṭaliputra is not known; but it is noteworthy that other traces of the far-famed Maurya race have been found in Western India. The Kaṇaśva inscription⁵ dated A.D. 738-39 mentions the Maurya king Dhavalappa, who was probably holding the fort of Citod. This family probably succumbed to the attack of the Arabs, who are credited with a victory over them. Another Maurya family was ruling at Valabhī (modern Valā) in Saurāṣṭra. A later scion of it named Govinda was reigning from Vāghlī in Khāndeśa as a feudatory of the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Seṇacandra II⁶. Whether the family ruling in North Konkan in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. was related to any of these branches of the great Maurya family is not known.

The first notice of the Maurya family ruling in North Konkan occurs in the description of the conquests of the early Cālukya king Kīrtivarman I (A.D. 566-598). In the Aihole inscription he is described as the Night of Destruction to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas⁷. The Mauryas, who had shortly before begun to reign in Konkan, were not very powerful and could be easily subdued. Whether their suzerain Kṛṣṇarāja lent them any aid is not known.

¹ C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. lix f.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 64.

³ C. I. I. Vol. IV, p. lxxviii f.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 29 f.

⁵ Ind., Ant. Vol. XIX p. 56.

⁶ Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 221.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 1 f.

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Kirtivarman seems to have annexed some portion of Koṅkaṇ which he assigned to the feudatory Svāmīrāja of the Cālukya family who had his capital at Revatī-dvīpa, modern Reḍī, south of Veṅgurlā in the Ratnāgiri District. Later, this Svāmīrāja seems to have sided with the Kalacuri king Buddharāja and revolted just when Maṅgaleśa invaded the latter's territory¹. Maṅgaleśa had therefore to give up his original plan of making conquests in North India and planting a pillar of victory on the bank of the Bhāgīrathī. He rushed to Revatī to punish Svāmīrāja, whom he defeated and deposed. Maṅgaleśa then appointed Indravarman of the Baṭpura lineage, who was evidently related to his own mother, as Governor of the newly conquered territory. Indravarman is known from his grant made at Revatī-dvīpa in A.D. 610².

Though the Mauryas were ruling over North Koṅkaṇ for about seventy-five years, we have little knowledge of their history. The only record of their reign is that discovered at Vāḍā in Ṭhāṇā District. It is still unpublished, but from the account given by Bhagwanlal it seems to have belonged to the reign of the Maurya king Suketuvvarman and records the installation of the god Koṭīśvara by one Simhadatta, the son of Kumāradatta³.

Soon after his accession, Pulakeśin II turned his attention to the conquest of North Koṅkaṇ. He sent a large army and a fleet of hundreds of large ships to attack the Maurya capital Purī, 'the goddess of fortune of the Western Ocean'⁴. The Aīhole inscription gives a graphic description of the hard-fought battle. The Maurya king was defeated and his kingdom was annexed to the Cālukyan Empire.

Purī which continued to be the capital of North Koṅkaṇ even after this conquest, has not yet been satisfactorily identified. It is described in later records as the chief town of the Koṅkaṇ fourteen hundred⁵. Some scholars identify it with Ghārāpurī, better known as Elephanṭā with its magnificent Cave temples. Ghārāpurī lies about six miles on the east side of the Bombay harbour and has two landing places known as Morā Bandar and Rāj Bāndar, the former of which is supposed to be reminiscent of its having been the Maurya capital. The island is, however, too small to be the capital of a State. It is, besides, completely isolated from the mainland and is therefore unsuitable to be the seat of government. Another view is that Purī is identical with Rājapurī, also known as Daṇḍā Rājapurī near Murūd in the former Jañjirā State⁶. It is situated at the mouth of a long creek and has a well-fortified fort nearby. It is surrounded by the sea on three sides and is connected with the mainland on the fourth. Pulakeśin II had therefore to employ both his army and navy to reduce it. The description, by the Kanarese poet Raṇṇa, of

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 161 f.

² *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, p. 365.

³ *Bom. Gaz.*, (First Ed.), Vol. XIV, pp. 372-73.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 1 f.

⁵ In some inscriptions the number of villages is given as fourteen thousand Cf.

येनेदं चतुर्दशग्रामसहस्रसंख्यं सकलमपि पुरीकोडकणं भुक्तमासीत् *C. I. I.* Vol. IV, p. 149.

⁶ For a detailed discussion of this question, see *P. I. H. C.*, Vol. IV, p. 86 f.

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the plight of the Śilāhāra king Aparājita who was besieged in it also suits Rājapurī. Raṇṇa says, "Hemmed in by the ocean on one side and the sea of Satyāśraya's army on the other, Aparājita trembled like an insect on a stick both the ends of which are on fire"¹. Rājapurī near Murūd may therefore be taken to be the Mauryan capital Purī, the chief town of the Konkaṇ fourteen hundred.

The magnificent cave temple of Śiva at Elephaṇṭā was probably carved out of solid rock during the reign of these Maurya kings. There has been considerable difference of opinion about the age of the Elephaṇṭā Caves. Burgess² placed them about A.D. 800, while Hirānand Śāstrī³ thought that they were wrought in the Gupta age. Gupta, however, would refer them to the first half of the sixth century A.D. on the evidence of close similarity of some sculptures there with those at Badāmī. The last view seems to be probable. We do not know to what religious sect the Mauryas belonged, but their suzerains the Kalacurīs were *parama-māheśvaras* or devout worshippers of Śiva. The Pāśupata Sect of Śaivism had considerable influence at their court. The *Dūtaka* of Śaṅkaragaṇa's Ābhoṇa plates was a Pāśupata⁴. Again, the queen of Śaṅkaragaṇa's son Buddharāja is described in his Vaḍner plates as Pāśupata-rājñī⁵. Hirānand Śāstrī has noticed the sculpture of Lakulīśa, the founder of the Pāśupata sect, in one of the caves at Elephaṇṭā⁶. It is therefore not unlikely that the caves at Elephaṇṭā were excavated at the instance of the Kalacuri suzerains of the Mauryas.



¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 41.

² *C. I. I.*, p. 467.

³ *A Guide to Elephaṇṭā*, p. 11.

⁴ *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 42.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 50.

⁶ *A Guide to Elephaṇṭā*, p. 23 f.

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THE WESTERN KṢATRAPAS*

CASUAL REFERENCES WERE ALREADY MADE IN A PRECEDING CHAPTER to the Śaka rulers in Māl̥vā and Gujarāt, with whom the Sātāvāhanas had often to fight both offensive and defensive wars. We shall now devote this chapter to describe the rise and fall of the Śaka power in Western India—

The Śaka rulers of Māl̥vā, Gujarāt and Kāthiāvād are usually referred to as Western Kṣatrapas in ancient Indian history.¹ They are called Western Kṣatrapas to distinguish them from the Śaka Kṣatrapa families ruling in the Punjāb and adjoining territories, who are usually designated as Northern Kṣatrapas. They are called Kṣatrapas because they invariably used the title Kṣatrapa or Mahākṣatrapa to designate their ruling status. The title Kṣatrapa looks Sanskr̥tic and can be easily and correctly explained as *Kṣatrān pātiti kṣatrapaḥ*, he is a Kṣatrapa who is the protector or leader of the Kṣatriyas or the military class, i.e. military captain or general or governor. In early Sanskr̥t literature this word nowhere occurs in this sense. The word is of Iranian origin. Ancient Achæmenian records refer to provincial governors as Kṣatrapāvans or protectors of the kingdom.² The Śakas and Kuśāṇas had come into close contacts with the Parthians in Persia, who also used this term to denote provincial governors. They therefore began to use it to denote the status of their own provincial governors and viceroys, introducing also a new modification of it, Mahākṣatrapa, to denote the higher ones among these officers. It was but natural for the Śakas of Western India to take the title Kṣatrapa, because they were subordinate rulers, owing allegiance to Śaka emperors of the Punjāb. They however continued the title even after they had become independent, probably out of a sentimental attachment to it.

The Śaka rule in Māl̥vā and Gujarāt was a natural consequence of the establishment of a Śaka Empire in the Indus valley and the

*This chapter is contributed by late Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.

Early writers like Prinsep, Thoas and Newton described the Kṣatrapa kings as members of a Sāh or Sena dynasty; this was due to their failure to read correctly the ending termination *siṃha*, with which the names of many of the kings ended. As the medial vowels were usually omitted in the legends, the mistake was natural.

² *Ksatra* in ancient Iranian always denotes a kingdom.

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Punjab. The early Śaka rulers of Western India, were feudatory governors of the contemporary Śaka emperors, as the Nizām in later times was of the Moghal emperors of Delhi. When Śaka rule in the Punjab was replaced by the Kuśāṇa empire, the Śakas of Western India transferred their allegiance to that power. From about 150 A.D., they became independent, and their Kuśāṇa overlords sank into insignificance; nevertheless they never assumed imperial titles like *Rājādhirāja*, but were content with their hereditary titles of *Kṣatrapas* and *Mahākṣatrapas*.

The history of the Śakas in northern India is still shrouded in considerable mystery. Scholars widely differ as to the date of the first Śaka emperor, Maues, who is known to us from his extensive coinage. It is not necessary for our purpose to enter into a discussion of rival theories. We have assumed as a working hypothesis that Maues was ruling from c. 90 B.C. to 60 B.C. Maues appears to have descended into the Sindh Valley from Seistan and occupied the delta first. It is interesting to note that Sindh was known as Scythia even down to the middle of the first century A.D.¹ It continued to be under the Scythian rule down to c. 200 A.D., but very little is known about the history of the Śaka rulers who ruled there. The term Western Kṣatrapas, as conventionally known to scholars, does not include the Śaka Kṣatrapas also who ruled over Sindh.

Jain tradition refers to a brief interval of four years of Śaka rule at Ujjayinī, which was put an end to by king Vikramāditya, who drove out the Śakas and founded the Vikrama era in 57 B.C.² It may well be doubted whether an era known after Vikrama was really started in 57 B.C.; but there seems to be nothing improbable in the Śakas of Sindh having made an effort to establish themselves at Ujjayinī at about 60 B.C. Maues was then at the height of his power and he may well have sent a general to capture Ujjayinī. The attempt however eventually proved to be abortive. No Śaka coins belonging to the first century B.C. have been found at Ujjayinī or in Mālva. This circumstance would confirm the statement of the Jain tradition that the Śaka rule at this time did not last for more than 4 years.

Mathurā was a centre of Śaka power from c. 50 B.C. to 50 A.D. and there were a number of Śaka Kṣatrapas or viceroys ruling at that place. Prominent among them were Śaka Kusūlaka and his son Paṭika, and Rājuvala and his son Śoḍāsa. These were ruling down to c. 10 A.D. and were most probably the feudatories of Śaka emperors, Azes and Azilese who succeeded Maues in the Punjab. No evidence is so far available to show that any effort was made by the Śakas at this time to found a principality in Western India.

The Kṣaharāta dynasty is the earliest known Śaka dynasty of Western India. Liaka Kusūlaka is described as a Kṣatrapa of Chaharāta and Cukṣa in the Taxilā copper plate of Paṭika; very

KSHAHARATA
DYNASTY.(1) Schoff: *The Periplus*, Para. 38.(2) *Kālakācārya-Kathānaka*.

probably like Cukṣa, Chaharāta i.e. Kṣaharāta was also the name of a locality or division in the vicinity of Taxilā.¹ A fragmentary inscription found at Gaṇeshra mound near Mathurā refers to a Stūpa probably constructed by Kṣaharāta Ghaṭāka, who was most probably a Kṣatrapa.²

This record would suggest that some members of the Kṣaharāta family were connected with or settled near Mathurā before one of its branch migrated to the Deccan. The scanty available evidence seems to show that members of the Kṣaharāta family had served as Kṣatrapas in the North-Western Frontier Province and the Eastern Punjab or Northern U. P. before one of its members migrated to the Deccan in search of new pastures. Those who came to the Deccan continued to adopt Kṣaharāta as their family name, as it was connected with their place of origin. At this time both Śaka and Pārthian families were ruling in northern India and there was considerable racial mixture between them. It is therefore not easy to state whether Kṣaharātas were Pārthians or Śakas. The name Nahapāna has a Pārthian look, but his son-in-law Uṣabhadāta is expressly described as a Śaka.

So far Bhūmaka was known to be the earliest ruler of this dynasty, but recently a coin has come to light in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, which shows that he may have had a predecessor as well. The find-spot of this coin is not recorded, nor is it possible to read the name of this early ruler on his solitary copper coin. The obverse type Dharmacakra and Lion capital connect this unknown ruler both with Bhūmaka and the Mathurā Kṣatrapas; its reverse type Nike would suggest that he was a predecessor of Bhūmaka.

There is considerable controversy about the date of the Taxilā plate of Paṭika. The generally accepted view at present is that the Mathurā Kṣatrapas are to be placed a few decades earlier or later than the beginning of the Christian era. The obverse type of the Kṣaharāta coins, Arrow pointing downwards and Thunderbolt with a pellet³ between them bears a close resemblance to a joint type of Spalirises and Azes II, where we have Discus, Bow and

¹Konow's view that Kṣaharāta may have denoted a higher title than Kṣatrapas (*J. H. Q.*, 1935, p. 135) does not seem to be a tenable one, the coin legend *Kṣaharātasa Kṣatrapasa Bhūmakasa* goes against it; Dr. Indrajī described the rulers of this dynasty as of Kṣaroṣṭī family (*B. G.*, I, p. 23); he thought that they owed their surname to the circumstance of their being the descendants of the crown prince Kharaoṣṭa mentioned in the Lion Capital inscription of Mathurā. He thought that when Kharaoṣṭa was ousted by Kṣatrapa Paṭika, some of his relatives may have accepted service under him and may have been sent to the Deccan for its conquest (*J. R. A. S.* 1890, p. 641). This is an ingenious theory and would be compatible with the date assigned here to Bhūmaka. But it is very doubtful whether the surname Kṣaharāta can be connected with Yuvarāja Kharaoṣṭa. The rulers of the family would have taken a surname not from Kharaoṣṭa, who never came to the throne, but from his father Rājuvula. Konow took Cukṣa to be modern Caca in the north of Attock District. This seems to be more probable than the view of Cunningham, who identified it with Sirsukh, a part of the ancient city of Taxilā.

²*J. R. A. S.*, 1912, pp. 122-23.

³This pellet would probably stand for the Discus on the joint coinage of Spalirises and Azes.

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Arrow.¹ The time of Azes II like that of the Mathurā Kṣatrapas is somewhere near the beginning of the Christian era. We may therefore well assume that the Kṣaharātas started for the south at about 25 A.D. The Kṣaharāta ruler of the Prince of Wales Museum coin was perhaps the earliest ruler, and we may place his reign from c. 25 A.D. to 40 A.D. When he was ruling and what the extent of his dominion was we do not know. But we could not be far wrong in assuming that he might have succeeded in establishing a foothold at Ajmer, from which his successors could penetrate into Mālṡvā.

The next known Kṣaharāta ruler is Bhūmaka², who also is known to us only from his coins. We may tentatively place his reign between 40 and 60 A.D. The coins of this ruler are found in the coastal regions of Gujarāt and Kāthiāvāḍ and sometimes in Mālṡvā;³ we may therefore well assume that his dominion included part of Gujarāt and Kāthiāvāḍ. Where his capital was we do not know. Nor do we know whether he was in possession of Ujjayinī. Probably the Sātavāhanas were holding Mālṡvā down to 50 A.D.

Being fresh from the north, Bhūmaka used Kharoṣṭhī script for the obverse and Brāhmī script for the reverse of his coins. Probably being the ruler of a small kingdom, he could not manage to bring die-cutters from the north, who also knew the Greek script, which was so common on the coins of the north at this time. The motif of his coin type, Lion Capital and Dharmacakra on the obverse and Arrow, Thunderbolt and Pellet on the reverse suggest that he could not have been far removed in time from the Mathurā Kṣatrapas and Spalirises and Azes II. Both their motifs are rather rare in Indian numismatics and their adoption by Bhūmaka cannot but suggest the above conclusion. If the date here assigned to Bhūmaka is correct, it will follow that he may have professed to be a governor of Gondopharnes or Wima Kaḍphises.

The regal title of Bhūmaka on his coins is Kṣatrapa, which was also assumed by a number of Śaka potentates in Northern India. As already pointed out, this title, though of Achæmenian origin, had become quite popular in the Śaka and Pārthian administration. India, however had coined a higher title named Mahākṣatrapa, to denote a higher status, which was usually conferred by the emperor in recognition of special services. Bhūmaka, however, is seen to use only the lower title of Kṣatrapa throughout his reign, which ended probably in c. 60 A.D.

¹See *B. M. C. A. K.* ; Pl. IX, 237-39 and *P. M. C.* I, Pl. XIV, 396. It may be pointed out that the larger coins of Bhūmaka are intermediate in size between the joint type of Spalirises and Azes and the copper coins of Nahapāna. This also would show that chronologically Bhūmaka is much nearer to Azes than Nahapāna. The introduction of the Greek legend and bust on the silver coins of Nahapāna was due to a currency reform undertaken by him, and not to his being an earlier ruler.

²Konow has suggested that Bhūmaka may be identical with Ysāmotika, the father of Caṣṭana, the founder of the second Kṣatrapa house. He connects Ysāmotika with the Śaka word Ysma meaning earth (*Kharoṣṭhī Ins.*, p. I.XX). This view is extremely improbable. Ysāmotika was a commoner; he is never given any royal title in the coin legend of his son. Bhūmaka on the other hand was a Kṣatrapa. The acceptance of the view of Konow would further make Caṣṭana and Nahapāna contemporary rulers ruling over practically the same territories.

³*B. M. C. A. K.*, p. cvii.

Nahapāna is the next Kṣaharāta ruler, his relationship to Bhūmaka is not known, but it is not unlikely that he may have been his son. But on his coins and in his inscriptions, Nahapāna expressly described himself as a Kṣaharāta. He continues the reverse type of his predecessor, Arrow, Thunderbolt and Pellet, but the Lion Capital and Dharmacakra on the obverse are replaced by the royal bust with a circular legend in Greek characters but Prākṛt language intended to stand for PANNIWAHAPATAC NAHANAC.¹ The reverse gives this legend both in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī scripts. Nahapāna is the only king so far known who has issued *triscriptal* coins.

Before we proceed to describe the career and achievements of Nahapāna we have to discuss his date at some length, because widely divergent views are held on the subject. Jayaswal held that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi overthrew Nahapāna in 57 B.C. and founded the Vikrama era.² Messrs. Dubreuil,³ K. A. N. Shastri⁴ and Bakhale⁵ place the overthrow of Nahapāna in c. 10 B.C. It is argued that the dates 41, 42 and 46 of the records of Nahapāna are the dates in the Vikrama era or in the era of Azes, which was founded at about the same time. Nahapāna was overthrown soon after the year 46 of this era, i.e. at about 10 B.C. R. D. Banerji places his overthrow about 25 years later.⁶

The above theories which place Nahapāna in the first century B.C. or soon thereafter are untenable. Jayaswal assumes that the overthrower of Nahapāna was an earlier Sātakarṇi, the eighth ruler of the dynasty according to his theory, who had ruled for 56 years from 100 to 44 B.C.⁷ There is no evidence to show that he was known as Gautamīputra. And supposing that he founded the Vikrama era to commemorate his victory over Nahapāna, is it not strange that he and his descendants should have religiously boycotted its use in all their official and dated records which have come to light? Nor is it possible to place Nahapāna from c. 40 B.C. to 10 B.C., as is done by Messrs. Shastri and Bakhale. It is no doubt true that the coins of Nahapāna, showing the bust of the king with the Greek legend on one side, show considerable Greek influence. But we may point out that a greater approximation to the Greek type is shown by the gold coins of the Kuśāṇas, who undoubtedly ruled from c. 78 A.D. to 200 A.D. When Nahapāna succeeded in founding a fairly big empire in the Deccan, he naturally introduced a currency reform, which was responsible for the introduction of the bust and Greek legend on his coins, features which are absent from the copper currency of his predecessor Bhūmaka.

The Paurāṇic evidence clearly shows that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi came towards the end of the first century A.D.; but it is argued that he defeated not Nahapāna, but some of his descendants. It is

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Nahapāna.¹B. M. C. A. K., p. 65.²J. B. O. R. S., XVI, p. 249.³Early History of the Deccan, pp. 19-25.⁴J. R. A. S. 1926, p. 643.⁵J. B. B. R. A. S., N. S. I., p. 245.⁶I. A., 1908, p. 63.⁷J. B. O. R. S., XVI, p. 278.

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assumed that after the death of Nahapāna in c. 10 B.C., a number of his relations and descendants continued to rule the Deccan, who are referred to as Kṣāharātakula in the Sātavāhana record. It is further argued that these successors of Nahapāna, for some reasons unknown to us, issued coins with their own different busts, but bearing the name of their illustrious predecessor.¹ The date of Nahapāna can, therefore, be 10 B.C., even if we have to place Gautamīputra in the first century A.D. The latter defeated not Nahapāna, but some of his descendants, among whom the kingdom was divided.

This argument is ingenious but not convincing. There is no doubt a striking diversity in the features of the busts on the coins of Nahapāna counterstruck by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. But that can as well be due to the unequal artistic skill of the different artists entrusted with the task of preparing the dies. In the far off Deccan, it was difficult to get artists who would be well grounded in all the three scripts, Greek, Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī,² and would also be good portrait engravers. Otherwise we cannot understand the undisputed fact of Greek script being corrupt on those coins where the bust is young and correct on those coins where it is old.

That several successors of Nahapāna should all have decided to put their individual busts upon their coins but refrained from giving their names appears improbable. In contemporary times even petty rulers like Jayadāman, Rājuvula and Soḍāsa never failed to give their names on coins. Why then should we suppose that about half a dozen successors of Nahapāna should have followed this unusual procedure?³

Another important circumstance goes against this view. One of the records of Nahapāna gives the ratio between the contemporary silver and gold currency as 35 : 4.⁴ This pre-supposes the simultaneous existence of the two currencies. But it is well known that there was no gold coinage current in the first century B.C.⁵ We cannot therefore put Nahapāna in the last quarter of the first century B.C.

Banerji's argument, that the palæographical differences between the Gīrnār inscription of Rudradāman (dated in 150 A.D.) and the Nāsik inscriptions of Nahapāna show that at least one century must have elapsed between them,⁶ has not much cogency. In ancient India communications were difficult and it would not be fair to compare the palæography of records separated by hundreds of miles. If we compare the scripts of the Nāsik records of Nahapāna and Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi we find that they are contemporaneous; there is hardly any palæographical difference between them.

¹Scott first advocated this view in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XXII, p. 236; it is accepted by almost all those who place Nahapāna at c. 10 B. C.

²It is interesting to note that some die-cutters were good in engraving Greek letters but poor in engraving Kharoṣṭhī ones; while others were well grounded only in Brāhmī.

³It has also been suggested that the busts are merely copies of the busts on Roman coins from c. 30 B. C. to 150 A. D., *J. R. A. S.* 1908, p. 551.

⁴Nāsik inscription Nos. 12 : *E. I.*, III, p. 82.

⁵Neither Maues nor Vonones, neither Azes or Azilises, who ruled at about this time, had issued any gold coins. Their currency was only in silver and copper.

⁶*J. R. A. S.*, 1926, pp. 10 ff.

There is another circumstance suggesting that Gautamīputra had defeated Nahapāna himself and not any of his successors. The very first charitable donation that Gautamīputra made in the flush of his victory consisted of a field near Nāśik, which is described as in possession of Uṣabhadāta till that time.¹ This Uṣabhadāta can be hardly any other than the famous son-in-law of Nahapāna. There are scores of land-grants recorded in the caves of Western India, but they never mention the names of the earlier owner of the property donated. If it is mentioned in the solitary case, the reason must have been the well-known position of the former owner.

The view here advocated that Nahapāna came to the throne in c. 55 A.D.² well explains all the known facts of the Śaka and Sātavāhana history. The years of his records 41, 42 and 46 are his regnal years; some of his coins show the king's bust as that of an old man of about 75 with sunken cheeks and toothless jaws; so he may well have had a long reign of about 50 years. Gold currency became common with the accession of Wima Kaḍphises in c. 50 A.D.; we can therefore well understand how one of the inscriptions of Nahapāna should refer to the ratio of 1 : 35 between the prices of the gold and silver coins.³

It is generally assumed that the king Nambanus, referred to as the ruler of Ariake or the Western Coast by the *Periplus*⁴ is the same as Nahapāna, Nambanus being a scribe's mistake for Nahapāna. The *Periplus* was written in the latter half of the first century A. D. and we can understand the reference to Nahapāna in that work as the ruler of Ariake and Broach.

If we place the accession of Nahapāna in c. 55 A.D., the time of his predecessor Bhūmaka would be 30 to 55 A.D.; we can then well explain the striking similarity of his coin type with that of one obscure type of Spalirises and Azes to which we have referred above; for Bhūmaka flourished only about 25 years later than these rulers. We can also understand the adoption of Dharmacakra and Lion Capital as the reverse device of the coins of Bhūmaka, for the Mathurā Kṣatrapas, who had dedicated the famous Lion Capital there, flourished at about the beginning of the Christian era, i.e., about 25 years earlier than the time of Bhūmaka.

The usual view that the overthrow of Nahapāna is to be placed soon after 124 A.D. is no doubt a plausible one;⁵ the next Kṣatrapa family in Western India was using the Śaka era and it is plausible to suggest that the years in the inscriptions of Nahapāna and his son-in-law should also be referred to the same era; and this leads to the logical conclusion that Nahapāna was ruling as a Mahākṣatrapa down to the year 46 of the Śaka era, i.e. 124 A.D. This assumption

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¹E. I., VIII, p. 71.

²Gopalachari also places the accession of Nahapāna at about this time. *Early History of the Andhra Country*, p. 58.

³E. I., VII.

⁴Schoff, *The Periplus*, p. 39.

⁵Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 435. Tripathi, *History of Ancient India*, p. 216. Rapson, *B. M. C. A. K.*, p. xxvi. In the first edition of this work, Dr. Bhagwanlal, Indrajit had also adopted the same view; *B. G.*, I, i. p. 29.

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however, does not explain a number of events in the Sātavāhana and Kṣatrapa history. Under this theory we have to bring down the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi down to at least 130 A.D., and that of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi down to at least 152 A.D. Rudradāman however claims that before the year 150 A.D., he had twice defeated king Sātakarṇi, the lord of the Deccan, and we have shown already how neither Gautamīputra nor Vāsiṣṭhīputra can be identified with this ruler. The known events of the Kṣatrapa history : viz. the advent of Caṣṭana, the expanse of the Śaka power under him, the reign of his son Jayadāman, the set back that beset his progress and the re-establishment of the Śaka power under Rudradāman can also not be properly accounted for during a short period of less than twenty-five years.

The most plausible theory that can at present be advanced about the date of Nahapāna is to place his reign between c. 55 and 105 A.D. How the known facts of Sātavāhana history can be most satisfactorily explained by this hypothesis, is already shown in a previous chapter.

Nahapāna's career was undoubtedly a meteoric one, but unfortunately very few of its details are known to us. The kingdom which he inherited from Bhūmaka probably comprised Ajmer and northern Gujarāt. Nahapāna extended it by annexing Māl̥vā, southern Gujarāt and Konkan and Northern Mahārāṣṭra. All his extension of the kingdom was at the cost of the Sātavāhana empire.

The Sātavāhana chronology is still very much unsettled and it is not possible to state with certainty as to which Sātavāhana kings were the opponents of Bhūmaka and Nahapāna. According to the chronology proposed in the second chapter Hāla, (37-42 A.D.), Maṇḍalaka (42-47 A.D.), Purīndrasena (47-52 A.D.), Sundara Svātikarṇa (53 A.D.), Cakora Svātikarṇa (53 A.D.), and Śivaśrī (53-81 A.D.) would be the contemporaries of Bhūmaka and Nahapāna. It is not unlikely that the short reigns of some of the above rulers may be due to troubles arising out of the Śaka invasion. It is very probable that Sundara Svātikarṇa and Cakora Svātikarṇa, who had short reigns of one year and six months only, may have died while fighting with Bhūmaka and Nahapāna. All this, however, is mere conjecture. The only certain fact is that in c. 60 or 70 A.D., Nahapāna succeeded in wresting away from the Sātavāhanas Eastern Māl̥vā (Ākara), Western Māl̥vā, (Avantī), Konkan (Aparānta) and Northern and Central Mahārāṣṭra. He was already ruling over Kāthiāvāḍ, Northern Gujarāt, Central Rājputānā, upto and even beyond Ajmer. His was thus an extensive kingdom extending from Ajmer to Poonā, from Saugar in C. P. to Dvārakā in Kāthiāvāḍ.

Curiously enough, the extent of the dominion of Nahapāna has to be inferred from the places where charitable actions are known to have been performed by his son-in-law Uṣabhadāta, (Rṣabhadatta).¹ Besides excavating a number of caves at Nāśik and Kārli in northern and central Mahārāṣṭra, Uṣabhadāta had given in charity several thousands of coconut trees at the villages of Nānaṅgala and

¹ Nāśik inscription Nos. 10 and 12, E.I., VIII, pp. 78f. and 84f.

Cikhalpada (in Kāpura district), both obviously located in Koṅkaṇ. He is known to have established free ferry service on several rivers in northern Koṅkaṇ, Dahāṇu in Thānā district, Paradā (Pārḍī) and Tapī in Surat district, the Damaṇa and the Bānās in Ahmadābād district.

Further, he constructed rest houses and tanks at Govardhana near Nāsik in Northern Mahārāṣṭra, Broach and Sopārā in southern Gujarāt and Koṅkaṇ, and Daśapura or Mandsore in north-western Mālva. It is thus quite clear that Central and Northern Mahārāṣṭra, Koṅkaṇ, Southern and Northern Gujarāt and Mālva¹ were undoubtedly included in the dominions of Nahapāna. Uṣabhadāta had performed the marriages of eight Brāhmaṇas at Prabhāsa or Somanāth in Kāthiāvāḍ and donated a village at Puṣkara near Ajmer. Of course it is possible to argue that Uṣabhadāta may have visited these places as a pilgrim, though they were not included in the dominion of his father-in-law. But this is not likely, Ajmer was the base of operation even of Bhūmaka, and some copper coins of both Bhūmaka and Nahapāna have been found there. Kāthiāvāḍ is claimed to have been conquered by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and obviously it must have been from Nahapāna. So we shall be perfectly justified in assuming that Kāthiāvāḍ and Ajmer were also included in the dominions of Nahapāna. It is interesting to note that famous holy places like Banāras, Allāhābād and Gayā, which were obviously not included in the dominions of Nahapāna, are not mentioned as places of charity of Uṣabhadāta.

It is thus clear that central Rājasthān, Mālva, Kāthiāvāḍ, Kachcha, Northern and Southern Gujarāt and Northern and Central Mahārāṣṭra were undoubtedly included in the dominions of Nahapāna. Vidarbha does not appear to have been included in it. There was a holy place named Rāmatīrtha, 3 miles north of Haṅgal in Dhārvāḍ district. But Rāmatīrtha mentioned in the inscription of Uṣabhadāta could not have been this place. The Brāhmaṇas at Rāmatīrtha along with those at Govardhana and Sopārā were the sharers in the gift of 32,000 coconut trees at Nānaṅgala in Koṅkaṇ. Rāmatīrtha could therefore obviously not have been so far away from this place as the holy place of that name in Dhārvāḍ district.²

Mālva, Southern Gujarāt and Northern and Central Mahārāṣṭra must have been wrested from the Sātavāhanas after a bitter struggle. It is likely that Nahapāna may have derived some help in the beginning from his overlord Wima Kaḍphises, who had at this time carried his arms right up to Pāṭalīputra.³ If it transpires from further

¹Bhagwanlal Indraji did not include Eastern Mālva in the kingdom of Nahapāna (*B. G.*, I, i. 24). He thought that Nahapāna might have advanced through east Rājputānā by Mandasore in West Mālva along the easy route to Dohad as far as South Gujarāt, from where his power spread by sea to Kāthiāvāḍ and by land to Nāsik. He excluded Northern Gujarāt and eastern Mālva from Nahapāna's dominions. It, however, appears almost certain that Ākara (Eastern Mālva) and Avantī (Western Mālva) which Gautamīputra claims to have conquered, must have both belonged to Nahapāna. Bānās river on which Uṣabhadāta established a ferry, flows in Ahmadābād district.

²Rāmatīrtha was near Śelārvāḍī in the Poona District See *E.I.*, XXV, p. 168. (V.V.M.)

³This is shown by the discovery of 23 coins of Wima Kaḍphises in the Kumrahar excavations at Pāṭalīputra.

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discoveries that the Sātavāhanas were holding Pātalīputra at the time of its conquest by Wima Kadphises, as appears probable from the Purāṇic tradition, it is quite natural that Wima may have extended a helping hand to his lieutenant Nahapāna in delivering a staggering blow to the common enemy near the heart of his empire. The greater part of the conquests of Nahapāna however may have been due to his own exertions and initiative. His successes, however, were duly acknowledged by his suzerain by investing him with the higher title of Mahākṣatrapa towards the end of his reign.

The struggle between Nahapāna and the Sātavāhanas seems to be reflected in the story of Naravāhana, king of Broach, narrated in Jain tradition. Naravāhana is most probably the Sanskritised form of Nahapāna. Broach is mentioned as the capital of Naravāhana in the Jain story and it could very well have been the capital of Nahapāna. The Sātavāhana king is stated to have repeatedly besieged Broach, but had to retreat discomfited every time. Eventually he had the recourse to a strategem. One of his ministers, pretending to be dissatisfied with his king, repaired to Nahapāna and took service under him. He then induced his new master to spend greater and greater amounts upon charity, which impoverished his treasury and weakened his military forces. Taking advantage of this situation the Sātavāhana king attacked Nahapāna and defeated and killed him.¹ There is ample evidence to show that Uṣabhadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, had been extremely liberal to Buddhism and Brahmanism. No record has so far been found enumerating any donations of Nahapāna himself. But it is not unlikely that he may have been also as liberal as his son-in-law. In that case the story recorded in the Jain works may have some substratum of truth under it.

सत्यमेव जयते

The only definite incident of the long reign of Nahapāna referred to in contemporary records is the expedition that he had sent under his son-in-law Uṣabhadāta to relieve the Uttamabhadras, who had been besieged by the Mālavas.² The Mālavas were in possession of the Ajmer-Jaipur area before its annexation by the Kṣaharātas. They were a freedom loving republic and were constantly trying to regain their independence. This time they did not succeed; for Uṣabhadāta claims that they fled away at the mere report of his advent. Uttamabhadras have not yet been identified, but the Mālava homeland at this time was Ajmer-Jaipur tract and Uṣabhadāta is known to have celebrated his victory by some charities at Puṣkara lake near Ajmer. It is likely that the Uttamabhadras were in power near Jaipur. It has been suggested³ that they may have been the descendants of the king Uttamadāta of Mathurā, who is known from

¹This account is based upon an old *gāthā* quoted in *Āvaśyaka Sūtra*, and its commentary *Cūrṇi*. The *gāthā*, which belongs to *Niryukti* and is as old as the beginning of the Christian era merely mentions the name of Nahapāna. The details of the story are given only in the *Cūrṇi*, which was composed in the 9th century A. D. We can therefore well understand how it mentions Hāla as the conqueror of Nahapāna. For the original passages, see *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVI. pp. 290-3.

²*J. N. S. I.*

³Nāśik inscription No. 10.

his coins to have ruled in c. 1st century B.C. This is possible but not certain. This incident shows that there were dissensions among the Hindu rulers and that the Śakas were following the age old imperial policy of Divide and Rule.

According to the hypothesis here accepted, the inscriptions of Nahapāna are dated in his regnal years. His latest known date is 46; he therefore had a long reign of about fifty years. This is rendered extremely probable by the aged bust of the ruler appearing on some of his coins where he appears with sunken cheeks and toothless jaws. Down to his 45th year, Nahapāna is referred to as a Kṣatrapa only, but in the succeeding year, a record of his minister Aryaman found at Junnar, describes him as a Mahākṣatrapa. It is possible to argue that the higher title was due to a fresh victory won against the Sātavāhanas. But Nahapāna was very old at this time and so one may well doubt whether he could have scored fresh victories after his forty-fifth regnal year. Very probably his imperial overlord Huvīṣka had conferred this title on Nahapāna in his old age in recognition of his long and meritorious services.

It is not possible to identify the capital of Nahapāna. Minnagar is mentioned as the capital of Nimbanus by the *Periplus*, and to judge from its direction, given in that book, it may have been somewhere to the north-east of Broach. Some scholars hold that Minnagar may have been Mandasore. But Mandasore was too far away in the north to be a suitable capital for Nahapāna's kingdom. The view that Junnar may have been his capital is equally unconvincing, it was in the far south eastern corner of his kingdom. Broach was perhaps the most flourishing port of Nahapāna's kingdom and may well have been his capital.

Soon after the 46th year of Nahapāna's reign his dynasty was overthrown by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. The decisive battles were probably fought in the vicinity of Nāśik, for a reference to the camp of his victorious army is made in one of his Nāśik inscriptions by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, his conqueror. As a result of his military victories, the Sātavāhana conqueror was able to annexe Central and Northern Mahārāṣṭra, the whole of Gujārāt and Kāthiāvāḍ, and Eastern and Western Mālvā. It is quite possible that the campaign may have lasted for more than two years.

Whether Nahapāna was himself defeated by Gautamīputra or an immediate successor of his, it is difficult to say. The view that some of the immediate successors of Nahapāna were issuing coins with the name of their illustrious predecessor, but with busts of their own, is untenable, as already shown above. We cannot however altogether exclude the possibility of a successor of Nahapāna being overthrown within a year or two of his accession.¹ On the whole, however, it appears most probable that Nahapāna

¹Nahapāna was a famous king and we would have expected his name to be specifically mentioned in the eulogy of his conqueror at Nāśik. It is however equally probable that his name may have been omitted because the record emphasises the destruction of his entire family.

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himself was defeated. In the Jogalthembi hoard, there were no coins of any successor of his and the Jain tradition, above referred to, expressly refers to the overthrow and death of Naravāhana himself. It appears that not only Nahapāna but his sons, nephews and grandsons all perished in the sanguinary struggle; for the Nāśik eulogy of Gautamīputra describes him as the exterminator of the entire Kṣaharāta family.

Recently however (in 1951 A.D.) several coins of a Śaka king named Māna have come to light,¹ who was ruling near Koṇḍāpūr in Central Hyderābād towards the end of the second century A.D. The reverse of these coins shows device of Arrow and Thunderbolt, which was the special feature of the coins of both Bhūmaka and Nahapāna. It would therefore appear that though the Kṣaharāta family was overthrown in c. 105 A.D., some distant scions of it succeeded in carving out a small principality near Koṇḍāpūr after about fifty years. The political passions must have cooled down by that time; Śakas had become practically Indians and later Sātavāhanas may not have objected to a Kṣaharāta raising himself to the status of a feudal chief. Very little is however known of king Māna and his dynasty. His father was a mere general (*mahāsenāpati*)² but he was successful in achieving the status of a feudatory.

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The Sātavāhana emperors in the Deccan were the rivals of the Kuśāṇa emperors in the north. The Kṣaharātas professed to be the feudatories of the latter and their overthrow was not quietly accepted by the Kuśāṇas. Huviṣka who was most probably the Kuśāṇa emperor in c. 105 A.D., had a firm grip at this time over the Northern India up to Pāṭaliputra. He soon sent a new lieutenant named Caṣṭana to recover the lost provinces. The new adventurer was given the status of a Kṣatrapa. He was a man of humble origin, for his father Ysamotika is never given any regal title in the coin legends of his son. The foreign look of the father's name no doubt suggests that Caṣṭana was a Śaka, but he obviously belonged to a stock different from that of the Kṣaharātas. A daughter of Rudradāman, a grandson of Caṣṭana, describes herself as born of the Kārdamaka family. This may be therefore taken to be the surname of the new Śaka house. Kārdamaka was probably an Indianised form of some Persian or Scythian name.³

Ptolemy states that a king of Ujjayinī named Tiastanes was a contemporary of a king of Paithāṇ named Polemois. It is now generally agreed that Tiastanes is identical with Caṣṭana and Polemois with Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvī. We have placed the overthrow of Nahapāna by Gautamīputra Sātakarni in c. 110 A.D. Soon thereafter Vāśiṣṭhīputra succeeded his father and Caṣṭana appeared on the scene to re-establish the Śaka supremacy.

¹J. N. S. 1, XII, p. 90.

²(Māna himself was *Mahāsenāpati*. He later became independent and assumed the title of *Rājan*. *Studies in Indology*, III, 69. V.V.M.)

³Dr. H. C. Ray Choudhury states that Kārdamaka is the name of a river in Persia and the family of Caṣṭana may have hailed from it. It was once held by some scholars that Caṣṭana might be connected with the district or tribe of Cukṣa mentioned in the Taxilā plate of Paṭika. But it appears that the real spelling of this name is not Cutsa but Cukṣa.

Silver coins of Caṣṭana are a close copy of the silver currency of Nahapāna. The obverse shows the remnants of corrupt Greek letters and the headdress of the new ruler is markedly similar to that of Nahapāna. This circumstance will show that the two were not far removed from each other in time. It is not impossible that Caṣṭana and Nahapāna may have been to some extent contemporaries. This was the view advocated in the first edition of this work, where Bhagwanlal had suggested that Caṣṭana might have been a younger contemporary of Nahapāna. He suggested with some hesitation that Caṣṭana might be the chief of the Uttamabhadras whom Uṣabhadāta went to assist in the year 42; when Mālavas were driven away, Caṣṭana might have consolidated his power and taken possession of Mālva and established his capital at Ujjayinī. In the beginning during the life time of Nahapāna, Bhagwanlal thought, the power of Caṣṭana might have been small; a few years after the overthrow of Nahapāna, he wrested away Gujarāt and Kāthiāvāḍ from the Sātavāhanas and assumed the title of Mahākṣatrapa.¹

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The above view, however, is only partly tenable. To judge from the name, the Uttamabhadras appear to be of Indian origin, while Caṣṭana was undoubtedly a Śaka. Ajmer was an outpost of Nahapāna's kingdom and it is not likely that Caṣṭana may have been allowed to rule there in a more or less independent capacity. It is doubtful whether there was any independent Scythian ruler in Sindh in c. 120 A.D., who could have sent Caṣṭana to reconquer Gujarāt and Mālva. It is therefore best to assume that Caṣṭana was sent to the south by the contemporary Kuṣāṇa emperor Huviṣka to retrieve the fortunes of the Scythian rule after the power of Nahapāna had been shattered in c. 105 A.D.² In the royal portrait gallery at Mathurā, a statue has been found along with those of Wima and Kaniska which seems to be that of Caṣṭana. The reading of the inscription is rather doubtful, but Caṣṭana seems to be a more probable reading than Maṣṭana. It is therefore almost certain that Caṣṭana came to Rājputānā as a viceroy of Huviṣka. The view of Oldenberg,³ Burgess,⁴ and Dubreuil⁵ that Caṣṭana was feudatory of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who for some unknown reason had entered the service of the Sātavāhanas and joined hands with them in overthrowing Nahapāna, also seems to be untenable. It is true that Caṣṭana has adopted the *Caitya* symbol of the Sātavāhanas on his coins; but that may as well be due to his having wrested a district of the Sātavāhana kingdom where that symbol was common. Does not the silver currency of the Guptas, introduced in the districts wrested from the Western Kṣatrapas, borrow a number of Śaka motifs and features? It is true that Caṣṭana was ruling over Ākara and Avantī, which had been conquered by Gautamīputra. But he could have got these

¹B. G. I, i, p. 32.

²We may here refer, passingly to Fleet's view that Bhūmaka, Nahapāna and Caṣṭana were Co-viceroy's ruling in Kāthiāvāḍ, Gujarāt Konkan and Ujjayinī, *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 993.

³*I. A. X.*

⁴*A. S. W. I.*, IV, p. 87.

⁵*Ancient History of the Deccan.*

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provinces as a conqueror rather than as a feudatory governor. The fact that he was issuing independent coinage would show that he was not a feudatory of the Sātavāhanas.

Being a governor of Huviṣka Caṣṭana must have at the beginning of his career, proceeded from Mathurā and occupied Ajmer in c. 120 A.D. It is worth noting that this city was not claimed to be within their dominions by the Sātavāhanas. From Ajmer, Caṣṭana gradually extended his power towards Cutch; three Andhao inscriptions found in Cutch show that Kṣatrapa power was well established there in 130 A.D. Since Ujjayinī is mentioned as a capital of Tiastanes or Caṣṭana by Ptolemy, there is no doubt that he eventually succeeded in conquering Mālvā; but when this conquest was effected we do not know. Probably the victories enabling these annexations² were achieved towards the end of the reign of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvī say in c. 130 A.D. As a recognition of the services rendered to the Scythian cause, the title of Mahākṣatrapa appears to have been conferred on Caṣṭana by Huviṣka towards the end of his reign. The difference in the features of the busts on the coins of Caṣṭana suggest that he was about 40 at the beginning of his career and 55 at its end. He may be well presumed to have had a reign of about 15 years. We may place its close in c. 135 A.D.

Jayadāman.

Caṣṭana had a son named Jayadāman, who has issued coins only as a Kṣatrapa. The title Mahākṣatrapa is never given to him in the official records of the dynasty. This may be due to two causes. He may have predeceased his father, his coins with the title Kṣatrapa being issued by him when only a crown prince.³ Or he may have been reduced to the position of a Kṣatrapa by a crushing defeat on the battle field. Jayadāman's son Rudradāman claims that he was elected to the throne by the people of all classes assembling together and that he acquired the title of a Mahākṣatrapa by his own merit, i.e., not by a hereditary claim. Had these specific claims not been made by Rudradāman it would have been possible to assume that Jayadāman predeceased his father Caṣṭana and could not therefore assume the higher title of Mahākṣatrapa. As matters stand at present, it appears more reasonable to presume that Jayadāman was reduced to the lower status of a mere Kṣatrapa by a defeat inflicted by some foreign power. This power can hardly be any other than the Sātavāhanas. Though therefore the Sātavāhana records discovered so far do not refer to any offensive against the Śakas soon after the death of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvī, it is very likely that his successor Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī made a determined effort to regain some of the provinces wrested by Caṣṭana and succeeded in doing so, by inflicting a humiliating defeat upon Jayadāman, reducing him to the feudatory status of a mere Kṣatrapa. The marriage of Vāsiṣṭhīputra

¹E. I., XVI, p. 233.

²One or two coins of Caṣṭana were found at Junāgaḍ in Kāthiāvāḍ; they could have gone there during the reign of his illustrious grandson. It will be hazardous to assert on the strength of their evidence that Caṣṭana had conquered Kāthiāvāḍ also.

³It is argued by D. R. Bhandarkar that the Andhao inscriptions point to a joint reign of Caṣṭana and his grandson Rudradāman. The theory is however not very convincing. (This view is held by many Scholars. See *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. II. p. 183.—V.V.M.)

Śivaśrī with a granddaughter of the vanquished king seems to have been dictated on the battle field.

Jayadāman's reign was probably a short one and may be presumed to have ended in c. 140 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Rudradāman I.

Rudradāman I was the real founder of the greatness of his dynasty. The provinces, which his grandfather had wrested from the Sātavāhanas, had been lost by his father. Rudradāman was, however, able, cautious and ambitious and he soon planned a reconquest of his dominion. The different stages by which he built up his extensive kingdom are not known, but his Junāgaḍh record, dated in 150 A.D., shows that he eventually re-conquered Kāthiāvāḍ, Eastern and Western Mālva,¹ Gujarāt and Northern Koṅkaṇ from the Sātavāhanas. The war with the Sātavāhanas probably started sometime after the death of Rudradāman's son-in-law Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī, say in 145 A.D.² The new king Śivaskanda Svāti was most probably a step-son of Rudradāman's daughter. If so, we can well understand how Rudradāman boasts that he did not utterly destroy the power of his Sātavāhana opponent, because he was related to him not remotely. When once defeated Śivaskanda tried to retrieve the situation by organising a second campaign; but this time also he was worsted. As a result of these victories, Rudradāman became the undisputed ruler of Mālva, Gujarāt, Kāthiāvāḍ and Northern Koṅkaṇ. These provinces however represented only a part of his wide dominion. He was also ruling over Cutch, Sindh, Mārvāḍ and Ajmer and perhaps the whole of Rājasthān.

In his Gīrnār record Rudradāman claims to have defeated the Yaudheyas, who were occupying the South-Eastern Puñjāb. That Rudradāman should have found it necessary to go to this territory to defeat the Yaudheyas would show that the Kuśāṇa empire was getting feeble at c. 150 A.D. and had to rely upon the help of distant viceroys to put down disturbances in the home provinces. The defeat of the Yaudheyas implies the defeat of the Arjunāyanas and the Mālavas also. Rudradāman thus practically became the master of the entire Rājasthān.

The wide dominion of Rudradāman was naturally divided into viceroyalties. Gujarāt and Kāthiāvāḍ constituted one province and was being governed in 150 A.D. by a Pārthian viceroy named Suviśākha. The selection of a Pārthian to this post would attest to the close relationship between the Scythians and Pārthians at this time. Northern Koṅkaṇ and Northern Mahārāṣṭra, Mālva, Sindh and Mārvāḍ probably formed separate provinces. The capital of the king continued to be at Ujjain, where it was during the reign of his grandfather. 150 A.D. is the only known date of Rudradāman I. The busts on some of his coins show that he must have lived upto the age of 60, and we may therefore presume that he continued to

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¹(Mālva had already been conquered by Caṣṭana. Ptolemy calls him the ruler of Ujjain V.V.M.).

²The Kānherī inscription of his daughter shows that northern Koṅkaṇ, which Rudradāman claims to have conquered continued to be under the Sātavāhanas during the reign of his son-in-law.

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rule down to c. 165 A.D. During the latter part of his reign he was associated in the administration with his eldest son Damaghsada or Dāmajada,¹ as his crown prince with the lower title Kṣatrapa.

No coins have been found of Rudradāman with the lower title Kṣatrapa. There can however be little doubt that like his father he began his career as a Kṣatrapa; he proudly claims that he obtained the title of the Mahākṣatrapa as a result of his own exertions. It would appear that as in the case of his grand-father Caṣṭana, the title was conferred upon him by his suzerain Huiṣka in recognition of his conquests. But by c. 145 A.D. the hold of the Kuśāṇas over their Deccan viceroys had grown weak; as shown above, they had to rely upon their Deccan Viceroy to put down rebellions nearer home. It would therefore appear that when Rudradāman inflicted smashing defeat on the Sātavāhanas and wrested the lost provinces, he himself assumed the higher title of the Mahākṣatrapa without the sanction of the imperial power. This title, like the title of *Senāpati*, originally denoted a dependent or feudatory status, but Śaka rulers of Western India continued to use it even after they had become completely independent.

We get a fairly good picture of the personality and achievements of Rudradāman from his Girnār record. Skilled in the use of the different military weapons, Rudradāman was a daring and successful general; he took pride in following the chivalrous code of warfare which did not permit the annihilation of an enemy, who had sued for protection. His sparing his opponent Sātakarṇi shows that this was no mere boast. As a king, he was a good administrator and was very keen in maintaining peace and order in his realm. His subjects paid the usual taxes sanctioned by custom; they had not to pay any forced benevolences, even when costly public works were undertaken like the construction of the Sudarśana dam. He was well known for his liberality, and he seems to have patronised Hinduism; cows and Brāhmaṇas are mentioned in connection with his charity, and not monks and monasteries. Rudradāman was also a scholar and poet; it is claimed that he was skilled in composing poems noted for easy and graceful style. He was further well grounded not only in dry logic but also in fine music. It will thus be seen that like Samudragupta of a later age, Rudradāman was a successful general, a skilful administrator, an accomplished author and a connoisseur of music. He was no doubt a Śaka, but had thoroughly imbued Hindu culture. He was perhaps a greater admirer of that culture than his Hindu opponents the Sātavāhanas, who preferred Prākṛt to Sanskṛt for their official records and were extending their patronage to the heterodox Buddhism as well.

If Rudradāman is thus so well known to us, it is entirely due to his executing the grand project of reconstructing the dam of the Sudarśana lake across the Palāśinī river near Girnār. This dam had been originally constructed in the reign of the Maurya emperor Candra-

¹Dāmajada is the Indianised form of the Śaka name Damaghsada and is used in the coin legends of his son.

gupta (c. 300 B.C.) and canals were taken from it during the reign of his grandson Aśoka (c. 250 B.C.). The dam lasted for more than 450 years when it suddenly collapsed through excessive winter rains in 150 A.D. Rudradāman's ministers were opposed to its rebuilding owing to the heavy cost involved. But Rudradāman decided to accede to the request of the local leaders and got the dam rebuilt without imposing any fresh taxation. It is the *praśasti* (panegyric) engraved near this dam that gives a glimpse into the character, personality and achievements of Rudradāman.

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Rudradāman was succeeded by his son Damaghsada in c. 165 A.D. He was associated with his father in the administration as crown prince with the title Kṣatrapa. His coins as a Mahākṣatrapa are few and show an aged portrait. We may therefore assume that he had a short reign of about five years only.¹ During his short reign, the kingdom which he had inherited, most probably remained intact. The Sātavāhanas were still reeling under the blows inflicted by Rudradāman; the Kuṣāṇas had grown weaker and the Sassanians had not yet come on the scene. There was therefore no power to challenge the supremacy of the Western Kṣatrapas in their extensive dominion.

Damaghsada.

Dāmajada was succeeded by his eldest son Jivadāman² in c. 175. To judge from his coin portrait, he was a young man of about thirty at the time of his accession.³ He had the misfortune of having an able and ambitious uncle named Rudrasimha who soon began to conspire to usurp the throne with the help of Ābhīra generals, who were then in the service of the Kṣatrapas.⁴ Soon after 181 A.D., Rudrasimha accomplished his object and became a Mahākṣatrapa, driving away his nephew into exile. The Ābhīras however did not allow Rudrasimha to enjoy the kingdom peacefully; one of their generals Iśvaradatta⁵ succeeded in becoming a Mahākṣatrapa in c. 188 A.D. He however allowed Rudrasimha to rule as a Kṣatrapa under him. Rudrasimha utilised his position to undermine the power

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and
Rudrasimha.

¹At the time of the first edition of this work, Mahākṣatrapa coinage of Dāmajada was unknown; hence Bhagwanlal Indraji had concluded that he did not rule in that capacity, *B. G.*, i, p. 40.

²He had a younger brother named Satyadāman, who ruled as a Kṣatrapa under him for a short time. But to judge from the features of his bust, Satyadāman must have been raised to this status after the restoration of Jivadāman in c. 197 A. D. For a contrary view, see *B. M. C. A. K.*, p. c. xxix.

³The view of D. R. Bhandarkar that Jivadāman was not a Mahākṣatrapa in c. 175 A. D., but rose to that position after the death of his uncle Rudrasimha in c. 197 A.D. is untenable; see *J. N. S. I.*, I, pp. 18-20.

⁴In the Gudda inscription, dated 181 A.D., Rudrabhūti, an Ābhīra general, refers to Rudrasimha, as a Kṣatrapa, ignoring altogether the existence of Jivadāman, who was then the Mahākṣatrapa. See *E.I.*, XVI, 233. Hence the above conjectures.

⁵Following other scholars, I have assumed that Iśvaradatta was an Ābhīra, but it has to be added that there is no definite evidence to prove this. It is usually assumed that king Iśvarasena Ābhīra of a Nāśik inscription (*E.I.*, VIII, p. 88) may be identical with king Iśvaradatta of coins. This also lacks conclusive proof.

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and influence of Īśvaradatta and managed to oust him in two years.¹ The year 191 A.D. saw him ruling again as a Mahākṣatrapa, which he continued to do down to 197 A.D.

The struggle for the throne between the uncle and the Ābhīras, naturally affected the power and prestige of the Śaka kingdom. The contemporary Sātavāhana king Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi wrested away Northern Konkan and annexed it to his dominion. His solitary silver coins have no doubt been found in Kāthiāvāḍ and Besnagar also. But it may be risky to assume from this circumstance that both Kāthiāvāḍ and Mālva were also reconquered by him. For there is ample evidence to show that the Kṣatrapas continued to hold these provinces during the reign of Rudrasimha.

Rudrasimha was succeeded by his dethroned nephew Jivadāman as a Mahākṣatrapa in 197 A.D. Whether reconciliation was effected between the uncle and the nephew or whether the latter succeeded in defeating the former, we do not know. The former alternative seems to be more probable, for we find Rudrasimha's son Rudrasena working as a Kṣatrapa under Jivadāman towards the end of his reign. Jivadāman had a short reign after his restoration, for we find his nephew Rudrasena ruling as a Mahākṣatrapa in 200 A.D. Jivadāman will be always remembered by historians as the first king in ancient India who started a long series of dated coins. This series starts with the year 100 or 101 or 102 of the Śaka era and continues down to the year 310. These coins enable us to fix the limits of the reigns of different kings with remarkable accuracy.

Rudrasena
(200-220 A.D.).

Rudrasena enjoyed a fairly long reign of 22 years not undisturbed by any internal or external disturbances. He had two brothers Saṅghadāman and Dāmasena, and two sons Pṛthivisena and Dāmajadaśrī. Circumstances were thus quite favourable for an internecine struggle for the throne. But growing wiser by the bitter experience of the past two decades, which had affected the fortunes of their kingdom, the Western Kṣatrapas now appear to have decided that the crown should pass from the ruling king to his younger brothers in succession and not to his eldest son. We thus find Rudrasena succeeded as a Mahākṣatrapa by his younger brothers Saṅghadāman and Dāmasena in succession. In the next generation we find three sons of Dāmasena, Yaśodāman I, Vijayasena and Dāmajadaśrī III ruling one after the other. A generation later Viśvasena was succeeded by his brother Bhartṛdāman. This arrangement of succession seems to have been preferred, as it ensured the

¹Bhagwanlal had placed the intervention of Īśvaradatta in 249 A. D. and Rapson in 238 A. D. The former of these views is now no longer tenable. It rested on the belief that a break of continuity in the reign of the Mahākṣatrapas of the regular dynasty was shown by the absence of dated coins between the Śaka years 171-176. Further discoveries however have now shown that there was no such break in coinage. Ābhīra leaders were working as generals under the Kṣatrapas at about 180 A.D., as shown by the Gunda inscription; it is therefore assumed here that Īśvaradatta had ousted the Śakas during Śaka years 110-112 (188-190 A.D.), for which period we have no śaka coins issued by any Mahākṣatrapa. As to Rapson's theory of Īśvaradatta's usurpation in c. 238 A. D., it may be pointed out that there is no definite evidence to show that the Ābhīras had risen to power at this time.

succession of experienced rulers and removed the temptation to rebel from the minds of the younger brothers of ruling Mahākṣatrapas. It no doubt rendered the prospect of accession of the eldest son of the ruling king remote; he was however, offered the status of Kṣatrapa under his uncles. Thus we find both Pṛthivīśena and Dāmajada II ruling as Kṣatrapas under their uncles Saṅghadāman and Dāmasena. They however could not rule as Mahākṣatrapas.

The find-spots of the inscriptions show that during the reign of Rudrasena, Kāthiāvāḍ¹ continued to be under the Śaka rule. Whether Sindh and Mārvāḍ continued to be ruled by them is not definitely known. At about this time the Ābhīras carved out a principality for themselves in the Nāśik region; originally they must have professed themselves to be the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas or the Kṣatrapas according to the exigencies of the situation. They ruled in Konkan and Northern Mahārāṣṭra throughout the 3rd century A.D. Ujjayinī continued to be the capital of the Śakas. They were now completely Indianised and we find the orthodox Ikṣvāku ruler Virapurūṣadatta (c. 250 A.D.) marrying a Śaka princess of the Ujjayinī house. She was probably a daughter or grand-daughter of Rudrasena. Śaka Moda, whose sister had donated a sculpture at Amrāvati in Āndhra country,² was probably a member of the entourage that accompanied the princess to her new home. Prabhudāmā, a sister of Rudrasena, figures in a seal found at Vaiśālī in far off Bihār.³ The seal describes her as Chief Queen, but does not give the name of her husband. He was probably a Hinduised Śaka ruler, who had carved a principality in Magadha after the collapse of the Kuśāṇa empire. There is no doubt that Rudrasena had succeeded in restoring the prestige of his house, shaken during the internecine struggles of the earlier generation; matrimonial alliances with his house were sought after by the rulers in the distant provinces of India. As may be expected, his coinage is also numerous, suggesting a time of peace and prosperity.

According to the new convention about succession, at the death of Rudrasena, the crown passed to his younger brother Saṅghadāman and not his son Pṛthivīśena, though he was working as a Kṣatrapa under his father towards the end of his reign. To judge from his portrait Saṅghadāman was a man of not more than 40 at the time of his accession in 222 A.D., but he could rule only for less than two years. For he was succeeded by his younger brother Dāmasena in 223 A.D.

The homeland of the Mālavas consisting at this time of Jaipūr, Ajmer and Udaipūr area, had been annexed to their kingdom by the Śakas for more than a century. The Mālavas now broke into a rebellion and their leader Śrī-Soma, succeeded in freeing his home-

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Rudrasena,
(200-220 A.D.).

Saṅghadāman
and
Dāmasena.

¹Mulwasar and Jasdan inscriptions from southern and northern Kāthiāvāḍ; the first of these is dated Śaka 122 (200 A. D.) and the second in Śaka 126 or 127. Both refer to tank constructions. *J. R. A. S.*, 1890, p. 652.

²*E. I.* XX, 19.

³*A. S. I. A. R.*, 1913-14, p. 136.

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land from the Śaka bondage before 226 A.D., as is shown by his Nandsa Yūpa inscriptions.¹ This struggle for freedom, which terminated before 226 A.D., was probably a long one, and it is not unlikely that the premature end of the reign of Saṅghadāman may have been due to his dying on the battlefield, while fighting against the Mālavas. The loss of Ajmer-Mārvād must have rendered the hold over Sindh a difficult task; and we may well presume that the Western Kṣatrapas lost it by 230 A.D. During the reign of Dāmasena, the Śaka kingdom thus became confined to Mālṡvā, Gujarāt and Kāthiāvād.

Viradāman
and
Yaśodāman.

During the first ten years of the reign of Dāmasena (c. 223 to 233 A.D.) Pṛthivīsenā and Dāmājada II, the sons of his elder brother, were functioning as Kṣatrapas.² Later we find his own son Viradāman raised to that status in 234 A.D. Probably this son pre-deceased his father, for his younger brother Yaśodāman succeeded his father as a Mahākṣatrapa in 238 A.D.³

Vijayasena.

Dāmājada III.

Rudrasena II.

Though not more than 40 at the time of his accession Yaśodāman ruled only for about two years. The cause of the premature end of his reign is not known.⁴ He was succeeded by his younger brother Vijayasena, who ruled for ten years down to 250 A.D. His copious coinage found all over Gujarāt and Kāthiāvād in which every year of his reign is represented, suggests a peaceful and prosperous reign. In 250 A.D. he was succeeded by his younger brother Dāmājada III. Being the youngest of the four brothers, who ruled in succession, Dāmājada III had naturally a short reign of five years.⁵ In 255 A.D., we find him succeeded by Rudrasena II, who was the son of his eldest brother Viradāman. The new Mahākṣatrapa had a long reign of 22 years (255–277 A.D.) but very few incidents in it are known.

For reasons not known at present, the office of the Kṣatrapa was in abeyance for about 35 years, from c. 239 to 265 A.D. Rudrasena revived it towards the end of his reign elevating his eldest son Viśvasimha to that status in 275 A.D.

The Śaka dominion suffered further diminution during the period 230–275 A.D. We find a Śaka chief Śrīdharavarman ruling as an independent king at Sāñcī in Eastern Mālṡvā in c. 266 A.D.⁶ The copper coinage of the Śakas, which was confined to Mālṡvā, suddenly

¹E. I., XXVII, p. 252

²Their known years are 222 and 233 A. D. respectively, but it may well be presumed that Pṛthivīsenā continued to be a Kṣatrapa down to 232 A. D.

³There is a gap of two years in the Mahākṣatrapa coinage from 236–238 A. D.; Rapson places Iṣvaradatta Abhira's usurpation during this interval, *B. M. C. A. K.*, pp. cxxxiii ff. See *ante* p. 18 for our view.

⁴New discoveries of coins have shown that Dāmājada was ruling as a Mahākṣatrapa during every year of the period 250–55 A. D.; this circumstance has rendered untenable Dr. Bhagwanlal's view that Iṣvaradatta was ruling in c. 249 A. D., See *B. G.*, I, 1.

⁵Bhagwanlal had suggested that Yaśodāman might have been ousted by Vijayasena in the first edition of this work I, i, p. 46. But there is no sufficient evidence to support the conjecture.

⁶This is the date of the record according to R. D. Banerji, *E. I.*, XVI p. 232. N. G. Majumdar placed him 40 years later (*J. A. S. B. N. S.*, XIX p. 343). (See also C.I.I. IV, pp. xxxvii f—V.V.M.)

comes to an end in c. 240 A.D. It would thus appear that at least portions of Māl̥vā were lost by the Śakas in c. 250 A.D.¹

The deterioration in the technique of the coinage starts in c. 240 A.D. Till the time of Yaśodāman II, the busts on the Kṣatrapa coins were individual portraits; he started the practice of mechanically reproducing the features of the predecessors.

The discovery of a hoard of Kṣatrapa coins near Karhāḍ in Sātārā district, in which the Śaka rulers of the latter half of the 3rd century from Vijayasena (240–250) to Viśvasena (294–304 A.D.) were represented, had led Bhagwanlal to suggest the conquest of Mahārāṣṭra by the Western Kṣatrapas at this time.² The Śaka power was now on the decline and such a venture was out of question. The Ābhīras were in power in Central Mahārāṣṭra and there is no evidence to show that they were defeated by the Kṣatrapas. Karhāḍ was a famous holy place (*tīrtha*) and the hoard found near it may have been the earnings of a Brāhmaṇa who had gone to the Kṣatrapa dominions to make a fortune by collecting honoraria. By itself this hoard cannot prove the extent of the Kṣatrapa dominions to southern Mahārāṣṭra.

Rudrasena II was succeeded by his eldest son Viśvasena in c. 279 A.D. He however had a short reign of three years and was succeeded by his younger brother Bhartṛdāman in 282 A.D. Bhartṛdāman had a fairly long reign of about 20 years; during its latter half his son Viśvasena was associated with him in government as a Kṣatrapa. The coinages of both these rulers is copious; it appears that they succeeded in restoring prosperity to the Śaka dominion during their rule.

In 284 A.D. the Sassanian emperor Varaharan II conquered Seistan and Sindh and appointed his brother the governor of those provinces. Sindh, however, had been already lost by the Śakas and the extension of the Sassanian power over that province did not affect them. Bhartṛdāman, however, was anxious to establish cordial relations with the new rising power. He did not take part in the war of succession that ensued between Varaharan III and Narseh,³ but when the latter came out successful, he sent ambassadors to congratulate him. The even tenor of his reign was not affected by any events in contemporary Sassanian history.

The coinage of Bhartṛdāman as a Mahākṣatrapa extends only upto the year 294 A.D. His son Viśvasena, however, was ruling as a Kṣatrapa down to 304 A.D. We may therefore well presume that the father continued to be a Mahākṣatrapa down to that year.

¹It is however also possible that the copper currency may have been supplanted by the silver one as an administrative reform. In that case we cannot presume the loss of a part of Māl̥vā only on that circumstance.

²J. B. B. R. A. S., VI, pp. 16-17; B. G. I., 48-49.

³The Paikuli inscription mentions the king of Avantī as siding with Varaharan III in the war of succession. At the time however Avantī was probably not included in the Śaka kingdom. Some local ruler of Avantī, possibly a Śaka, may have joined the side of Varaharan III.

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Bhartṛdāman,
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Rudrasimha II

The long career of about 180 years of the house of Caṣṭana came to an end in 304 A.D. In that year we find a new Śaka king Rudrasimha II,¹ ascending the throne as Kṣatrapa setting aside both Bhartṛdāman and his son Viśvasena. The new ruler was the son of one Swāmī Jīvadāman, who is mentioned without any royal titles whatsoever. The names of the rulers of the new dynasty suggest that it may have been a collateral branch of the house of Caṣṭana, but so far no definite evidence has come forth to substantiate this conjecture.

The transfer of power from the house of Caṣṭana to that of Rudrasimha was probably not a peaceful one.² There was a short struggle for the throne, but Rudrasimha brought the situation under control in less than a year. We find him ruling as a Kṣatrapa in 304 A.D.—a year in which Viśvasena of the earlier house is also known to have ruled as a Kṣatrapa. Rudrasimha ruled as a Kṣatrapa for 12 years and was succeeded by his son Yaśodāman in 316 A.D. He continued to rule down to at least 332 A.D., which is his last known year. He may however well have ruled for a few years more.

Yaśodāman II.

Rudrasimha II and Yaśodāman are the only two rulers of the new dynasty, and curiously enough they are both seen content to assume only the lower title of a Kṣatrapa. On no coins of theirs does the higher title Mahākṣatrapa figure in the coin legend. The founder of a new dynasty may naturally be presumed to be anxious to assume the highest title borne by the ruler ousted by him, and if Rudrasimha II as well as his son Yaśodāman II were content with the lower title of the Kṣatrapa, there must have been compelling reasons for their doing so.

Subordination to an outside power, which prohibited the assumption of the higher title Mahākṣatrapa indicative at this time of independent status, suggests itself as the most probable cause of this significant circumstance. But which that outside power was cannot be definitely stated at present. It does not seem likely that the Sassanians had at this time succeeded in imposing their overlordship over the Western Kṣatrapas. Their emperor Narseh had sustained a signal defeat at the hand of the Roman emperor Galerius in 303 A.D. and had to cede extensive territories to the conqueror in order to recover his family. Narseh's successor Hormuzd had a short reign of seven years, during which he undertook no military expeditions. The next ruler Shapur III was a baby in arms at the time of his accession. So it is clear that Sassanian overlordship could not have been the cause of the lower title of the rulers of the new house.

The most plausible theory that can at present be suggested in this connection is this : the rulers of the new house were the nominees and proteges of the Vākāṭaka emperor Pravarasena I, and so could

¹Following old practice, I have described this ruler as Rudrasimha II. Since he belonged to a different house, we should strictly speaking call him simply Rudrasimha.

²In the earlier edition of this work, Dr. Bhagwanlal had suggested that the failure of heirs might have been the cause of the rise of the new dynasty *B. G.*, I, i. p. 49. But the fact that its last ruler Viśvasena could not rise to the status of a Mahākṣatrapa would militate against this conjecture.

not assume the higher title of Mahākṣatrapa, a portion of Mālvā having been already lost by the Kṣatrapas by c. 275 A.D. The dominions of the Vākātaka emperor were on the borders of the Śaka kingdom and he may well have sought to bring it under his control by supporting the cause of the upstart Rudrasimha II and by giving him military help to oust Bhartṛdāman and his son Viśvasimha, who were the legitimate occupants of the Śaka throne. When Rudrasimha thus got the throne, at his formal coronation his imperial master might have imposed the condition that he should not assume the title of the Mahākṣatrapa, which at this time indicated an independent status. Pravarasena was on the throne from c. 275 to c. 335 A.D. and it is during 304 to 335 A.D. that the Western Kṣatrapas did not assume the higher title. Pravarasena's overlordship over Rudrasimha II and Yaśodāman II is, however, only a theory at present, which still lacks conclusive evidence in its favour.

332 A.D. is the last known date of Yaśodāman II. Thereafter there is a long and unusual gap of 16 years in the Kṣatrapa coinage. At the end of this period, we find a new Śaka dynasty emerging on the scene. Rudrasena III is its first ruler known from his coins. Since, however, his coin legend refers to his father Rudradāman II as a Mahākṣatrapa, we may well presume that the latter was the founder of the new house. If so, he might have ruled for a few years before 348 A.D., the first known year of his son, say from 345 to 348 A.D. It is also not unlikely that Yaśodāman II might have ruled for three or four years more after 332 A.D., his last known date.

The unusually long interregnum of sixteen years in the Kṣatrapa coinage, which can be conjecturally reduced to about ten years, as shown above, does not appear to have been due to any foreign intervention. The Vākātakas has grown weak at this time, nor is there any evidence suggesting a Sassanian conquest. Internecine struggle between Yaśodāman II and Rudradāman II was probably responsible for a period of anarchy, during which the coinage seems to have stopped altogether. In this struggle Rudradāman II eventually got the throne. He did not rule long, for no coins of his have been found so far. We have therefore conjecturally suggested above that he might have ruled as a Mahākṣatrapa from c. 345–348 A.D.

As remarked above, the founder of this dynasty is at present known only from the coin legend of his son. When we note how Rudrasimha II, the founder of the 3rd Śaka dynasty, refrains from giving any royal title to his father in his coin legend, the conclusion becomes irresistible that Rudradāman II was the real founder of the fourth Śaka dynasty, since he is expressly described as a Mahākṣatrapa in his son's coin legend. The non-discovery of the coins of Rudradāman II himself must be regarded as purely accidental. It would however indicate that he did not long survive his hard won victory. His son succeeded him in or just before 348 A.D., which is his first known year.

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DYNASTY.

Yaśodāman II.

FOURTH SHAKA
DYNASTY.Rudradāman II
to
Rudrasimha IV.
(c. 345 A.D. to
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to
Rudrasimha IV.
(c. 345 A.D. to
c. 400 A.D.),

Rudrasena III had a long reign of 30 years, but it was far from peaceful. His silver coinage shows a significant gap of 13 years from 351 to 364 A.D. There was a great political upheaval during this period, which rendered life and prosperity unsafe throughout the kingdom. We find people burying their hoards for safety both in the heart of the kingdom as well in its outlying cities.¹

Who had eclipsed the power of Rudrasena III during this period 351–364 A.D. is not yet definitely known. At about 355 A.D., the Guptas had no doubt become a great power under Samudragupta; but that emperor does not appear to have launched any attack on the kingdom of the Western Kṣatrapas. In his time the boundaries of the Gupta empire were just touching eastern Māl̥vā, and the Kṣatrapa kingdom lay to its west. It is interesting to note that the Allāhābād record of Samudragupta does not mention the Western Kṣatrapas among the rulers vanquished by that emperor. It is just possible that the Sassanian emperor Shapur II, who is stated to have led an expedition to the east in 356-7 A.D. may have penetrated to Kāthiāvāḍ from his base in Sindh and totally eclipsed the power of Rudrasena III for a decade or so. Sassanians, however, do not specifically claim the conquest of Kāthiāvāḍ, nor is any Sassanian influence to be perceived on contemporary culture, antiquities or coinage of the province. We have to admit that the cause of the eclipse of the Kṣatrapa power at this time is still unknown.² A few lead coins mostly belonging to the period of the interregnum in the silver coinage have been found. They, however, do not bear the name of the issuer, nor is their provenance known. It is not unlikely that they may have been issued by the conqueror of Rudrasena III.

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Rudrasena was able to reassert his position and regain the throne by 364 A.D. He ruled for 14 years more; 378 A.D. is his last known date.

Kṣatrapa history becomes considerably confused after the death of Rudrasena III. He was succeeded not by his son or brother, but by his sister's son Svāmi Satyasimha.³ This succession is unusual and may not have been a peaceful one. 382 A.D. is the only known

¹This is proved by the Uparkot hoard (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, 1899, pp. 203-9) found near Junāgaḍ and the Sarvania hoard (*A. S. I. A. R.*, 1913-14, pp. 227-45) found near Ratlām; both these hoards contain no coins of the reign of Rudrasena III later than the year 351. These coins of Rudrasena were also in the mint condition, showing that the hoards were buried soon after 351 A. D.

²The present writer has advanced a tentative view that Śarva Bhāṭṭāraka, who started the so-called Valabhī coinage may have temporarily overpowered Rudrasena III (*J. N. S. I.*, VI, 19-23); but this theory also has its own difficulties.

³Both Cunningham and Bhagwanlal had read Rudrasimha as the father's name in the coin legend and assumed that Satyasimha was the son of Rudrasimha III, the last Kṣatrapa ruler. The reading Rudrasena now appears to be more probable and enables us to assign a more probable place to this ruler in the genealogical and chronological scheme.

year of Satyasimha and we may presume that he ruled from c. 380–83 A.D. During the next five years, not only his own reign but that of his son Rudrasena IV came to an end. In 388 A.D. we find Rudrasimha III ruling as a Mahākṣatrapa. The new ruler was a son of Satyasimha, but the latter's relationship to Rudrasena III or his predecessors is not known. It is likely that Satyasimha, the father of the new ruler, was a brother of Rudrasena III, and therefore he might have felt justified in ousting Rudrasena IV, who was descended through a sister of Rudrasena III. But all this is purely conjectural, though probable.

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THE
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Rudradāman II.
to
Rudrasimha IV.
(c. 345 A.D. to
c. 400 A.D.).

The quick succession of three rulers in less than five or six years must have weakened the Kṣatrapa power considerably when Rudrasimha III ascended the throne in c. 388 A.D. The chaotic situation in the Kṣatrapa kingdom must have been under the close watch of the Guptas, who were the next door neighbours of the Kṣatrapas and were anxious to extend their rule over the whole of northern India. Candragupta II, the ruling Gupta emperor, soon realised that the Kṣatrapa kingdom, torn by internal dissensions and ruled by weak kings, was a good target of attack. His original plan was probably to carry out the invasion in co-operation with his son-in-law the Vākātaka ruler, Rudrasena II, who was the southern neighbour of the Kṣatrapas. The sudden death of Vākātaka king, however, appears to have postponed the invasion.¹ The invasion is referred to in a Gupta record from Mālva as an undertaking of the emperor, bent upon conquering the entire world.² Unfortunately this record is not dated; otherwise, we would have been in a position to find out the date of the disappearance of the Kṣatrapa rule from Western India. As it is, we can determine it only approximately. 388 A.D. is the last known date on the coins of Rudrasimha III³ and 409 A.D. is the earliest known date on the silver coins of the Gupta conqueror Candragupta II. It would thus appear that the Kṣatrapa invasion was planned towards the end of the last decade of the fourth century and carried out early in the first decade of the 5th. Erakiṇa, modern Eran in Saugar district of Madhya Pradesh, was probably the base of military operations, from which the armies advanced westwards to Ujjayinī and Kāthiāvād. Āmrakādava, a military officer, who is recorded to have given a donation at Sāñcī in 412 A.D., probably participated in this venture; banners of victory and fame obtained by him, to which reference is made in his record, were probably his souvenirs of the Kṣatrapa campaigns. The diplomatic moves on the campaign were probably being supervised by the minister Śāba, who had his headquarters at Bhilsā, in the vicinity of which he donated a cave to Śiva in the Udayagiri hills.

¹(For another possible view see the section on the Vākātakas, V.V.M.)

²Udayagiri Inscription of Candragupta II, *C. I. I.*, III, No. 6.

³The date in the Śaka era is 310, but it is not unlikely that a unit digit may have followed the symbol for ten. In that case his reign can be prolonged by a period of one to nine years.

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No particular incidents or battles of this campaign are known so far. It may have probably lasted for three or four years. Candragupta secured a decisive victory and decided not to allow the foreign dynasty to continue to rule even in a feudatory capacity. Accordingly, the entire kingdom was annexed to the Gupta empire and constituted into a new province. The important all-India port of Broach was located in this province, and the new conquest thus enabled the Gupta empire to control a considerable portion of India's trade with Western world.



सत्यमेव जयते

CHAPTER 5.

SOCIETY, RELIGION AND CULTURE* (200 B. C. TO 500 A. D.)

WE HAVE SEEN ALREADY HOW THE MATERIAL FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EVEN THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE DECCAN during the period 200 B.C. to 500 A.D. is very meagre. The case is much worse with reference to the data bearing on the cultural history of the age. We can hardly point to any Smṛti as being written in the Deccan during this period. The *Saptaśatī* excepted, there is hardly any other work that can be described with confidence, as being written in the Deccan during this period. We have to rely upon fragmentary and detached statements that are now and then made in votive and historical records. The evidence of sculptures and paintings will be of some help to us in getting some concrete ideas about the dress, ornaments and furniture. And it will be necessary to supplement our information by the data collected from the contemporary Smṛti and classical literature, though it may not be definitely assignable to the Deccan.

Varna-vyavasthā or caste system was a salient feature of Hindu society since early times, and it continued to be so during our age as well. The four main castes, Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras are frequently referred to in our records. It is interesting to note that Buddhist laymen continued their loyalty to the caste system. Thus, one lay donor at Kuṭṭā, Ayitula by name, expressly describes himself as a Brāhmaṇa and it is but reasonable to assume that his outlook was generally shared by other Buddhists, who continued to describe themselves as members of the particular caste to which they belonged according to the Hindu Smṛtis and conventions.

Professional designations were, however, more in vogue than the caste ones; we find donors describing themselves as Mahārāṭhis, Mahāsenāpatis, Mahābhojas, Mālākāras, Gandhikas, Suvarṇakāras etc., rather than as Kṣatriyas or Vaiśyas. It appears that the four great theoretical castes had already sub-divided themselves into a number of sub-groups based upon the professions they were following; these latter were more in use in designating individuals than the theoretical names of their castes.

Brāhmaṇas occupied a prominent position in the religious sphere. They were the priests of the community and took a prominent part

* This chapter is contributed by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D. Litt.

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Society, Religion
and Culture
during 200 B.C.
to 500 A.D.
INTRODUCTION.

SOCIAL
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SOCIAL
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in its religious life. They officiated at the various sacrifices and got handsome honoraria, especially from the richer and ruling classes. Though our records do not contain any specific references to their learning and scholarship, we may well conclude that they were the custodians of the traditional learning and used to initiate the rising generation in it. Unfortunately our records do not refer to the Vedic Śākhās to which the different Brāhmaṇas mentioned in them belonged.¹ It is therefore not possible to make any statement about the probable distribution of the Vedic Śākhās during our period.

Some Brāhmaṇas, however, exchanged the sacrificial ladle for the battle-axe. The Śuṅgas and the Sātavāhanas, the Vākātakas and the Kadāmbas were Brāhmaṇas who had trespassed upon the sphere and domain of the Kṣatriyas, and we may well suppose that among their Brāhmaṇa subjects, there was no dearth of persons to follow their example in order to win laurels in the administrative or military field. It is not unlikely that some among the Amātyas, Mahāmātras and Lekhakas or Secretariat officers may have belonged to the Brāhmaṇa caste.

Kṣatriyas followed their traditional profession of arms and distinguished themselves as generals and administrators. We may well suppose that the Mahārāṭhis and Mahābhōjas, Mahāsenāpatīs, Mahāmātras and Amātyas, who figure so prominently in the records of Western India, were generally members of the Kṣatriya caste. The fighting forces in the army must have been largely recruited from the Kṣatriya caste, but some undoubtedly belonged to the Vaiśya and Śūdra classes as well. It is interesting to note that some Kṣatriyas also often took to other professions. One of the donations at Kānheri is by two Kṣatriya brothers Gajasena and Gajamitra, who were following the commercial profession and are expressly described as Vāṇijakas.² The Vaiśya caste was always a composite one and its members were usually described with reference to the particular professions they were following. This class mainly consisted of agriculturists and traders. The former are usually referred to in our records as Kuṭumbikas or Hālayikas. Gahapati appears to have been the designation of the more prosperous section of the landed peasantry. Thus, in one record³ the donor widow describes her dead husband as Hālayika and her living son as Gahapati; obviously the son had attained to a higher status, enabling him to finance his mother's donation. Ordinarily traders were called Vāṇijakas, but the more substantial among them were called as Sethis. In some cases the father is described as Gahapati and the son as a Sethi,⁴ in some cases, one and the same individual is described both as a Gahapati and a Sethi.⁵ It would appear probable that Gahapatis or members of small landed aristocracy used to deal in trade also; and when they became prosperous merchants, they were given the designation of Sethis. One section of the trading class specialised in the transport of goods from place to place. This was a strenuous

¹(Vākātaka inscriptions mention the Śākhās of the Yajurveda. *C.I., I.*, V, 11, 21, 83 etc. V.V.M.)

²*A. S. W. I.*, Kanheri No. 4.

³*I. C. T. W. I.*, p. 38.

⁴*I. C. T. W. I.*, p. 13.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 16

work and required a fleet of bullock carts and pack animals besides a strong military guard. Those who specialised in this line were called Sārthavāhas or caravans; they are often referred to in the cave inscriptions of Western India.¹

Among the professions and castes mentioned so far, Mahārāṭhis, Mahābhojas, Mahāsenāpatis stood high in the social order, only next below the king. Rājāmātyas (royal ministers), Amātyas (officers), Mahāmātras (ministers), Bhāṇḍāgārikas (treasury officers) must have ranked next below them. The position of the learned Brāhmaṇas was probably on a par with them. Śreṣṭhins, Naigamas, Grahapatis, Sārthavāhas and Vaidyas came next. Lower down in the social scale were Hālakiyas (farmers). Suvarṇakāras (goldsmiths), Gandhikas (perfumers), Vardhakis (carpenters), Mālākāras (gardeners), Lohavāṇiyyas (smiths), Tilapiṣakas (oilmen) occupied a still lower position. The landless labourer (Śūdra) and the untouchable belonged to the lowest strata. Vaidyas or physicians often figure in our records as men of substance, but whether they belonged to any particular caste, we do not know.

Our records show that the professions of the Lekhaka (clerk or secretariat officer), Gaṇapaka (accountant or troop leader), the trader, the doctor, etc. were often followed from generation to generation. This was probably the case with the majority of the population. People, however, could change their profession according to their liking, as shown above already.

Śūdras naturally figure rather rarely in our records. Mugudāsa, the donor in the cave inscription No. 8 at Nāśik, calls himself a Dāsa and was probably a Śūdra. This Śūdra donor donates a cave, showing that some members of his caste were often men of substance.² We may well presume that they may have participated in trade and commerce; a vast majority of the artisan class was probably recruited from this class, as also the majority of the fighting forces.

There is no reference to slavery in our records. But contemporary Smṛtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya refer to several varieties of slaves. It is quite likely that the prisoners of war were reduced to the status of slaves, as stated in the Smṛtis. It is also probable that in times of acute distress, famishing people may have sold themselves into slavery. But persons of these categories could regain their free status on payment of a ransom, either by themselves or by their friends or relatives.

It is curious to note that untouchables are rarely referred to in our records. This is probably due not to the non-existence of this unfortunate class, but to its non-participation in the religious and social life portrayed in our records. Only in one place is the cobbler or Carmakāra referred to.

Caste system was regarded as the very foundation of Hinduism in our period and good and great kings like Gautamīputra Sātākarni³ are often described as rulers who took steps to prevent the mixture

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¹ C.T.W. I., p. 19, 27.

² See Nāśik Ins. Nos. 15, 16, 17 and Kuṇḍa No. 13.

³ *Vinivāṭita-chāṭūvaṇa-saṃkaraśa*, Nāśik Inscr. No. 2.

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of castes. But what precisely was done to accomplish this desideratum, it is difficult to say. We have seen above that several individuals in society often followed professions not permitted to their castes. Whether the mixture of castes was prevented by prohibiting inter-caste marriages, we do not know. Our records do not refer to any intercaste marriages, but contemporary Smṛti writers like Manu and Yājñavalkya permit them if *anuloma*. It is further to be noted that Gautamīputra, who is credited with preventing the mixture of castes, had accepted a Śaka bride for his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakaṛṇi. The orthodox Ikṣvāku rulers in the Eastern Deccan had also formed a marriage alliance with the Śaka rulers of Ujjayinī. Caste system was undoubtedly far from rigid during our period.

A Brāhmaṇa minister of a contemporary Vākātaka king named Soma is described as a good follower of the rules of Śrutis and Smṛtis even when he had married a Kṣatriya lady.¹

The Smṛtis mention a number of mixed (*saṅkara*) castes like Ambaṣṭha, Pāraśava, Ugra, etc. which were supposed to be due to intercaste unions. They nowhere figure in our records. Probably intercaste marriages were not yet held as disreputable and the children born of such unions were regarded as belonging to the caste of their father.

When intercaste marriages were allowed, naturally there was no objection to interdining. Yājñavalkya allows a Brāhmaṇa to take food even with a Śūdra if he is one's farmer, barber, milkman or a family friend.

Renunciation was the ideal for the Buddhist aspirant for salvation and a large number of men and women followed it, as is clear from the frequent references to monks and nuns in our records. Hinduism had the corresponding institution of Vānaprastha and Sanyāsa *āśramas*, but it is difficult to state how far it was popular. Nandabālikā, who figures as a donor in one of the Junnar records, is described as the wife of Ṛṣimūlasvāmin. It is very probable that her husband, who is described as a ṛṣi may have become a Sanyāsin of the Hindu order. There are, however, no other clear references to the members of this order.

Manu and Yājñavalkya generally approve of the joint family ideal; but a line in the *Manusmṛti* approves also of division in family as lending greater support to the cause of Dharma.² Vast majority of donative records, however, refer to fairly big joint families. The donation is usually in the name of the senior member or manager of the family, but he invariably associates his brothers, sons and daughters in his benefaction. One record refers to a joint family of two brothers who did not separate after the death of their father.³

¹ A. S. W. I., IV, p. 139.

² पृथग् विवर्धते धर्मस्तस्माद्धर्म्या पृथक् क्रिया ¹Manusmṛti IX. III.

When brothers separate, each of them has to separately perform religious rituals like śrāddha; so separation led to greater frequency of religious rituals.

³ भातृणं असमसपुताणं बुधमितस बुधरखितस देयधमो । Junnar Inscription, No. 20.

The donor of another record associates his parents and children with his benefaction.¹ This is obviously the case of a grown up son taking over the family management, when his parents had become too old to look after it. Amarāvati inscription No. 38 refers to a donor named Khaṇḍa and his daughter-in-law, who is described as staying in her house. Probably this is a case where the son had separated from his father and the new establishment had continued its separate existence even after the son's death.

The invariable association of brothers, sons, daughters, etc. with the benefactions of the head of the family would suggest that all these had the right to a share in the family property. What that right was is, however, not clear. Probably the son's right by birth was already recognised in Western India during our period. Subsidiary sons are not referred to in our records; but probably the adopted son was recognised; but he had not yet become popular in society. The custom of *nīyoga* was probably dying down.

The custom of describing a person after the *gotra* of his mother was very common in our period. Several Sātavāhana rulers are so described; we have Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puṣṭamāvi, Vāśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, Mādhariputra Śakasena, etc. Similar nomenclature prevailed among the Ikṣvākus, also; king Santamūla is called Vāśiṣṭhīputra there. Several Mahārathis and Mahābhōjas are seen described as Gotiputtas, Kochiputtas, Kosikiputtas, etc.² The custom was adopted by Ābhiras also; one of their kings Īśvarasena is called Mādhariputra, in a Nāsik record. It is, however, not only the ruling classes who had this custom. In one Nāsik record a Brāhmaṇa is described as Vārāhiputra and two Maḷavali records refer to Kauśikīputra Śrī-Nāgadatta of Kauṇḍinya Gotra and Hāritiputra Koṇḍamāna of Kauṇḍinya Gotra, both of whom appear to be Brāhmaṇas.³ The custom was not unknown to the Vaiśyas; and the engineer of one of the *Sāñcī toraṇas* is described as Vāśiṣṭhīputra.

Nor was this custom confined only to the Deccan or Southern India. Among the Magha rulers of Kauśāmbī, we have Kautsīputra Poṭhasirī and Gautamīputra Śivamagha and the eldest son of the Vākāṭaka emperor Pravarasena I was Gautamīputra. This peculiar custom of naming a son after the *gotra* of his mother is not to be seen later than c. 500 A.D.

What is the origin of this peculiar nomenclature? One view is that it is a survival of the matriarchy, which was common in the Deccan in prehistoric times. But the Sātavāhana rulers were orthodox Brāhmaṇas and are not known to have followed matriarchal traditions. The succession in their family is always seen from the father to the son. It is, therefore more probable that the custom was due to polygamy. Bimbisāra had several wives, one from the Vaideha house, another from the Kośala royal family and so on. His successor Ajātaśatru is therefore described as Vaidehīputra in order

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¹ Kānheri inscription No. 1.

² Kārli No. 1, 14, etc.

³ Lüders' List Nos. 1131, 1195-6.

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to indicate the family to which his mother had belonged. It is equally probable that Sātakarṇi was called Gautamīputra because he had other step-brothers, who were not born of his own mother who belonged to a royal family of the Gautama Gotra. In medieval and modern times in Rājputānā, a similar nomenclature prevailed owing to a similar cause.

Several personal names during our period show that Śiva and Viṣṇu were popular deities, Śiva, Śivakhada, Śivaguta, Viṇhupālita, etc. In Buddhist families names like Buddha, Buddhārakṣita, Buddhapālita, Dhamma, Ānanda, etc. were common. The *Manu-smṛti* disapproves the practice of naming girls after the lunar mansions (*nakṣatras*); but the records of our period show that the practice was fairly common in spite of the ban of the *Smṛtis*. We came across Uttarādattā in Kuṭā inscriptions Nos. 1 and 9, Svātimitrā in Kuṭā inscription No. 4, Aṣāḍhamitrā in Kārli No. 12 and Puṣyaṇakā in Beḍṣā No. 3.

The data about the position of women in our period is rather meagre. There is no reference to the marriageable age of girls nor to their education or sacred initiation. Contemporary *Smṛtis* like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya disapprove of girls' *upanayana* and encourage their marriage just at about the age of 13 or 14. We may well presume that in the Deccan of our period such was actually the case. We come across some nuns in our records but most of them seem to have taken the holy order during their widowhood. It is doubtful whether we have any instance of a girl becoming a nun before her marriage. Contemporary *Smṛtis* are tardy in recognising the proprietary rights of women; the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* formulated the revolutionary proposal of recognising the widow as her husband's heir, but it was not followed in Northern India for a long time. In the 6th act of the *Śākuntala* we find the property of a sonless merchant escheating to the crown, though he had left several widows behind. Some records of Western India show, however, that women could hold property and also dispose of it. Thus, a Hindu lady named Svātimitrā and a Buddhist lady named Vyāghrā are seen donating caves at Mahād. But we do not know whether they were widows inheriting the husband's properties or wives in coverture disposing of a portion of their *Strīdhana*. Kuṭā inscription No. 15 refers to a donation by a lady described as the wife of a Brāhmaṇa layman. Probably this is the case of a widow inheriting her husband's property and donating a fairly big part of it for religious purposes. Junnar inscription No. 27 mentions one donation by Nandabālikā, wife of Mūlasvāmin, and another by Lakṣminikā, wife of Nāḍakaṭorika. Probably these donors were donating part of the property inherited by them as widows. If such was the case, it would follow that the advocacy of Yājñavalkya of the widow's right of inheritance was bearing fruit in the Deccan during our period. Two inscriptions from Kuṭā record interesting donations; one of them is a donation by a daughter of Hāla, a royal minister, and the other by a daughter of a Mahābhoja. Pitaḷkhorā inscription

No. 3 records one donation by a daughter of a royal physician.¹ The names of the husbands of none of these three lady donors are given in the epigraphs. Is it likely that these ladies were unmarried at the time of the donations and had inherited some property through their fathers which they were utilising for financing their donations? All these ladies belonged to richer sections of the society and it is not unlikely that there was the custom prevailing in them of giving a share to the daughters in the moveable property of the family. It is however, equally possible that the non-mention of the husbands' names may be accidental. In that case we shall have to assume that women could alienate part of their Strīdhana during their coverture, apparently without their husband's concurrence.

More than about 30 per cent. of the donations recorded at Amrāvati, Kārle and Nāsik are gifts given by women. It is quite possible that though not heiresses² in their own right, these ladies got the necessary funds from their husbands or parents for financing their donations. But even this assumption will show that women could, in actual practice, get the necessary funds from their family properties, though not strictly entitled to their own shares in it. It is, however, quite likely that the Deccan was more liberal in recognising women's right of inheritance,² and that many of our female donors may have got the necessary funds through the properties acquired by them either as heiresses to their fathers and husbands or as Strīdhana during coverture. It is a pity that the short donative records should not supply us sufficient data to throw more definite light on the problem of women's rights of inheritance.

Queen Nayanikā was acting as Regent of the great Sātavāhana empire, during the minority of the heir-apparent.³ Our records, however, do not disclose any ladies filling any administrative posts, as they undoubtedly did under the later Cālukya and Rāṣtrakūṭa administrations. The titles *Mahāsenāpatinī*, *Mahārāṭhinī*, etc., which some ladies are seen to be using, are obviously courtesy titles due to the status of their husbands.

The Purdah custom was not common. In Amrāvati sculptures we come across ladies offering worship in public shrines, taking part in assemblies, playing on instruments and entertaining guests with their husbands. In one scene, we find a chief engaged in carrying discussion with an audience mostly consisting of women. Whether Purdah was introduced in royal families in our age, it is difficult to say.

Our records do not refer to any case of widow's remarriage or to her becoming a Satī. Usually the widows led a life of restraint and austerities devoting themselves to spiritual pursuits. Balaśrī, the widowed mother of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, is described as leading a life befitting a royal widow, in as much as she was devoted to truth, charity and *ahimsā* and spent her time in practising austerities, fasts and religious observances. Some Buddhist widows became nuns also.

¹ *I. O. T. W. I.*, p. 40.

² Such was the case even in the days of Yāska, c. 600 B.C.,

गर्तारोहिणीव धनलाभाय दक्षिणाजी Nirukta, III 5.1.

³ (This does not seem to be correct. See Ch. 2 above and *S. I.*, I, pp. 121 f.—V.V.M.).

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During the period under review, Hindu society was partly vegetarian and partly non-vegetarian. The Hinayāna Buddhism permitted meat eating, if the animal was known to be not expressly killed for the purpose of the monk concerned. Mahāyāna Buddhism and Jainism prohibited meat, but they had not become strong in the Deccan during our period. Wines figure among the imports at Broach; it is clear that rich liquors, imported from the west, were served at the royal table, while country wine was drunk by the poor. Brāhmaṇas, Buddhists and Jains however generally refrained from the use of wines. The use of betel leaves was quite common.

The usual dress for men consisted of an upper garment and a lower *dhoti*, both unstitched. The sculptured figures in Western Indian caves show that a head-dress also was fairly common both for men and women. The women are usually seen covering their heads with a piece of cloth; at Kuṣā a lady is seen wearing a tall conical cap. Perhaps she may be Scythian.

The royal ceremonial head-dress often consisted of a close fitting crested cap, with a crest jewel at the forehead; Gautamīputra Yajña-śrī Sātakarṇi is seen wearing such a cap on his silver coins. In paintings and sculptures ladies rarely cover their breasts with a blouse or *coli*. This seems to be an artistic convention; it may be well doubted whether in actual practice women did not cover their breasts with a portion of their saris, if not by a *coli* or blouse piece. On Gupta coins queens are seen using a bodice, the two ends of which are seen being tied between the breasts. They also wear a loose upper garment flowing down to their ankles over their back.

The dress of the Scythians was considerably different. They used coats, overcoats and trousers, as would be clear from the sculptured effigy of Śaka Moda at Amarāvati. Nahapāna is seen wearing a thick grooved *Pagaḍi*, whereas Rudradāman and his successors are seen wearing a cap resembling a modern steel helmet. The Śaka kings are seen having long hair on the head, which is seen falling on their necks.

Ornaments were very popular both with men and women. A large number of them were used over the forehead; the crest jewel used over his forehead by king Yajña-śrī Sātakarṇi is very graceful. The designs of ear-rings were striking, and they were used both by males and females. Śaka and Sātavāhana kings wore prominent ear-rings. Varieties in necklaces of gold and pearls seen in Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍā sculptures and Ajaṇṭā paintings are striking. Several types of zones were in vogue. A gauzy pearl ornament was used by women both over the breasts as well as thighs. The arms were adorned with Keyūras of various designs. A large number of bangles, often set with pearls or jewels, figured on the forearms. Rings were quite common, but the nose-ring was still unknown. The number of anklets used on the feet was not small.

The fashions of dressing the hair were as numerous as graceful. An examination of the paintings at Ajaṇṭā will disclose several new types of coiffures even to the modern fashionable ladies. False hair

was often used to increase the volume of the braid in order to give it different artistic shapes. The use of paints, pastes and lip-sticks was not unknown. Chairs, tables, cots, jugs, jars and vessels of different attractive shapes were in use in higher families. Horses and elephants were in use among the higher and richer sections; the bullock cart was the vehicle of the common man.

Trade, industry, agriculture and the connected arts and crafts were the mainstay of the economic life of the society in Western India during our period.

The *Rayatvāri* system seems to have been prevailing in the Deccan during our period, as it does now. We usually come across small pieces of land being owned by ordinary individuals. Thus one donc. at Junnar gives a gift of a field of 15 Nivartanas¹ at the village of Puvānada, and another of 20 and 9 Nivartanas at Vaṭālīka. Obviously land was divided into small units and owned by individual proprietors. It is, however, likely that the Mahārāṭhis, Mahābhojas and Mahāsenāpatis, who were feudal chiefs or high officers, may have owned fairly extensive pieces of land. For instance, Uṣavadāta is seen in the enjoyment of a field of 200 Nivartanas at the village of Kakhaḍī². Revenues of villages and houses may have also been assigned to civil and military officers, as is recommended in Smṛtis. We get some instances of monasteries being assigned the revenues of entire villages; the same could as well have been the case with the Amātyas and Mahāmātras.

The state owned some pieces of arable land, in different towns and villages, which it used to get by escheat or purchase. These are described as royal lands (*rājakaṁ khettaṁ*) in one Nāśik record.³ When the king possessed no personal land of his own and desired to make a land grant, he had to purchase the land required. We find Uṣavadāta purchasing a field for 4000 kārṣāpaṇas (=Rs. 1,500) in order to gift it to the monks at Nāśik.⁴ Waste and fallow land belonged to the state, but under the Gupta administration the village councils had to be consulted at the time of their disposal. Such formalities are not mentioned in connection with land transfers, described in Western Indian records. We, however, find that land transfers were regularly recorded in the registers kept for the purpose in the city and village councils.

Some Nāśik records refer to the donations of entire villages. Thus, Nāśik inscription No. 19 refers to the donation of the village of Samalipada in exchange of the village of Sudisaṇa. This exchange obviously suggests that the gift of the village meant the gift of its royal revenues; it did not interfere with the private ownership of land. When ownership in private land was transferred, it was usually small fields which the king used to purchase or which used to belong to the state.

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¹See Junnar Nos. 9, 14 and 18. The dimension of a Nivartana is not definitely known, but it was probably equal to four or five acres.

²E. I., VIII. p. 71.

³Nāśik inscription No. 3.

⁴Nāśik No. 10.

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Our records supply no data to determine the incidence of the land taxation ; nor do we know anything about the share which the lessees received from the lessor. Probably his share varied from 40 to 50 per cent. of the gross produce.¹ There is no datum to determine the price of land in Western India during our period ; Nāśik inscription No. 10 refers to the sale of a piece of land for 4000 silver Kārṣāpaṇas (=Rs. 1,500) but we do not know the dimension of the field purchased. In the Gupta empire the arable land was usually sold at about three Dīnāras (=two and a quarter tolas of gold) per Kulyāvāpa. But the precise dimension of the Kulyāvāpa is not known and so we do not get any definite idea of the land prices. Nivartana is the land measure frequently occurring in our records, but its precise size is not known. It appears that it was about four acres in extent.

Crops grown in our period were the same that are grown at present in Western India, viz., Jvārī, Bājṛā, wheat, sugarcane, rice, gram, cotton, oil seeds and betel leaves. Timber and fire-wood were important forest products and they figure among the exports to foreign countries. Lead mines were worked in the Deccan and supplied the metal for the Sātavāhana currency. It is likely that the gold mines near Maski may have been worked in our period, as also the diamond mines near Golconḍā.

Cotton industry seems to have been the most thriving industry of the Deccan during our period. Rough, fine and coloured cotton cloth figures prominently among the exports from Broach, as described by the *Periplus*. Tagara, Ter in the former Hyderābād state, and Pratiṣṭhāṇa, the capital of the Sātavāhana empire, were great centres of the cotton industry. The Āndhra province also had a large number of the centres of this industry.

During the first century of the Christian era, there was considerable trade carried on with the outside world through the ports of Western India. Broach was the most prominent among them. Among the imports of this port, the *Periplus* mentions Arabian and Italian wines, copper, tin, lead, coral, topaz, fine and rough cloth, bright coloured girdles, storax, flint glass, antimony and gold and silver coins. For the use of kings were imported costly silver vessels, singing boys, beautiful maidens and choice ointments. The exports of this port included spikenard costus, bdellium, ivory, agate, carnelian, onyx, stones, lycium, cotton cloth of all kinds, silk, long pepper and such other things as are brought from various market towns.

Broach was the main centre of foreign trade, but there were other ports on the western coast which had their own share of both foreign and coastal trade. Among these may be mentioned Sūrpāraka or Sopārā in Ṭhāṇā district, which figures as a harbour in the Jātakas also. Kalyāṇ in Ṭhāṇā district was a flourishing port. For a time, it was the rival of Broach, as most of the Sātavāhana exports and imports took place through it. During the Śaka-Sātavāhana struggle, the Śakas tried to block it several times. Kalyāṇ had several flourish-

¹ *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, undoubtedly composed during this age, permits the lessor 50 per cent share. See I.166.

ing merchants, some of whom figure as donors at Kānherī and Junnar during the 2nd century A.D.¹ As late as the 6th century A.D., Commos Indiopleustes enumerates Kalyāṇ among the five chief marts of Western India with trade in brass, cloth and timber and fire-wood.

Seumulla or Ceul near Bombay, Mandagora (probably situated on the Rājapuri creek), Palipamai (either Pāle near Mahād or Dābhol), Buzantion (Vaijayantī or Vijayagaḍa) are other ports mentioned by the *Periplus*. Some of the above ports like Sopārā and Kalyāṇ have now become land-locked.

Dvārakā, Prabhāsa and Valabhī were the principal ports of Kāthiāvāḍ and Khambāyat of Northern Gujarāt.

From the *Periplus*, we get a clear idea of the routes of the overseas trade. Ships from the western countries started from Arabia Felix (Aden) and followed the Arabian coast as far as Kane, from where the route to India diverted; some ships sailing to the Indus and on to Broach, and others direct to the ports of Limyrike on the Malabār coast. The ships used to start from Arabia in July, as they could thereby utilise the monsoon to accelerate their speed.

Ujjayinī in Mālva, Paithan in Mahārāṣṭra and Tagara, probably Ter in the former Hyderābād state, were the chief inland centres of trade. There were brought down to Broach from these market towns various articles of exports, through bullock carts or on pack animals. Among the minor trade centres, we may mention Junnar, Karahāṭaka (Karhād in Sātārā district), Nāśik, Govardhana and Vaijayantī. Roads were bad or non-existent according to the author of the *Periplus*, but he is probably over-drawing the picture. They appear to be sufficiently good and workable. We find residents of Vaijayantī in Karnāṭaka making donations at Kārle, residents of Karhād and Nāśik in Mahārāṣṭra giving gifts at Bharhut in Baghelkhand and citizens of Dattamitri in Sindh donating caves at Nāśik. Sea communications were also well developed; Buddhist monasteries at creek heads like Kānherī show that priests also travelled by sea in the company of merchants, who built or excavated monasteries for their use. River traffic was not much in vogue; rivers in Western India usually flowed through the hilly country and were petty streams; along the Tāpī and the Narmadā, however, there was some traffic in Gujarāt.

Thanks to the numerous donative records, we get a fairly good glimpse into the different cross-sections of the trading community. Traders in corn (*dhānikas*), perfumes (*gandhikas*), and jewels (*maṇikāras*) are frequently referred to. Garland-makers (*mālākāras*), iron-smiths (*lohavāṇījakas*) or (*kammāras*), goldsmiths, (*suvarṇakāras*), braziers (*kāsakāras*), stone-cutters (*śilāvāṇījakas*) artisans (*āveśanis*), carpenters (*vadhikas*), weavers (*kolikas*), potters (*kulārikas*), hydraulic workers (*odayantrikas*) and oil-mongers

¹Among the donors from Kalyāṇ, some are merchants, some goldsmiths and some blacksmiths.

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(*tilapiṣakas*) are seen vying with one another in making donations for religious objects connected with Buddhism and Hinduism. Caravans were the arteries of trade and are referred to as donors in several places. Farmers did not lag behind the traders and caravans in their religious zeal; they are referred to as *kuṭumbikas*, *hālayikas* and *gahapatis*. The general impression produced by the votive records is that society was rich and prosperous and that the artisans, traders, caravans and farmers contributed a good deal to its well-being.

Guild organisation was a special feature of trade and industry during our period. Guilds were known as *śrenis* and their aldermen were known *śreṣṭhins*. Our records refer to the guilds of weavers, potters, braziers, oil-mongers, hydraulic workers, bamboo-workers, corn-dealers, etc.¹. Sometimes, as at Govardhana, there were two guilds in the same town of one and the same industry viz., weaving. Guilds had executive committees of their own, consisting of four or five members, whose president (*śreṣṭhin*) carried on the executive work with their help. The guild must have been primarily intended to safeguard the interest of the particular trade or industry. It, however, also conducted banks, whose services were availed of not only by its members but also by the general public. Guilds and their banks were regarded as stable institutions, more enduring than kingdoms and empires. When Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law of the great king Nahapāna, who was most probably the governor of Northern Mahārāṣṭra, desired to make permanent arrangements for the annual supply of a fixed income to certain monasteries near Nāśik, he did not issue orders to the local treasury officers to make an annual remittance. His endowment took the form of a permanent deposit in local guild banks, with instructions to hand over the annual interest to the beneficiaries. Obviously he regarded the guild banks as more enduring than the government of which he was a distinguished member. Empires were established and destroyed in the course of a few years or decades, but guilds and their banks lived from age to age. A Gupta record shows that guilds would carry out their liability even if they changed their head-quarters. Precaution, however, was often taken to get the permanent endowment at a guild bank registered in the office of the town municipality or *nigama sabhā*, which was expected to see to it that the guild banks carried out their obligations from generation to generation.

It is a great pity that we should not have so far found the seals or sealings of even a single guild of the Deccan and Western India. The numerous guild sealings found at Vaiśālī give us quite a vivid picture of the working of the organisation during the Gupta period, showing how there were joint guilds of bankers, traders and caravans with their membership spread over a large number of towns. It is not unlikely that similar organisations may have existed in the Deccan also during our period, as they certainly did five hundred years later.

¹ See Nāśik inscriptions Nos. 12, 15; Junnar inscriptions Nos. 16 and 31.

Let us now consider the currency problems. The larger part of the ordinary daily transactions was probably done by barter.¹ But silver, lead and copper currency was also in existence to supplement them. We have not so far found any specimens of gold currency current in Western India. The gold coins or *Suvarṇas*, one of which is equated to 35 silver *Kārṣāpaṇas* in a *Nāśik* record, were probably the gold pieces weighing about 120 grains which were issued by the *Kuṣāṇas* in Northern India, some of which occasionally travelled down to the south with trade². Neither the *Sātavāhanas* nor the *Śakas*, neither the *Ābhīras* nor the *Traikūṭakas* issued any gold currency.

Kārṣāpaṇa is a term applicable both to the silver and copper coins, but in our records it usually refers to a silver one. The *Nāṇeghāt* inscription of *Nayanikā* refers to her husband giving a *dakṣiṇā* of 24,400 *Kārṣāpaṇas* on one occasion and of 11,000 on another. At that time the *Sātavāhanas* were issuing no silver coins. Probably the *Kārṣāpaṇas* or punch-marked coins of Northern India were current in the kingdom or were minted in it by some private moneyers. At *Konḍāpūr* several moulds of punch-marked coins were discovered which were in vogue in the *Sātavāhana* period. Only a few later *Sātavāhana* kings sporadically issued silver currency in the second century A.D.

The Western *Kṣatrapa* currency was on the other hand predominantly in silver. Each piece weighed about 30 grains. These coins were known in contemporary times as *Rudradamakas*, after the most powerful king of the dynasty, but this name does not occur in our records. A *Nāśik* record tells us that 2000 *Suvarṇas* were equal to 70,000 silver *Kārṣāpaṇas*. If we ignore the alloy in both the coins, this equation shows that 1050 (35×30) grains of silver were equal to 120 grains of gold this gives the ratio between the prices of gold and silver as about 9 : 1. Silver being not indigenous to the country was dearer in India in the term of gold; this was also one of the reasons as to why so much of Roman gold flowed into the country.

We possess no data at present to give either the nomenclature or the relative value of the copper and lead currency that was profusely issued by the *Sātavāhanas*.

Our records give us a good idea of the money market. *Nahāpaṇa's* son-in-law *Uṣavadāta* invested 2000 *Kārṣāpaṇas* in one bank of the weavers' guild at *Nāśik* as a permanent deposit, on which an interest at 12 per cent. per annum was guaranteed³. Another weavers' guild at the same place, however, agreed to pay only 9 per cent. interest to the same person. It is difficult to understand the causes for this difference in the rate of interest. When permanent deposits were fetching interest at so high a rate as 9 or 12 per cent. per annum, we may well conclude that short term loans must have been possible

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¹This is the reason why some of the governments of the day like the *Ikṣvāku* and the *Vākāṭaka* administrations did not issue any coins at all.

²In one *Nāśik* record No. 12 the term *Pratī* is also used as a synonym for *Kārṣāpaṇa*.

³Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's view that the silver coins introduced by *Nahāpaṇa* were known as *Kuṣāṇas* (*J. A.*, 1919 p. 81) is untenable. *Kuṣāṇamūla* like *Chīvarāmūla* was a sum given to the monks for the expense of purchasing *Kuṣāṇas*. What they were we do not know.

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even for solvent parties at about the rate of 20 or 24 per cent. The *Manusmṛti* mentions 24 per cent.¹ as the normal rate of fair interest and its statement is thus confirmed by the epigraphical evidence in our age.

There is no sufficient evidence to reconstruct the price level of the period. One Nāśik inscription gives 4000 Kārṣāpaṇas as the price of a piece of land, but since no information is given either about its size or yield, the statement is not of much value. As regards the price of cloth we are on surer grounds. We find that usually 12 Kārṣāpaṇas² were sufficient for the three robes of the monks. A Kārṣāpaṇa weighed about 50 grains and was thus somewhat heavier than the four anna silver piece. So about three rupees and a half were sufficient for the underwear, the upper garment and the robe of a monk.

We have no sufficient data to determine the cost of living during our period. Unfortunately no votive records give us any data about the money necessary to feed one monk every day. Northern Indian records of the Gupta period, however, show that one Dīnāra or $\frac{3}{4}$ tola of gold was usually sufficient to feed a monk throughout the year. The monthly cost of one sumptuous meal was thus about Rs. 2 in the pre-war value of that coin.

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The period 200 B.C. to 500 A.D. is one of the most interesting epochs in the religious and philosophical history of India. When imperial patronage of Aśoka resulted in the spread of Buddhism both in India and abroad, Hinduism began to think seriously about its future and began to set its house in order. A counter-reformation was started in Hinduism, which aimed at eliminating its weak points which were exploited by Buddhism. Vedic sacrifices were not directly condemned; we find a number of the kings in our period performing them with great enthusiasm. The general population, however, was gradually weaned away from them when Bhaktimārga or the Path of Devotion began to be recommended as the best path for salvation.

In Bhaktimārga, the conception of a personal god taking paternal interest in the difficulties and welfare of the devotees is most prominent. This naturally began to appeal more to the masses in contrast to the Hīnayāna philosophy, which was an atheistic one and expected every person to rely upon his own exertions for spiritual uplift. Hinduism now began to advocate the gospel of *Avatāra*; God surely comes down to the earth as frequently as necessary in order to support righteousness and destroy vice and tyranny.

It was sometime in our period that the epic *Jaya* was converted into the *Mahābhārata*, an encyclopædia of religion, philosophy and ethics. The lives of a number of heroes and Paurāṇic kings, which were described there, graphically emphasised the importance of a number

¹ See Chap. 10 below.

² One record at Kānheri however provides for 16 Kārṣāpaṇas for the robe of each monk. This was rather an unusual and liberal provision.

of virtues and good qualities, and began to shape and influence the lives of ordinary men. The philosophical side of Hinduism was also strengthened by the systematic exposition of the teachings of its various schools in the Sūtras of Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta, Yoga and Nyāya.

The above reforms and new activities in Hinduism had their natural repercussion on Buddhism. Soon after the beginning of the Christian era, a new school arose in Buddhism which incorporated most of the new theories in Hinduism. The Buddha had averred that when he is once dead, nobody in heaven or earth will see anything more of him; his later disciples must be lamps unto themselves, relying upon the texts of his Dhamma as he was leaving for them. The new school of Buddhism, known as the Mahāyāna gave up this position altogether. It began to aver that Gautama Buddha was only one incarnation of the Dhammakāya and that the latter may reincarnate himself as frequently as may be necessary. In Hīnayāna Buddhism, Bodhisattva was the future Buddha in his earlier lives struggling to cultivate a number of virtues so that he may be eventually qualified to become a Buddha in some future existence. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Bodhisattva was a name given to an Arhat, who had voluntarily renounced his claim to Nirvāṇa and consented to be born again and again with a view to help the struggling aspirants to salvation. He was prepared to transfer his own good merit to sinners in order to secure their salvation.

Considerable thought ferment was thus produced in the domain of religion and philosophy during our period, 200 B.C. to 500 A.D., and it is reflected in the Hindu and Buddhist literature, especially after c. 200 A.D. The *Mahābhārata* does not contain any direct attack on or refutation of the Buddhism, but the *Brahmasūtras*, the *Nyāyasūtras* and the *Yogasūtras*, which were re-edited in the latter half of our period, contain sections refuting the tenets of Buddhism and Jainism. Vātsyāyana in his *Nyāyabhāṣya* attempts to combat the views of Nāgārjuna and is criticised in his turn by Diṇnāga, who seeks to defend the Buddhist view points. Uddyotakāra soon came forward to defend Vātsyāyana and refute his assailant Diṇnāga.

The above movements in Hinduism and Buddhism were of an all-India character; but it is difficult to say what part Western India or the Deccan took in them. Very little is known not only about the time but also about the home province of the actors in this religio-philosophical drama. The great philosophers like Vātsyāyana and Nāgārjuna were all-India figures, who moved from place to place in India propagating their philosophical and religious views. It would be wrong to confine them to one province. Among these philosophers Nāgārjuna, according to tradition, was long connected with Pratiṣṭhāna, the Sātavāhana capital; the Buddhist establishment at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa was also probably named after him. The deep Mahāyāna influence which one sees at Ajanṭā may probably be due to the influence of his teachings.

To judge from the benefactions recorded, Hinduism and Buddhism were more or less equally balanced during our period. Philo-

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sophical conflicts were often taking place between the followers of the two religions, which must have often engendered considerable heat. An epigraph at Ajañtā exultingly observes that Kṛṣṇa, Śaṅkara and other gods have beat a precipitate retreat before the advance of the doctrine of the Buddha.¹ In spite of this philosophical acrimony among the top-rank combatants, the relations between the ordinary followers of the two religions were on the whole characterised by tolerance and harmony. During the succeeding age (500 to 1200 A.D.) there was some degree of intolerance shown by the followers of the different sects in the Deccan, but we get no traces of it during our period.

It appears that in spite of the contending claims of the rival philosophical disputants, the average man used to take the common-sense view that a substantial uniformity underlay their fundamental principles ; an individual may make such synthesis of their principles as appeals to his temperament and extend his patronage to all without any distinction. The Śaka king Rudradāman was undoubtedly a Hindu, but he had taken the view of not causing any loss of life except on the battle-field. Obviously he was trying to make a synthesis of Hinduism and Jainism in his life. King Śānta-mūla of the Ikṣvāku family in the eastern Deccan was an enthusiastic follower of the Vedic religion and had performed a number of sacrifices. But his sisters, daughters and daughters-in-law were all Buddhists. Some of them had, however, given donations to Brāhmaṇas as well.² The second king of the Sātavāhana dynasty Kṛṣṇa was most probably a Hindu, but he had appointed a special officer to look after the needs and welfare of the monks and nuns of his dominions. It is interesting to note that several records describe donations given both to the Buddhists and the Hindus. The main purport of Nāśik inscriptions Nos. 10 and 12 is to record a grant made to the Buddhist monks residing in those caves. But they contain at their end other donations of the donor given to Hindu gods and Brāhmaṇas as well.

The spirit of tolerance that prevailed in the Deccan at this time was the order of the day throughout the country. The Guptas were orthodox Hindus, but had extended their patronage to the Buddhist University at Nālandā. Some of their officers were Buddhists like those of the Sātavāhanas, and one of them is seen making a benefaction in favour of the Buddhist establishment at Sāñcī for the spiritual³ welfare of his Vaiṣṇava sovereign Candragupta II. In the Kadamba dynasty kings Kṛṣṇavarman and Mṛgeśvaravarman performed Aśvamedha sacrifices out of their regard for Vedic religion and made grants to Jain establishments out of their reverence to Jainism.⁴

¹ I. C. T. W.I., p. 77.

² E. I., XX, p. 16.

³ C. I. I., III pl 37.

⁴ I. A., VI p. 24.

There are many records of our period which show that the Jains used to respect Hindu teachers as well.¹ The Guptas were orthodox Hindus, but the best tribute to their rule is given in a contemporary Jain record.²

It is indeed surprising that so far no records should have been found in Western India throwing light on the existence and condition of Jainism in this part of the country. Kahaum (in Gorakhpur district), Mathurā and Udayagiri (near Sāñci) were well-known centres of Jainism in northern India. In South India, owing to the patronage of the Kadambas and Gaṅgas, Karnaṭak had become a stronghold of Jainism. In Tamil country, Jainism had become so popular that the Jains convened a special *saṅgam* of theirs in c. 470. It is however strange that neither in the Deccan nor in Gujarāt, we should so far have found any Jain epigraph belonging to our period. Since, however, a council was convened by the Śvetāmbara-Jains first in Vira Samvat 840 (363 A.D.) and then in 980 (503 A.D.) at Valabhī to determine the texts of their sacred works, we may well presume that Gujarāt and Kāthiāvād had fairly numerous Jain followers in the 4th and the 5th centuries A.D. The non-discovery of epigraphical evidence is perhaps purely accidental, due to the absence of thorough explorations and excavations.

Let us now survey the general position of Hinduism during our age. The echoes of the revival of Vedic religion which arose as a reaction to the Buddhist and Jain attack on Vedic sacrifices, can be heard in the Deccan also. If Puṣyamitra Śuṅga performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices in the north, Sātakarṇi I, who was almost his contemporary, performed the same number of them in the Deccan. This ruler was a staunch advocate of the gospel of Vedic sacrifices; the Nāṇeghāt record of his widow shows that besides the two Aśvamedhas he also performed a large number of other Vedic sacrifices. Among these were Agnyādheya, Anvārambhaṇīya, Āptoryāma Gargatrirātra, Āṅgirasatrirātra, Chandogapavamānātrirātra, Daśarātra, Bhagaladaśarātra, Trayodaśarātra, Satātirātra, Gavāmayana and Rājasūya. These sacrifices were performed with due pomp and in a manner befitting the dignity of the emperor of the Deccan. Honoraria (*dakṣiṇā*) given to the priests were liberal. The record is unfortunately fragmentary, but it enables us to ascertain the *dakṣiṇā* expected to be given by a royal sacrificer at the different sacrifices.

Agnyādheya was an ordinary sacrifice and its *dakṣiṇā* was ten cows and a horse. Gavāmayana sacrifice lasted for a year; it was performed twice by Sātakarṇi and the *dakṣiṇā* given on each occasion was 1100 cows to priests in addition to gifts given to the spectators. The same *dakṣiṇā* was given at Āṅgirasamayana and Āṅgirasatrirātra sacrifices. In the Chandopavamāna and Bhagaladaśarātra sacrifices, the *dakṣiṇā* was a thousand cows each. The Anvārambhaṇīya sacrifice was more costly, for the *dakṣiṇā* was 1700 cows, 10 elephants and 289 silver pots. In the Rājasūya sacrifice 100 cows,

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¹ C. I. I., III. p. 47.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 258.

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one horse, one horse-carriage and a huge heap of corn were given as *dakṣiṇā*. In the Aśvamedha sacrifice the fee was heavy; the king gave away one horse with silver ornaments, 12 sets of gold ornaments, one village, one elephant and 14000 cows. One sacrifice whose names ended with...rika (Puṇḍarika?) entailed the rather unusual *dakṣiṇā* of eleven thousand cows and a thousand horses. In another sacrifice twelve villages were given as *dakṣiṇā*, but its name has not been preserved.

It should not however be supposed that the Vedic sacrifices were popular only with the Sātavāhanas. Rulers in most of the other contemporary dynasties in the Deccan performed them. The Ikṣvāku king Śāntamūla (c. 250 A.D.) performed Agniṣṭoma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices.¹ Several petty rulers also performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice, e.g. Vijayadevavarman of the Śaṅkayana family (c. 320 A.D.), Dahrasena (c. 460 A.D.) of the Traikūṭaka house and Kṛṣṇavarman of the Kadamba dynasty. There is no wonder that the Bhāraṣivas and the Pallavas, who claimed to be powerful rulers, performed the Horse Sacrifice several times. The great Vākāṭaka emperor Pravarasena I (c. 300 A.D.) not only celebrated four Horse Sacrifices, but also performed Agniṣṭoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Śoḍaśin, Brhaspatisava and Vājapeya. The Maukharis of Badvā in Rājputānā performed Trirātra sacrifice in 239 A.D.,² and the Mālava chief Soma, who liberated his homeland from the Śakas in c. 226 A.D. celebrated the event by the performance of the Ekaṣaṣṭi-rātra-sattra,³ which was quite appropriate for the occasion.⁴

The gospel of the Vedic sacrifice, however, was gradually losing its popularity in the course of time. Sātakarṇi I performed a number of Vedic sacrifices, but Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi performed none.⁵ Within a 100 years this cannot happen, when all round such sacrifices were being performed. The reasons may be different. In the Vākāṭaka dynasty the example of Pravarasena I, who performed a number of sacrifices, was not emulated by any of his successors. Stone Yūpas commemorating Vedic sacrifices are not to be seen after 400 A.D.

Paurāṇic religion was getting more popular in the course of time. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is compared to Rāma, Keśava (Kṛṣṇa), Arjuna and Bhīma in valour; it is quite clear that the heroes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* were quite popular in our period. The glory of this king is further compared to that of king Nābhāga,

¹E. I., XX p. 16.

²Ibid., XXII, p. 52.

³Ibid., XXVII, p.

⁴When gods had first offered this sacrifice everything around them had become sapless; trees had lost their freshness and kine their strength. But as a result of this sacrifice nature regained its original vigour and brilliances and there ensued a period of all round prosperity, like the one which must have begun in the Mālava republic, when it wrested its freedom from the Śaka yoke.

⁵His eulogy described how he followed Trivarga, how he was an abode of the Vedas, how he organised festivities and *samājas* for his subjects, but is altogether silent about his having performed any Vedic sacrifices. Had he performed any of them, they would not have been passed over by the court panegyrist.

Nahuṣa, Sagara, Yayāti and Ambarīṣa; it is quite clear that the Purāṇas giving an account of their lives were quite popular. Which, however, were these Purāṇas and to what extent they agreed with or differed from their modern versions is unfortunately not known. The Purāṇas popularised Bhaktimārga and its ascendancy eventually proved unfavourable to Vedic sacrifices.¹

The age obviously believed in the efficacy of charity in securing religious merit (*punya*). The benefactions of Uṣavadāta are worth analysing. He used to feed a lakh of Brāhmaṇas every year; he had given three lakhs of cows on one occasion, and thirty-two thousand of cocoanut trees on another. He had built *ghāṭs* (flights of steps) on several rivers and constructed rest-houses at Broach, Daśapura Govardhana and Sopārā. He had dug wells and tanks, laid out gardens and maintained free ferry services on several rivers. He had arranged and financed the marriages of eight Brāhmaṇas at the holy *tīrtha* of Prabhāsa.

The further statement that Uṣavadāta had given sixteen villages and 7,000 Kārṣāpaṇas to gods and Brāhmaṇas is worth pondering. The donees in the case of the Brāhmaṇas were most probably a colony of learned Vedic scholars (*śrotriya*s), who were settled down in an *Agrahāra* colony, as was done in later times. But who were the donees in the case of gifts to gods? *Prima-facie* they should be temple establishments, but it is rather surprising that we should neither have discovered any Hindu temple belonging to our period in the Deccan or Western India nor found any reference to it in our epigraphs. For instance, when Uṣavadāta names the monastic establishments in whose favour he gave his charities, we can identify them. But we do not get the names of Hindu temples in whose favour he had given his charity. Uṣavadāta's records refer to his excavating caves for Buddhist monks and building rest-houses for travellers. But they do not mention a single Hindu temple built by him. It is possible to argue that the donations to gods, especially when coupled with donations to Brāhmaṇas, may simply mean a benefaction in favour of Brāhmaṇas, who were performing in their houses the sacrifices in favour of gods prescribed in the Śrutis, Smṛtis and Purāṇas.

Such however, does not seem to have been the case. Temples to Hindu gods like Vāsudeva and Saṅkarṣaṇa were raised in Northern India at Besnagar and Ghosunḍi as early as the 2nd century B.C. These deities are mentioned also in the Nāneghāt inscription of queen Nayanikā. It is quite possible that the images of these and other Hindu gods existed in our period and were worshipped in public temples in favour of which Uṣavadāta's donations earmarked for gods were given. The non-discovery of the images and temples of the Hindu gods will have to be pronounced as accidental in view of the clear references to village temples existing in the *Gāthā-*

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¹At Nāneghāt, however, we find homage paid to Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, incarnations of Bhagavat, in a record which celebrates Vedic sacrifices. King Śātakaṛṇi had managed to combine a respect for the Vedic religion with a regard for Bhaktimārga. But such instances were few.

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saptaśati.¹ It appears that the temples were becoming gradually commoner in our age and some of them had been benefited by Uṣavadāta's benefactions.

In Northern India temples had become more common in our age. Pṛthiviṣeṇa had founded a temple of Śiva named after himself at Karamdaṇḍā in U. P. in c. 425 A.D. At Mandasore in Mālṡvā, a temple of the Sun was built by a guild of weavers in c. 540 A.D. At Udayagiri and Bhūmra in Central India and Bhitargānṡ in the U. P., there existed other Hindu temples, now mostly in ruins.

The different benefactions of Uṣavadāta fall under the category of *iṣṭāpūrta* as described in the Smṛtis. This theory of getting religious merit by public benefactions was getting popular in our age. Ekādaśī,² Paurṇimā and eclipse days had not yet acquired any particular sanctity, for very few of our grants are made on these days. Among the twelve definitely known dates of donations recorded at Nāśik and Kārli, only three were made on the occasion of the full-moon days; the rest were given on such odd days like the 13th day of the 2nd fortnight of the summer, the first day of the second fortnight of the rainy season, second day of the third fortnight of the winter, etc. Nor is any *saṁkrānti* or eclipse associated with any dates of donations. Obviously the view that the days of *saṁkrānti* or eclipse are the occasions of special sanctity particularly suited for sacred gifts had not yet become popular. Astrology had not yet begun to influence the daily life of the community.

Renunciation had become quite common among the Buddhists and Jains during our period; even women were becoming nuns in these communities. Sanyāsa as the fourth aim of life is recommended with a rather lukewarm zeal in the contemporary smṛtis of Manu and Yājñavalkya, but it had not yet apparently become popular. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is described as following *trivarga* or the three *puruṣārthas* of life; *trivarga*, consists of Dharma, Artha and Kāma, but omits Mokṣa that was believed to be possible by renunciation or Sanyāsa. The dowager queen Nayanikā is however, described as a *gahatapasā* or a recluse at home; this expression obviously suggests that there were recluses in Hindu society who were staying in the forest. Nandabālikā, one of the donors at Junnar, is described as the wife of Ṛṣi Mūlasvāmin; it is quite likely that her husband had renounced the world and taken Sanyāsa, as permitted by the contemporary Smṛtis. Hindu Sanyāsins could not be the recipients of any gifts; that seems to be the reason why they figure so very rarely in our records. We may well suppose that a fair percentage of idealistic Hindus eventually renounced the world in the evening of their lives.

Pilgrimage to holy places is strongly recommended in the epics and Purāṇas. Uṣavadāta is seen visiting Puṣkara near Ajmer and Prabhāsa in Kāthiāhvād and making special donations there. The same must have been done by many other pious Hindus. No references however

¹The date of this work is uncertain, but the references to the temples occurring in the passage probably refer to our period.

²(This is not correct. Several grants of the Vākātakas were made on Ekādaśī days or on the occasion of their *jāyantī*—V.V.M.)

are found in our records to pilgrims going to Kāśī. A Nala ruler from Bastar District is however visiting Prayāga on a thanks giving pilgrimage in the 4th century A.D. Probably pious Hindus of Western India visited Kāśī, Prayāga and Gayā, as they did Puṣkara and Prabhāsa. Our records had probably no occasion to mention such visits.

Śiva, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva, Dharma, Indra, the Sun and the Moon figure as the popular Hindu deities during our period. Temples dedicated to them probably existed, though they are not referred to in our records. A large number of persons bear names connected with Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Skanda. It is clear that Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism were becoming popular. The Bhāraśivas no doubt performed ten Horse-sacrifices, but they were constantly bearing on their body an emblem of Śiva and not Yūpa or a sacrificial pillar. Kumāragupta I performed a Horse-sacrifice, but he describes himself as a *paramabhāgavata* and not *paramavaidika*. The Vākātaka king Rudrasena II attributed his prosperity to *Cakrapāṇi*; the Nala king Bhavadattavarman felt that his restoration was due to the favour of Mahāsenā. We do not come across a single king ascribing his good luck or prosperity to the favour of any Vedic deity. Vedic gods had become far off and distant figures, to be invoked at sacrifices performed by the rich; they had ceased to appeal to ordinary individuals.

We have no sufficient data to find out the relative popularity of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism in the Deccan of our period. The Śaka rulers were obviously Śaivas, as indicated by the personal names of most of them. It is difficult to state what was the persuasion of the Sātavāhanas. The homage to Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva in the Nāneghāt inscription and the comparison of Gautamīputra to Rāma and Keśava, Nābhāga and Ambarīṣa, would suggest that they were perhaps Vaiṣṇavas. Among the commoners, both faiths seem to have been fairly popular. Several individuals in our records bear names of which Nāga is a constituent. This would show that Nāga worship was also common.

Let us now try to ascertain the condition of popular religion. The Smṛtis, Purāṇas and epics had become popular in our period and their heroes and Avatāras had become standards of comparison. The notion of the present time being the Kali age had also taken root, as shown by several records of this period, though not belonging to our area.¹ Pilgrimages to holy places were common, as shown already.

In his daily life the average pious Brāhmaṇa used to perform the religious rites and rituals prescribed in contemporary Smṛtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya; Vedic sacrifices were beyond his means. He offered his *sandhyā* prayer morning and evening; the noon-time *sandhyā* had not yet come into vogue. *Prāṇāyāma*, *Sūryopasthāna* and *Gāyatrījapa* were the main constituents of the

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¹I. A., V. 57; E. I., VIII. 163; C. I. J., III. 44, 145.

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sandhyā. Whether the modern Paurāṇic verses were added to it in our age we do not know. Morning *sandhyā* was followed by the worship of tutelary deities and watery oblations to the manes. Five great sacrifices (*pañcamahāyajñas*) were popular in the age and many donations were given to Brāhmaṇas to enable them to perform them. Smārta fire was no doubt maintained by the priests; whether it was kept by the average householder is doubtful. Sixteen Saṁskāras were common for male children. Upanayana was gradually dying down in the case of girls; the monthly Śrāddha was very popular. Sacrifices like the *Cāturmāsyeṣṭi* and *Agrahāyaṇeṣṭi* were probably performed only in priestly families. It is doubtful whether the Purāṇas in their pre-Gupta version extolled the efficacy of gifts on the days like those of Saṁkrāntis and eclipses; at any rate none of the gifts in our records were given on these days. Astronomical-cum-astrological notions had not yet become popular in society. Almost any day was regarded as equally good for doing a meritorious or religious act. Many records of later days describe how the donor realised the transitoriness of the mundane glory and decided to make the grants; such observations do not occur in our epigraphs. This would show that the age was keeping an even balance between *Artha* and *Kāma* on one side and *Dharma* and *Mokṣa* on the other.

Hindu
Philosophy.

No Hindu philosophical works written between 200 B.C. and 500 A.D. can be definitely ascribed to Western India. It is therefore difficult to give any local picture of Hindu philosophy during this age. So far as the general progress of philosophy during this period is concerned, it may be pointed out that the Mīmāṃsā-sūtras were written early in this period. The *Śābarabhāṣya* written in c. 300 A.D. widened the scope of *Mīmāṃsā*. It left the narrow field of ritualism and began to advocate its own views about the nature of the soul, God, salvation, etc. The development of Vedānta during this period is difficult to visualise. In the Sāṁkhya system, the *Sāṁkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa, which gives the most authoritative exposition of the system, was composed in the 4th century A.D. In the sphere of Yoga, the *Yogasūtras* as well as the *Vyāsabhāṣya* on it were composed in our period. In the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school the *Nyāyasūtras* of Gautama were probably written in the 2nd century B.C. and its commentary the *Nyāyabhāṣya* towards the end of the 4th century A.D. From c. 400 the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school became constantly engaged in controversies with the Yogācāra and Mādhyamika schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Buddhism.

To judge from epigraphic evidence, Buddhism was fairly popular in Western India down to the end of the Sātavāhana period. Rival rulers like the Sātavāhanas and the Kṣaharātas, though not themselves Buddhists, are seen vying with one another in excavating Vihāra and Caitya caves for the Buddhist monks and in making grants for the day to day expenditure of the monastic establishments. Donors to the Buddhist monasteries are seen hailing from all classes, high and low; besides ruling kings, they include feudatories like the Mahārāṭhis and the Mahābhajas, high government officials like ministers, generals and district officers, members of higher classes

like merchant princes, caravan leaders and physicians and several persons in the ordinary walks of life like farmers, merchants, goldsmiths, ironsmiths, garland-makers, etc.¹ The gospel of the Buddha had made a deep and wide appeal to all the sections of the community, including the foreigners like the Greeks and the Scythians.

Later tradition no doubt states that the Buddha had once visited Pratiṣṭhāna or Paṭṭhaṇa, the future Sātavāhana capital; but we may doubt its accuracy. Among the missionaries sent by Aśoka for the spread of Buddhism there was one Greek convert named Dharmarakṣita, who was sent to Aparānta or Northern Koṅkaṇ and who may have tried to spread the religion in Mahārāṣṭra as well. Earliest traces of Buddhism in Western India go back to about c. 250 B.C. and one may wonder whether the religion had made much progress before the advent of the missionaries despatched by Aśoka.

The most ancient Buddhist records in Western India are those at Kolhāpūr, Pīṭāḷkhorā and Sopārā. When Dharmarakṣita came to Northern Koṅkaṇ, he apparently induced Aśoka to get a set of his edicts engraved at Sopārā; we have, however, so far discovered only fragments of fourteen rock edicts at that place. The inscription on the lid of a casket at Kolhāpūr is almost in Mauryan characters; the same is the case with the records in the Pīṭāḷkhorā caves. It is quite clear that the missionaries of Aśoka succeeded in making a fair and rapid headway. A number of people were converted and some Buddhist establishments were established. Their number was not quite small; for in the reign of the second Sātavāhana king Kṛṣṇa we find the Hindu government appointing an officer to supervise over the Buddhist monks and their establishments.

Our records incidentally refer to a number of Buddhist sects. The Bhadrāyāṇīyas or the Bhadrāyāṇīyas were the recipients of some benefactions at Nāsik and Kānherī, the Mahāsaṃghikas at Kārli, the Dharmottariyas at Sopārā, Junnar and Kārli, the Cetiya at Nāsik and the Aparājitās at Junnar. Most of these sects belonged to the protestant school, which raised the standard of revolt at Vaiśālī. Thus the Bhadrāyāṇīyas and the Dharmottariyas belonged to the school of the Vajjiputtas; the Mahāsaṃghikas were the earliest to cause a schism owing to their peculiar view that the Buddha was a *Lokottara* person inherently possessing superhuman powers. Cetiya school was a sub-section of this sect. The Mahīśāsakas, the Bahusutīyas and the Apāramahāselīyas, who figure in the records of the Eastern Deccan, are not mentioned in Western India. Of these the Mahīśāsakas represented the pure Theravāda, while the others were branches of the Mahāsaṃghikas.

The development of huge monastic establishments naturally led to a sense of possession among the monks. The followers of some

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¹We may, however, note that the epigraphs preserved for us almost all belong to the Buddhist establishments. There were no similar establishments in Western India in our age belonging to Hinduism. Had they existed, donations made to them might have given us some idea of the classes from which the adherents of Hinduism were hailing. Very probably the followers of both the religions hailed from all the classes of the community.

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schools got a vested interest in some endowments ; thus some of the donations at Nāsik were given for the exclusive use of the members of the Bhadrāyāṇīya sect, and some at Kārli for that of the Mahāsāṅghika sect. Usually, however, the benefactions were intended for the monks hailing from the four quarters, irrespective of the sects to which they belonged. Even in such cases the administration of the trust property must inevitably have been vested in the hands of the monks in power at the locality.

Almost to the end of our period, Buddhism in Western India was of the Hīnayāna variety. The Mahāyāna school began to become popular only at about 400 A.D. As may be expected, the objects of worship in the early caves are the Stūpas ; the human figure of the Blessed One does not occur either at Bhājā or at Beḍṣā, or either at Kārli or at Nāsik.¹ In the early Caitya halls at Ajantā also, the object of worship is the Stūpa. The figures of the Buddha appear in caves Nos. 16, 17 and 19, which belong to the end of the 5th century A.D. The Buddha figure became common in Northern India about two hundred years earlier.

The Buddhist mode of worship was similar to the Hindu one. Lamps were kept burning and scents and flowers were offered to the Stūpa after its ceremonial sprinkling. Kuḍā inscription No. 11 records the gift of a field to provide for the burning of a lamp in the Buddhist Caitya.

The wide popularity of Buddhism must be partly ascribed to the strenuous efforts of the Buddhist monks. The Mahāsthaviras, Sthaviras, Bhāṇakas and Tevijjas incessantly travelled in the country in winter and summer, popularising the gospel of the Blessed One. A record at Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa shows that Western India including Karnātak and Koṅkaṇ was visited by Ceylonese Buddhist monks also for the purpose of evangelisation. The monks travelled both by land and sea. Most of the Buddhist centres like Kalyāṇ, Nāsik, Kārli and Junnar are situated in the passes leading from Koṅkaṇ to Ghāts ; the caves at Kānherī, Kuḍā and Mahād are at the heads of creeks, from where the monks must have embarked for their coastal journeys.

We get a fairly graphic picture of the lives of the monks and nuns of our period. In a solitary record at Beḍṣā we find a reference to a monk who is described as *āraṇaka* ; probably he lived in a forest and came to the village for begging. As Buddhism became more and more popular, caves began to be constructed for their residence. It is however curious that we have not so far come across any structural monastery or Caitya in Western India, built in bricks during our period.

Buddhist establishments in Western India consisted of a monastery (*vihāra*) and an attached temple (*caitya*). Monasteries had a square or rectangular hall with an entrance in front and small cells on all the three sides, each cell being usually intended for one monk. In some establishments as at Junnar, there were reception halls (*upasthānaśālās*) and dining halls (*bhojanamaṇḍapas*) also.

¹ The Buddha figures appearing at Kārli are all later additions.

Invariably arrangement was made for the construction of a cistern for drinking water (*pāṇīyapoḍhi*) and bath (*sanānapoḍhi*). Caves in Western India are generally plain with few decorative sculptures. The Buddha had prohibited the decoration of monks' residences by paintings but in Western India paintings were introduced in caves as early as the first century A.D. The Nāśik cave donated by Balaśirī was originally painted; one of the donations made by her son was for providing paintings in it. The paintings have now faded off. At Ajaṇṭā paintings became the order of the day from about 400 A.D.

The monastic establishment was given in charge of the head abbot who was called *mahāsāmī* or *mahāsvāmī*; he is mentioned as the trustee and recipient of a benefaction in one Nāśik record.¹ He probably corresponded with *mahāvihārasvāmī* at Sāñcī² and managed the whole establishment. In some records the property is stated as being conveyed into the hands of Saṃgha;³ even then the actual administration must have been carried on by the *vihārasvāmin*.

Monks usually came down from hills to the adjoining villages for getting their food; we have rare references to the provision being made for their meals⁴. The laity however was expected to make provision for the supply of robes and medicines to the monks. Three robes permitted by the order were usually supplied in duplicate at the end of the rainy season, when the monks dispersed for their usual journeys in the country for preaching the gospel. Two sets of three robes usually cost twelve *Kārṣāpaṇas*. In some caves, however, the provision consisted of sixteen and not twelve *Kārṣāpaṇas*. Provision was also made by pious laymen for the medical treatment of the monks; Nāśik inscription No. 15 shows a Śaka lady making a permanent endowment for the medicinal expenses of the monks staying at the local monasteries.

In addition to this provision for robes Uṣavadāta is seen providing $4\frac{1}{2}$ *Kārṣāpaṇas* to each monk for the expenses connected with *Kuśāṇa*.⁵ What however this *Kuśāṇa* expense was we do not know. Probably it was for out of pocket expenses, incurred while the monks were touring. The Buddha had prohibited the monks from receiving any cash in gold and silver; the monks at Vaiśālī had pleaded that this rule should be rescinded, but they were overruled in the second council of Vaiśālī. It would appear that in course of time this taboo against gold and silver was removed and monks were permitted to possess money.

This conclusion is further confirmed by the large number of monks and nuns who figure as donors in our epigraphs. Thus the three elephant sculptures at Kārli were the gifts of the venerable monk Indradeva; two other sculptures there were financed by monk Bhaḍasama⁶. A nun named Goā was so rich⁷ as to finance the

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¹E.I., VIII, 71. ²C. I. I., III 272. ³Nāśik inscription No. 17.

⁴One such reference occurs in Nāśik inscription No. 10.

⁵At Junnar the monks used to get one *Kārṣāpaṇa* per month apparently during the rainy season for a similar purpose; see inscriptions Nos. 15, 18, 21.

⁶E. I., VII 51.

⁷J. C. T. W. I., p. 6.

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excavation of a cave at Mahād. Kārli inscription No. 12 discloses another nun donor named Āśādhmitrā. At Ajaṇṭā, there are several donations made by monks like Saṅghamitra, Buddhagupta, Saṅghapriya, Dr̥ḍhadharma, etc. Nāsik cave No. 20 was originally begun by a monk named Bhopaki, but was completed by a Mahāsenāpatinī.

How these monks and nuns got these funds is a mystery. Surely the savings out of the small *Kuśāṇa* allowance of four or five *Kārṣāpaṇas* was not sufficient for this purpose. It is not improbable that the lay disciples of monks and nuns may have begun to supply them funds to enable them to finance these benefactions. It is also possible that they might have got the funds from the families which they had renounced at the time of entering the order. Whether they had begun to receive honoraria (*dakṣiṇās*) like the Hindu priests, is not known at present.

About the internal organisation of the monastic life we get some interesting data. The establishment was under the management of the abbot (*Vihārasvāmin*), who received the donations, provided for the supply of robes and monks, and allotted rooms to the monks and arranged for their boarding when funds had been received for the purpose. Some monks as well as their pupils are described at Traividyas in several Junnar inscriptions¹. Traividyā was a title given to monks who were well grounded in the three Pīṭakas². It is thus clear that in some of our monasteries there were learned monks, who were devoting their time and energy in educating the novices in Buddhist philosophy and literature. This duty had been expressly imposed upon the senior monks by the Buddha himself. Some of the monks, thus devoting themselves to the cause of education, are called *gaṇācāryas*, probably because they had a number (*gaṇa*) of students reading under them. It is quite possible that some of our monasteries had developed into small centres of higher Buddhist learning. It is unfortunate that we do not possess more data to get a better glimpse into their educational activity.

Nuns were admitted into the Buddhist Saṅgha during our period and we get several references to them. In most cases the nuns appear to have entered the holy order after their widowhood. Thus the donor of Kārli No. 18 describes herself as the mother of Guṇika; a nun at Mahād, Nāganikā, describes herself as the mother of Padumanikā.³ This latter record however does not mention the names of any children of Padumanikā, associated with her donation. It is therefore not unlikely that some ladies entered the holy order before their marriage. In this particular case this was quite possible. The record shows that both Nāganikā and her maternal uncle had entered the holy order and it is not unlikely that being zealous Buddhists they may have permitted their ward Padumanikā to enter the order before her marriage. It is, however, not impossible that

¹Cf. *Gaṇācāryāṇāṃ sthvirāṇāṃ Bhadanta-Sulaṇāṇāṃ traividyāṇāṃ antevāsināṃ sthāviraṇāṃ Bhadanta-Caityaṣāṇāṃ traividyāṇāṃ*, Junnar No. 22. (This is Sanskrit rendering of the original Prakrit inscription.—V.V.M.)

²Originally it denoted Brāhmaṇas who had mastered the three Vedas.

³*I. C. T. W. I.*, p. 6.

the absence of the mention of the children of Padumanikā as sharer in the merit of her benefaction may also have been due to her being issueless or a child widow.

When nuns were ordained, they could be the disciples either of monks or nuns. The *Vinaya-piṭaka* forbids a monk to become a disciple of a nun and our records supply no such instance. Nuns could however become the preceptors of female novices. Thus the nun Padumanikā had two female disciples named Bodhi and Āṣāḍhamitrā. Kuṭṭā inscription No. 24 shows that Pavailikā was a disciple of the monk Vijaya, but was herself the preceptor of another nun named Bodhī.

While we get sufficient evidence to understand the monastic organisation of Buddhism, we are quite in the dark about the life of Buddhist laymen and laywomen. Our records refer to several laymen and laywomen, both Indian and non-Indian. But we do not know whether they were organically connected with the monastic order. The Buddha had envisaged no such connection and it appears that the Buddhist laymen and laywomen continued to remain members of the Hindu social order. Thus Kuṭṭā inscription No. 15 refers to an Upāsikā, who is described as the wife of a Brāhmaṇa. So even after embracing Buddhism, the converts continued their organic connection with the Hindu social order. Probably they also performed Hindu rituals.

As to Buddhist philosophy of our period, Hīnayāna was popular in the Deccan, till about 300 A. D. The traditional founder of the Sunyavāda school was Nāgārjuna and he is associated with Paiṭhaṇ, the Sātavāhana capital and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, a great centre of Buddhism in Andhra country. He probably flourished in c. 200 A.D. His pupil Āryadeva composed *Catuhśataka* in c. 250 A.D. Maitreya-nātha, the founder of the Yogācāra school, flourished in c. 200 A. D. and Asaṅga and Vasubandhu about 100 years later. Both these flourished in Northern India. The works of these scholars, while maintaining the reality of *Vijñāna*, seek to refute the reality of the external world. As the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools hardly exercised any influence on the Buddhism in Western India, during our period, we need not further explain their philosophical stands.

Let us now try to ascertain the attitude of Indian religions towards the foreigners, who had entered the country as conquerors and settled down as permanent residents. During our period both Hinduism and Buddhism used to convert and absorb all foreigners. The Greeks, the Parthians and the Scythians or the Śakas were the three foreign tribes that had penetrated into Western India, during our period. All of them felt irresistibly attracted to the faiths of the land and became either Buddhists or Hindus. The Western Kṣtrapas had a great attraction towards Hinduism. Nahapāna was a Parthian and probably continued allegiance to his ancestral faith. His daughter, Dakṣamitrā, who was married to a Śaka named Uṣavadāta, became a Hindu along with her husband. We have a large number of benefactions of Uṣavadāta and they show that he was more inclined to Hinduism than to Buddhism. He no doubt donated a cave to the

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monks at Nāśik and arranged for their boarding and clothing. But the bulk of his benefactions was in favour of Hinduism. He was in the habit of feeding a lakh of Brāhmaṇas every year; he had also given them in charity sixteen villages, three lakhs of cows, and thirty-two thousand cocoanut trees. He had undertaken holy pilgrimages to Prabhāsa (Somanāth) in Kāthiāvāḍ and Puṣkara (near Ajmer) in Rajputānā. When Brāhmaṇas were receiving such liberal donations from the Śakas, it is no wonder that they readily undertook to act as their priests. A Brāhmaṇa named Gajavara of Segrava Gotra was the priest of the Śaka ruler Soḍāsa of Mathurā and there can be hardly any doubt that Uṣavadāta and Nahāpaṇa never experienced any difficulty in getting a large number of qualified Brāhmaṇas to officiate at their religious functions.

The Śakas, however, were not only accepted as Hindus but orthodox royal families had no objection to enter into matrimonial alliances with them. The Sātavāhanas were Brāhmaṇas, but the most famous ruler of the dynasty, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who is credited with having stopped a mixture of castes, married one of his sons Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Sātakarṇi to a daughter of the Śaka king Rudradāman in c. 130 A.D. A century later we find the Ikṣvāku king Sāntamūla marrying his crown prince Māḍharīputra Virapurūṣadatta to Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā, who is described as a daughter of the Mahārāja of Ujjayinī. The name of the princess and the capital of her father make it clear that she belonged to the Śaka dynasty of Ujjayinī. It should not be however, supposed that the Śakas had a partiality only for Hinduism; for our records show that many of them became Buddhists as well. Nāśik inscription No. 15, records the donation of Śaka laywoman Viṣṇudattā in favour of the monks at Tirāśmi hill for their medical relief. Nāśik inscription No. 26, records the construction of a cave and water cistern by a Śaka named Viṣṇupālita. The names of both these Nāśik donors Viṣṇudattā and Viṣṇupālita smack of Hinduism, but their donations are in favour of Buddhism. The donor in Kārli inscription No. 20, who excavates a hall is described as Harapharaṇa, son of Setapharaṇa, a native of Abulāmā. The name of this donor is obviously Parthian; it is thus clear that some Parthians would often accept Buddhism.

The Yonakas or Yavanas, who appear as donors in several records, were obviously Ionian Greeks, who had settled down in Western India. The Buddhist missionary sent to Northern Koṅkaṇ by Aśoka was also a Greek. In Sindh there was a Greek settlement established at Demetria or Dattāmitrī, which was founded by the Bactrian king Demetrius in c. 180 B.C. Broach was an international port, where some Greek traders must have come and settled down. According to one view, after conquering Sindh, Apollodotus penetrated to Broach from where he proceeded along the Narmadā to Ujjayinī. It is quite likely that this invasion may have left some Greek soldiers behind. In the Sātavāhana period Demetria in Sindh continued to be a centre of Greek population. Nāśik inscription No. 13 records the benefaction of Indrāgnidatta, the son of Dhammadeva, who is expressly described as a Yonaka from Dāntamitrī, i.e., Dattāmitrī or Demetria in Sindh. Dhenukākāṭa, probably located near Bombay, was another centre of Greek population. Two Greeks named

Sihadhaya and Dhamma are seen making donations at Kārli¹. Two other Greek laymen, Irila and Yavana figure among the donors of Junnar².

Curiously enough there is no instance recorded in our epigraphs of Yavanas having embraced Hinduism as well. But this must be regarded as purely accidental. In the 2nd century B. C., we have the instance of the Greek ambassador at Besnagar becoming a devout Bhāgavata and erecting a Garuḍadhvaja before departing back for his home. There may have been Yavanas in Western India also who felt attracted by the Bhaktimārga of Hinduism. Naturally the Greeks mentioned in votive records in Buddhist caves will be found to be belonging to that faith, rather than to Hinduism.

The followers of the different sects were living in peace and harmony. Both Hinduism and Buddhism knew how to absorb foreigners within their folds. Even balance was kept between Dharma and Mokṣa on one side and Artha and Kāma on the other. Notions of astrology had not yet begun to sway the Hindu mind; any time was regarded as auspicious for doing a religious or meritorious work. The life in Buddhist monasteries was still simple and the monks and nuns were making strenuous efforts to spread the gospel among the masses. In the realm of philosophy self complacency had not yet become the characteristic of the mental outlook of the leaders of our philosophical thought. They were anxious to examine new theories and movements and re-examine their position in their light. It is in the last two centuries of our period that the conflict of mind with mind and theory with theory began to occur for the first time in right earnest. Philosophical controversies were however carried on with decorum and without acrimony; the followers of the different religions and sects continued to live in harmony.

It is a matter of regret that we should possess very insufficient data to give an adequate picture of education, language and literature during our period.

We have already shown how several Buddhist monks referred to in our epigraphs are described as Traividya Sthaviras, who had also disciples of the same educational qualifications. It is clear that the Buddhist establishments of our period were gradually developing into modest centres of education, where the Tripiṭakas and the allied literature were taught, certainly to the monks and nuns and probably to laymen as well. The new Mahāyāna works of Nāgārjuna, Aśaṅga and Vasubandhu had not yet become popular in the Deccan.

Since very early times the private teacher, usually of the Brāhmaṇa class, was the pivot of the Hindu system of education. As their livelihood depended not so much upon the uncertain and voluntary fees paid by their students as upon the income which they obtained as priests, they used to flock into *tirthas* or holy places and capitals; these therefore tended to become centres of Brahmanical education. Nāsik on the Godāvarī and Karhātaka (Karhād) on the Kṛṣṇā were

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¹Kārli inscriptions, Nos. 7 and 10.

²Junnar inscriptions, Nos. 5 and 7.

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famous Tirthas and they were most probably centres of learning in our period also, as they certainly were in later centuries. Pratiṣṭhāna, the capital of the Sātavāhana empire, and Ujjayinī, the capital of the Kṣatrapas, were also famous centres of education.

Reference is made in one epigraph to several villages being given by Uṣavadāta to Brāhmaṇas. These Brāhmaṇa settlements were known as Agrahāra villages and they used to become centres of learning, as the Brāhmaṇa donees were generally anxious to discharge their traditional duty of teaching in return for the provision made by the state for their livelihood. Unfortunately there is only a passing reference to these Agrahāra villages in the records of Uṣavadāta; but the Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī grant (c. 000 A.D.), describes the Brāhmaṇa donee as the teacher of a hundred Brāhmaṇas¹; we may well presume that similar was the case with other Agrahāra donees as well. The Western Kṣatrapas were Hindus and lovers of Sanskrit learning. It is quite probable that they may have created several Agrahāra villages to promote higher Sanskrit education.

The Vedas,² Purāṇas and Smṛtis, Nyāya and Philosophy were the main topics of study in the Brahmanical centres of education. Classical Sanskrit literature was gradually developing and it must also have been cultivated, especially under the Kṣatrapas. Rājaśekhara records the tradition that the Sātavāhanas had made a rule that only Prākṛt should be spoken in their court. We may well believe this statement, for all the Sātavāhana official records are without a single exception in Prākṛt. This patronage of Prākṛt was probably responsible for making the Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛt most prominent in the country. A lot of literature also must have been produced in that language. The statement of Hāla in the *Saptaśatī* that he selected his 700 stanzas from a crore may be an exaggeration, but there is no doubt that he had selected his stanzas from the writings of several poets and poetesses. It is really unfortunate that we should have lost so much of lyrical poetry in Māhārāṣṭrī produced in our age.

Rudradāman proudly claims that he was an expert in writing Sanskrit works both in prose and poetry, which were characterised by simplicity, clearness, sweetness, variety and beauty arising from the use of conventional poetic terminology. The specific use of the term *alanṅkṛta* shows that the author was well acquainted with the science of poetics, though works written in Western India on the subject during our period have not been preserved. The Gīrnār *prāśasti* is a good example of a neat *gadya-kāvya* or poetic prose. Compounds are preferred to simple words and they often consist of seven to seventeen words. Alliteration is frequently used with considerable skill and effect. Similes are common and the description is often vivid and telling, as for instance of the terrible destruction caused by the collapse of the dam.

¹Cf. *Brāhmaṇaśatamadhyaṇya*, M.A.R., 1929, p. 197. (This reading is uncertain. See the original grant which is being published in E.I.—V.V.M.)

²Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas all performed their Upanayana during our age and were regarded as eligible for Vedic studies. The Upanayana and Vedic studies of women were gradually dying down in our period. Manu permits the formal Upanayana of women, but not Yājñavalkya.

What is more interesting is the fact that Sanskr̥t poetics was studied by the Prākṛt poets also ; it is seen to be considerably influencing their composition. The *praśasti* of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi engraved in cave No. 2 at Nāśik is a fine example of *gadya-kāvya* in Prākṛt. It begins with a series of long compounds describing the qualities of the king and the extent of his dominion, forming a fairly long sentence. Similies are numerous and effective and alliteration frequent. Objects of comparison are drawn from the epics and Purāṇas ; king's strength is described as equal to that of Himavat, Meru and Mandāra and he is compared to Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna and Bhīma.

It is clear that the *Kāvya* style was cultivated during our period in Western India. Unfortunately, no works have been preserved ; the only specimens we get are from epigraphical *praśastis* (eulogies).

The literary activity of our period included the final redaction of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but Western India had probably no share in it. Among the poets Aśvaghoṣa, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Śūdraka and Viśākhadatta, no doubt belonged to our period, but probably not to Western India. Among the Smṛtis the present *Manusmṛti* was probably composed in c. 200 B.C. and *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* in c. 200 A.D. It is not unlikely that the last mentioned Smṛti may have been composed in the Deccan. Its advocacy of the proprietary rights of the widow was accepted earlier by the Deccan than by the rest of India.

It was during our period that the decimal system of notation with the place value of zero was discovered in India. Striking progress in astronomy was recorded in the works of Āryabhaṭṭa. Considerable Greek influence is noteworthy in the development of this science during the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. It is quite probable that this influence became possible on account of the great commercial activities of the ports of Western India like Broach. It is quite possible that Indian astronomers might have gone to Alexandria from Broach, or that Greek almanac-makers may have come to India with the traders like the author of the *Periplus*. All this is however a mere conjecture. We have no definite information on the point.

The *Carakasamhitā* and the *Suśrutasamhitā* assumed their present form in c. 200 A.D. The medical treatment to the monks in Western India, provision for which is made in some of our cave inscriptions, was probably according to the theories propounded in these works.

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THE CĀLUKYAS OF BADĀMĪ WHO ARE FAMOUS IN HISTORY for evolving a distinctive style of temple architecture, now known as Cālukyan architecture, ruled over Mahārāṣṭra for a period of well nigh two hundred years. Though Pulakeśin I was the first paramount ruler of this dynasty, it was actually Kirtivarman I who established his sway over Mahārāṣṭra. The reign of Kirtivarman I began in the year A.D. 566-67 and the last ruler of this dynasty who lost control over Mahārāṣṭra soon after A.D. 757 was strangely enough another Kirtivarman, known to historians as Kirtivarman II.

There are various theories regarding the origin of the Cālukyas. The epigraphical records of the period when the Cālukyas first emerge into prominence do not say anything about their original home. Nor do we find any contemporary literary works which give us any clue to this. However, inscriptions of the later members of this family, known to historians as the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī and the Cālukyas of Veṅgī, as also some literary works of their period contain some traditional accounts of their origin. Some of them – mentioned here – would illustrate that these accounts not only differed from one another but were also fanciful inventions.

The Cālukyas trace their descent to an original home at Ayodhyā claiming their ancestry from the Moon. For example, the Kaṭhem plates¹ of Vikramāditya V (A.D. 1009) state that there ruled at Ayodhyā fifty-nine kings of the Cālukya family. After these, sixteen more kings ruled over the southern region. Subsequently their power was eclipsed temporarily but eventually their might was restored by Jayasimha I.

Similar accounts are found in the Miraj plates of Jayasimha II (A.D. 1024)², the Yevūr inscription of Vikramāditya VI (A.D. 1077)³ and the Nilgunda plates⁴ of the same king. The Kannaḍa poet

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* This chapter is contributed by Shri N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Nagpur.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 21.

² *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 309 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 274 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 160 ff.

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Raṇṇa who was a contemporary of the later Cālukya king Taila II (A.D. 973-997) states in his great poem¹ also that one of the ancestors of the Cālukya rulers reigned at Ayodhyā.

According to another legendary account given in some other inscriptions, the Cālukya race was descended from the Moon, who was descended from Atri, who was descended from Brāhmā. A third account — also found in an inscription — tells us that Hiranyagarbha-Brahmā was born from the lotus in Viṣṇu's navel. Hiranyagarbha-Brahmā's son was Manu and Manu's son was Māṇḍavya, whose son was Harita. Harita's son was Hārīti-Pāñcaśikha from whose *culuka* (or hollow of the palms) the Cālukyas were born when he was pouring out an offering of water to the gods². The reference to this origin of the progenitor of the Cālukya race from the *culuka* is also found in Bilhana's (the court poet of the later Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI, who ruled from A.D. 1076 to 1126) *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, where the details are somewhat different. Here it is from Brāhmā's *culuka* that a powerful warrior was born from whom descended the Cālukyas. The story states that when Brāhmā was engaged in his *sandhyā* oblations, Indra requested him to create a warrior to put an end to the godlessness on earth. At this request Brāhmā looked at his *culuka* and the warrior referred to above suddenly sprang up³.

Almost an identical account of the original ancestor of the Cālukyas is also found in an inscription of the Cālukyas of Aṇḥilvād⁴. It states that when Brāhmā was churning his *culuka*, viz., the ocean, a warrior whom he named Cālukya sprang forth ready to obey his commands.

सत्यमेव जयते

The account in the records of the Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅḡ⁵ contains some striking variations from the information given in the records of the Kalyāṇi branch of the family. After tracing the genealogy from Brāhmā through the Moon and through mythical personages like Purūravas and Ayu, it goes on to mention two kings Śatānika and Udayana; and this Udayana was the first of the fifty-nine rulers who ruled in uninterrupted succession at Ayodhyā. After these rulers a certain king of this dynasty called Vijayāditya went to the southern region in order to conquer it. But unfortunately after defeating the king Trilocana-Pallava, he died. His queen, who was pregnant at this time, took shelter in the residence of a saintly Brāhmaṇa called Viṣṇubhaṭṭa-Somayājīn at the *agrahāra* of Muḍivemu, where she gave birth to a son named Viṣṇuwardhana. She brought him up performing all the rites that were suitable to his descent from the Mānavyas and the Hārīti-putras. The prince, when

¹ *Gadāyuddha*, Aṣṭava 2.

² Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 339.

³ Benares Sarasvatibhavana edition, *Sarga* 1, verses 39-57.

⁴ Surat Plates of Trilocanapāla of A.D. 1051, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 201 ff.

⁵ See, for example, *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 53-54.

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he grew into manhood, worshipped Nandā, the blessed Gaurī, on the Cālukya mountain and having propitiated the gods Kumāra, Nārāyaṇa and the assemblage of the Divine Mothers, assumed the insignia of sovereignty. He then conquered the Kadamba, Gaṅga and other princes and ruled over Dakṣiṇāpatha (the southern country) comprising seven and a half lakh villages and hamlets. The son of this Viṣṇuvardhana and of his great queen, who was born of the Pallava race, was Vijayāditya. At this point we come to the real historical personage Pulakeśi-Vallabha who is introduced as the son of this Vijayāditya.

Evidently all these stories originated round about the 10th century A.D., when the real significance of the name of the family — variously spelt as Cāliki, Cālki, Sālki, Cālkyā, Cālīkyā, Cālukya, Cālukika and so on — had been forgotten. And the earliest account of the original home of the Cālukyas being Ayodhyā appears only in records of the 11th century, *i.e.*, nearly five centuries after the founding of the Cālukya kingdom. Moreover, the earliest inscriptions of the dynasty do not lay claim to an Ayodhyan origin. Apparently these fanciful stories and genealogies were concocted round about the 10th century A.D. when it was the fashion among many of the southern ruling families to draw up mythical and fabulous genealogies in order to give their families respectability. These genealogies are mostly fabrications until we come up to the authentic historical personages.

But there are quite a few sound reasons to believe that the Cālukyas of Badāmi are of Kannaḍa stock. Firstly, there is the reference in Rāṣtrakūṭa inscriptions¹ to the invincible Karnāṭaka army which had attained great glory by defeating the mighty monarchs Śrī-Harṣa and Vajrāṭa and by defeating which the Rāṣtrakūṭas obtained the kingdom of the Cālukyas. This would show that the Cālukya army was known as the Karnāṭaka army and that the Cālukyas were renowned as Karnāṭakas, *i.e.*, of Kannaḍa origin. Secondly, there is the fact that the names of some of the rulers of this family end in a typical Kannaḍa regal suffix *arasa*, standing for the Sanskrit word *rājā* (king). For example we have the name of Kīrtivarman I being given as Katti-arasa even in a Sanskrit inscription issued by him². The Sātārā plates (which will be noticed later) of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, the younger brother of Pulakeśin II, give the name of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana as Bīṭṭarasa on the seal of the grant. The Mānor plates of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa of the Gujarāt branch of this family dated Śaka 613, which are also in Sanskrit, give the name of this prince as Maṅgalarasarāja³. The Aḍūr inscription of

¹ Talegaum Plates of Kṛṣṇa I, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 275 ff.; Sāmangad Plates of Dantidurga, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 110 ff. and Pimpari Plates of Dharaṇavarṣa Dhruva rāja, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 81 ff. :—

Kāncīiṣa-Kerala-narādhīpa-Cōla-Pāṇḍya-Śrī-Harṣa-Vajrāṭa-vibheda-v i d h a n a d a kṣam Karnāṭakaṁ balam=anantam=ajeyam-anyair = bhṛtyaiḥ kiyaḍbhīr=api yah egaṣā jīgaya.

² Godachi plates *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 62.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.

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Kirtivarman II mentions his name as Kirtivarmmarasa¹. Finally the Daśavatāra Cave inscription at Ellorā mentions Dantidurga as having conquered Vallabharasa², i.e., the Cālukya king. These name endings would show beyond any doubt that the Cālukyas were of Kannaḍa origin considering the fact that the suffix *arasa* appears even in Sanskr̥t inscriptions.

The third reason, which is stronger than the first two, is that not only the name endings but that even some of the names are purely Kannaḍa. We have the first paramount ruler of this dynasty bearing the name Polekeśi and this form of the name is the one found in the earliest inscriptions of this dynasty, though we find other forms like Polikeśi, Pulekeśi, Pulakeśi, Pulikeśi and Polakeśi in some inscriptions. Various explanations have been offered regarding the etymology of this word. Most of these explanations take the first half of the word to be *puli*, meaning "tiger" in Kannaḍa and the second half to be Sanskr̥t keśin meaning "haired", the two halves making the meaning "tiger-haired" or "having a coat of short, thick and close hair like that of a tiger"³. A verse in the Kauṭhem plates would suggest that the name signifies "one by hearing whose name the hair of the hearers stand on end as with joy", by connecting the first part of the name with the Sanskr̥t word *pulaka* (horripilation)⁴. One scholar derives the first half of the word from the Sanskr̥t root *pul* meaning "to grow" or "to be great" and takes keśin to mean a lion and explains the whole word as "the great lion"⁵.

But the earliest form of the name is Polekeśi and, as suggested by Fleet,⁶ is in all probability the original form. And it is worth noting that it is this form which even Kielhorn has adopted⁷. So an attempt is made here to interpret this original form Polekeśi. *Pole* in Kannaḍa means impurity of child-birth, i.e., of the natal chamber, and in Kannaḍa the word *keśi* as a shortened form of Keśava is found not only in literature but also in inscriptions. For example, the author of the famous Kannaḍa grammar *Śabdamaṇi-darpaṇa* is Keśirāja and he also calls himself Keśava. In one of the inscriptions⁸ an officer of the Kalacurī monarch Bijjala is called by the alternative names of Keśava, Keśirāja and Keśimayya. An inscription of the Cālukya king Someśvara I mentions a general named Keśava-gavuṇḍa, who is also referred to therein as Keśi-gavuṇḍa and Keśi-rāja⁹. So the expression Polekeśi can be taken to mean "he who was like Keśava, i.e., Lord Kṛṣṇa (in his prowess) even in the natal chamber". And we know that according to the *Purāṇas* Lord

¹ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 376.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p. 29, f.n. 1.

³ Fleet, Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 343, f.n. 5.

⁴ Ibid. The Miraj plates etc. also give this verse.

⁵ "The Hindu" Weekly Magazine, April 2, 1961, p. I.

⁶ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 343, f.n. 5.

⁷ Supplement to the List of Inscriptions of Southern India, pp. 1-2.

⁸ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 473.

⁹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XVI, p. 82.

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Kṛṣṇa exhibited superhuman qualities even in the natal chamber. Evidently this ruler was given the name Polekeśi because he showed extraordinary qualities like Lord Keśava or Kṛṣṇa even from the time of his birth. Accordingly we are led to the unexceptionable conclusion that this name is a Kannaḍa word meaning "one who resembled Kṛṣṇa in prowess from babyhood". And this name Polekeśi, as explained here, is quite appropriate in the case of one who was the real founder of the Cālukyan kingdom and even more appropriate in the case of his famous grandson, the great Pulakeśin II, who struck terror even in the heart of the mighty monarch of the north, Harṣavardhana. [However, Pulakeśin is the form of the name used by historians for these two monarchs, and so this form is adopted in the following pages for the sake of uniformity.]

The name of another prince of this family also shows the Kannaḍa origin of this family. Kīrtivarman I, the son of Pulakeśin I, calls himself Katti-arasa in his Goḍaci plates¹ which are entirely in Sanskr̥t. *Katti* is a purely Kannaḍa word meaning "sword" and *arasa* (Sanskrt *rājā*), as already explained, means "king". So Kīrtirāja (by which name Kīrtivarman calls himself in some inscriptions) is apparently a Sanskr̥tised form of Katti-arasa. This name Katti-arasa or Kattiyara seems to have been quite common in the Cālukya family.

Yet another name in this family indicative of a Kannaḍa origin is Biṭṭarasa, borne by the ruler Viṣṇuvardhana, the younger brother of Pulakeśin II. As pointed out above, this form of the name Biṭṭarasa is found on the seal of the Sātārā plates² of A.D. 617-18 and there can be no doubt that Viṣṇuvardhana is the Sanskr̥t form of Biṭṭarasa. It may be noted in this connection that another king of the Kannaḍa country *i.e.*, the Hoysaḷa king Viṣṇuvardhana was better known as Biṭṭiga or Biṭṭidēva which are only variants of Biṭṭarasa. Biṭṭa is only the Kannaḍa form of Viṣṇu and the fact that the prince used the Kannaḍa form of his name—and not the Sanskr̥t form—on his seal proves that he belonged to the Kannaḍa country.

Another reason which may be adduced to prove that the Cālukyas belonged to the Karnāṭaka country is that some of their inscriptions found even in the Tāmil and Telugu countries are in Kannaḍa. For example, the inscription of the king Vikramāditya II found at Kāñcīpuram³ in the Tāmil country is written entirely in the Kannaḍa script and language. An inscription of Vijayāditya⁴ of this family found at Dānavulapāḍu in the Kuḍḍappah district (Āndhra Pradeśa) is also written in the Kannaḍa language. This fact would

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 62.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 309.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 360.

⁴ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, No. 49.

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show the intense love which they had for their Kannaḍa language thereby indicating their Kannaḍa origin.

There is yet another piece of evidence to support this conclusion. The Vemulavāḍa inscription¹ (10th century) of Arikesarin II—who belonged to a branch of this family and who was the patron of the famous Kannaḍa poet Pampa—gives to this ruler some titles which are in Kannaḍa, e.g., *noḍuttegelvom* and *priyagallam* though the inscription itself is in Sanskr̥t.

According to the preambles found in their inscriptions the Cālukyas are said to be princes, who belonged to the *Mānavya-gōtra*; who were Hāritiputras (descendants of Hārita); who were nourished by the Seven Mothers, who are the mothers of the seven worlds; who acquired uninterrupted prosperity through the protection of lord Kārttikeya; who obtained through the favour of god Nārāyaṇa the boar crest even at the sight of which all kings were subjugated. The grants issued by the Eastern Cālukya branch of this family state that the Cālukyas acquired their kingdom through the favour of the goddess Kauśikī. Though in the western Cālukya records the acquisition of the kingdom is not attributed to the favour of Kauśikī, in one² of them it is stated that the Cālukyas were brought up by Kauśikī and were anointed by the Seven Mothers. We also learn from inscriptions that the banner of the Cālukyas was the *pāli-dhvaja*.

These preambles very closely resemble those of the Kadāmbas of Banavāsī excepting for the reference to the boar crest. Evidently the Cālukyas, who were the political successors of the Kadāmbas, borrowed practically the whole preamble found in Kadāmba records. Moreover, the fact that the Cālukyas also claim descent from the same ancestors as the Kadāmbas, and that they were having the same tutelary deities, would even indicate that the Cālukyas belonged to the same stock as the Kadāmbas to whose fortunes they succeeded.

The main authentic sources for the history of the Cālukyas are inscriptions, though scattered references are available elsewhere. Among these references are the vivid accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang who travelled in India between the years A.D. 629 and 645 in the kingdoms of Pulakeśin II and Harṣavardhana. We then have a Persian chronicle giving an account of the time of Khuśrū II of Persia which says that there was an exchange of presents and letters between the Persian monarch and Pulakeśin II. And we also have some information in later literature of the 10th and 11th centuries. But as stated at the outset, the authentic sources are, by and large, inscriptions.

¹ *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XLV, p. 226(a).

² Lohaner plates of Pulakeśin II, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 37.

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The earliest mention of this family is found in one of the Prākṛt inscriptions¹ of about the third century A.D. of the Ikṣvāku family at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (Guntur district, Āndhra Pradesh) where the word *Caliki* appears as part of a compound personal name *Khanda-caliki-Remmanaka*. This person is described as a *Muhāsenāpati* and *Mahātalavara*, which have been taken to be titles denoting a high dignitary. The next reference, in point of time, to this family is in the Badāmī inscription² of Vallabheśvara (i.e., Pulakeśin I) of A.D. 543, where the king describes himself as a *Cālikya*. However, the first prince mentioned in genealogies given in the inscriptions of this dynasty is Jayasimha.

Strangely enough so far we have no inscriptions of Jayasimha, and all that we know of him is from the inscriptions of some of his successors. For instance, in the Aihole inscription³ of Pulakeśin II, Jayasimha is described as a very brave warrior, but no specific exploit of his is mentioned. In inscriptions of the 11th century, however, he is described as having founded the kingdom of the Cālukyas, after defeating the Rāṣtrakūṭa prince Indra, son of Kṛṣṇa⁴. But we do not know of any Rāṣtrakūṭa princes bearing these names at the beginning of the 6th century to which period Jayasimha can be assigned. Further not much credence can be given to the information contained in inscriptions of the 11th century about the achievements of a prince of the 6th century especially when the contemporary records are totally silent about any such achievement. It may be noted, however, that a Rāṣtrakūṭa chief called Dejjamahārāja was ruling about the sixth century somewhere near Gokāk (Belgān district, Mysore State)⁵. Even if the statements of the later inscriptions, namely that the Cālukyas defeated the Rāṣtrakūṭas before they became independent should be accepted, we cannot say whether this Dejjamahārāja was related to Kṛṣṇa or Indra; and if he were related, the exact nature of the relationship cannot also be ascertained.

JAYASIMHA.

Of Jayasimha's son Raṇarāga, the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription⁶ of Maṅgaśa states that "by (his) fondness for war (he) elicited the affection of his own people and caused vexation of mind to (his) enemies". We do not know who these enemies were. Apparently this is just conventional praise. And the Aihole inscription bestows similar conventional eulogies on this prince.

RANARAGA.

As Raṇarāga's son Pulakeśin I is known to have performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice signifying that he was the paramount ruler, he appears to have been the first independent ruler of this family. Further the fact that he was the first prince of this dynasty to call

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 8.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 1.

⁴ See, for instance, *ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 143.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 289.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 7.

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himself *Mahārāja* is another proof of his suzerainty. Evidently his father and grandfather *viz.*, Raṇarāga and Jayasīṃha were feudatories, probably of the Kadam̄bas.

As stated above the first independent ruler of this dynasty was Pulakeśin I. In the Aihole inscription he is stated to have acquired the town of Vātāpī (modern Badāmi, Bijāpur district, Mysore State) which became the Cālukya capital and thus he was the real founder of the Cālukya kingdom. However, the circumstances under which this kingdom was founded are not set forth anywhere. But as Vātāpī lay apparently in the dominions of the Kadam̄bas, it may be taken that the Cālukyas, who presumably were the feudatories of the Kadam̄bas, acquired a kingdom of their own by appropriating a part of the Kadam̄ba dominion when the latter became weak. The Badāmi inscription¹ of Pulakeśin I — which is the only available inscription of his reign dated Śaka 465 (A.D. 543)—calls him Vallabheśvara and says that he fortified Vātāpī. It also states that he performed the *Aśvamedha* and other sacrifices according to Vedic rites and that he celebrated the *mahādāna* of Hiraṇyagarbha. The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription² also credits him with the performance of this *mahādāna* in addition to *Agniśtoma*, *Vājapeya*, *Paundarika*, *Bahusuvarṇa* and *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. The fact that he performed so many principal sacrifices indicates his paramountcy. In the Nerūr copper-plate inscription of Maṅgaleśa³ Pulakeśin is stated to have been acquainted with *Manudharmasūtra*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Bhārata* (*Mahābhārata*). He assumed the significant title of *Satyāśraya*, the asylum of truth, which became a distinctive title of the rulers of this dynasty and was assumed by almost all of his successors. Though he was such a powerful ruler and wielded great authority, we have no specific information about any of his conquests or the extent of his dominions. He had also the titles of *Raṇavikrama* and *Śrīprthivīvallabha*.

He had married Princess Durlabhadevī of the Batpūra family and he seems to have had another wife named Indukāntī⁴. He had two sons named Kirtivarman and Maṅgaleśa. As Maṅgaleśa in his Mahākūṭa pillar inscription refers to Durlabhadēvī as his father's wife (*sva-guru-patnī*), it is probable that Durlabhadēvī was his step-mother.

Besides the Badāmi stone inscription mentioned already there are two copper-plate records which purport to have been issued

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 8. This inscription is the earliest record which gives date in the Śaka era.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 356.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 161.

⁴ See Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II, text-line 3. The word Indukānti has been taken to be a general epithet of Pulakeśin I, meaning "he who had the brightness of the moon". However it seems more appropriate to take Indukānti to mean the name of his wife for in that case the *virodhābhāsa* contained in the verse would be better brought out. Indukānti is taken by J. Dubreuil to refer to the name of a city. (*Ancient History of Deccan*, p. 11).

during his reign. But since they have been found to be spurious, they are not of any historical value¹.

Pulakeśin I was succeeded by his elder son, *Kīrtivarman I*. Two inscriptions of his time have been found, both of them dated in the twelfth year of his reign. One of them is on copper-plates, while the other is engraved on stone. Since the latter² says that the twelfth year of his reign corresponded to Śaka 500 (*i.e.*, A.D. 578) the first year of his reign would be A.D. 566-67. According to Kīrtivarman's copper-plate inscription,³ he vanquished all his rival kinsmen (*dāyāda*) by diplomacy and valour and was ruling his subjects in accordance with the code of conduct pertaining to different castes and religious orders, and was keeping them pleased and happy. This inscription also gives him the purely Kannaḍa form of his name, Kattiarasa, though the inscription itself is in Sanskrit.

The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgaleśa credits Kīrtivarman with victory over the rulers of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kalinga, Vattūra, Magadha, Madraka, Kerala Gaṅga, Mūśaka, Pāṇḍya, Dramiḷa, Coḷiya, Āḷuka, Vaijayantī etc. Though it is impossible to believe that he could have conquered all the northern kingdoms mentioned here, his success over the rulers of the south and south-west may be regarded as fairly authentic, as some of them like the conquest of Vaijayantī have been corroborated by the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II which states that Kīrtivarman was "the night of doom" to the Nalas, the Mauryas and the Kadāmbas. The Kadāmbas were the rulers of Banavāsī (also known as Vaijayantī) and the surrounding country in the present Mysore State. As this inscription states that Kīrtivarman inflicted utter defeat on groups of Kadāmbas, it is evident that there were several branches of the Kadāmbas all of which he crushed. And we know from the Kadamba records themselves that there were at least two, if not three such branches ruling independently.

The Nalas were ruling in parts of the present Madhya Pradeśa (Bastār), Orissa (Jeypore) and Vidarbha. Their inscriptions have been found at Poḍāgaḍh and Kesaribeḍa (Koraput district, Orissa). One of their copper-plates⁴ was issued from Nandivardhana identified with Nagardhan near Rāmtek (Nāgpūr district) and mentions the grant of the village of Kadāmbagiri, identified with Kaḷamba in the Yeotmāl district. A hoard of gold coins of this family was discovered at Eḍeṅga⁵, a village in the Bastār district of Madhya Pradeśa. It is known from inscriptions that the Mauryas were ruling in Koṅkan. The Coḷiya, Pāṇḍya, Dramiḷa and Keraḷa kingdoms are too well known to require any identification. The Mūśaka territory comprised parts of modern Keraḷa and the Āḷukas (Āḷupas) were

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¹ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii., p. 344, note 6.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III, p. 305, Vol. V, p. 363.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 62.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff.

⁵ *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. I, pp. 29 ff.

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ruling over parts of South Kanara district (Mysore State). The Gaṅgas were reigning in south Mysore with their capital at Talakāḍ (Mysore district). Thus Kīrtivarman was the first king of this dynasty to have established his sway over parts of the present Mahārāṣṭra State. He was a great patron of art and perhaps he was the first to adopt the Buddhist rock-cut temple architecture to Hindu shrines. His stone inscription which is found in the Vaiṣṇava cave at Badāmī¹ states that his brother Maṅgaleśvara got made under his orders a temple of Viṣṇu (Viṣṇu-grha) and installed in it the image of Viṣṇu and granted village of Lañjīśvara (modern Nandikeśvara near Badāmī) for meeting the expenses connected with the worship and offerings at the temple. Evidently this temple is the magnificent cave temple at Badāmī, 'containing admirable reliefs of Viṣṇu seated on Ananta and Narasimha'. The record is dated in Śaka 500, the 12th year of the king's prosperous reign on the full-moon day of the month of Kārtika (31st October, A.D. 578). In this connection it is worth noting that it may be inferred from the Ciplūṇ copper-plate inscription of Pulakeśin II² that he (Kīrtivarman) beautified the town of Vātāpī.

Like his illustrious father he too performed the sacred sacrifices of *Bahusuvarṇa* and *Agniṣṭoma*. He bore the titles *Raṇaparākrama*, *Puru-Raṇaparākrama* and *Satyāśraya*(?). Śrīvallabha Seṇānandarāja of the Sendraka family is mentioned in the Ciplūṇ copper-plates as the maternal uncle of Pulakeśin II, son of Kīrtivarman I. So Kīrtivarman's wife must have been a Sendraka princess, though we do not know her name. He had two sons named Pulakeśin and Viṣṇu-varḍhana. Two spurious copper-plate grants³ mention two other sons of his named Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman and Buddhavarasa, but since their names are not found anywhere else, we cannot be sure whether he had these two sons or not.

MANGALESHA

His younger brother *Maṅgaleśa*, succeeded him, as Kīrtivarman's eldest son, Pulakeśin was evidently too young to ascend the throne. The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription cites the cyclic year *Siddhārtha* as the fifth year of his prosperous reign. This year corresponds to A.D. 601-02 and so Maṅgaleśa must have begun to rule in A.D. 597-98.

Maṅgaleśa was a great warrior and is described in the Aihole inscription as having led successful campaigns to the limits of the eastern and western seas. Evidently in one such campaign to the west he conquered Revatī-dvīpa which has been identified with modern Reḍi, a fortified promontory about eight miles from Veṅgurlā in the Ratnāgiri district. The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription tells us that Maṅgaleśa "having set his heart upon the conquest of the northern region, conquered king Buddha and took possession of all

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III, p. 305; Vol. VI, p. 368 and Vol. X, pp. 57-48.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III p. 51

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 124 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV., p. 144.

his wealth". From his undated Nerūr copper-plates¹ we learn that this Buddha (Buddharāja) was the son of Śaṅkaragaṇa and the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II states that Maṅgaleśa "took in marriage the damsel, viz., the Fortune of the Kaṭaccurīs having scattered the gathering gloom, viz., the array of elephants (of the adversary) with hundreds of bright lamps which were the swords of his followers". All these put together show clearly that this Buddharāja, son of Śaṅkaragaṇa, was the Kalacuri monarch who reigned in the first quarter of the seventh century. This victory over Buddharāja must have taken place before 601-02, which is the date of the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription, which also states that Maṅgaleśa had an eager desire to set up a pillar of victory on the Bhāgīrathī. But apparently he could not proceed beyond the Kalacurī dominions because he had to turn his attention towards quelling the rebellion of Svāmīrāja of the Cālukya family who, according to the Nerūr copper-plates, was killed by Maṅgaleśa. Though this Svāmīrāja is described as belonging to the Cālukya family, we have no means of ascertaining the exact relationship between him and the members of the ruling family. The Nerūr copper-plates describe this Svāmīrāja as a great warrior who had attained victory in eighteen battles and possibly Maṅgaleśa had to kill him because he would not bow down to the Cālukya monarch. These plates record that Maṅgalārāja (Maṅgaleśa) granted the village of Kuṇḍivātaka in *Koṅkaṇa-viśaya*. This village has been identified with Kuṇḍi in Saṅgameśvar Taluka, Ratnāgiri District,² or with Kuḍāl about three and a half miles north-east of Nerūr³.

Since Buddharāja mentioned above continued to rule till about A.D. 610, it may be surmised that he retrieved his possessions as soon as Maṅgaleśa's attention was diverted towards troubles at home. So Maṅgaleśa, who had the lofty ambition of carrying his conquests upto the Bhāgīrathī, had to content himself with erecting a *dharmastambha* (pillar of religion) at Mahākūṭa. Maṅgaleśa's reign ended in disaster and he lost his life in the civil war which ensued between him and his nephew Pulakeśin (who became later on Pulakeśin II) who, as stated in his Aihole inscription, had to fight his own uncle Maṅgaleśa who had tried to install on the Cālukya throne his own son ignoring the lawful claims of Pulakeśin. As it is known from inscriptions that the reign of Pulakeśin II commenced in the year A.D. 610-11, Maṅgaleśa must have died before this date.

We do not know the name of Maṅgaleśa's son for whose sake he is stated to have made attempts to alienate the throne from the rightful heir, Pulakeśin II. Maṅgaleśa had the titles of *Raṇavikrānta* and *Uru-Raṇavikrānta*.

As already stated, *Pulakeśin*, who succeeded Maṅgaleśa, had to wrest the throne from his uncle after a hard fight. In the Aihole inscription it is stated that Pulakeśin went into exile, when he came to know the machinations of his uncle to secure the throne for his son;

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¹ *Ind. And.*, Vol. VII, p. 161.

² *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 348 n.

³ *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol IV, p. xlviii n.

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and by wise counsel and prowess he crushed his uncle. His Koppāram copper-plate inscription¹ is dated on the *Mahānavamī* day in the month of Kārttika in the twentyfirst year of his reign. Sewell has reckoned this date² as equivalent to 10th October, A.D. 631 and he considers that accordingly the accession of Pulakeśin should have taken place on or after 11th October, A.D. 610. In this king's Goā copper-plates³ Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman of the Bappūra family — evidently the same as the Baṭpūra family to which his grandmother i.e., wife of Pulakeśin I belonged — is reported to have made a grant on the full-moon day of the month of Māgha in the Śaka year 532 while ruling Revatīdvīpa and other regions as a subordinate of Pulakeśin II. As the equivalent of this date in the Christian era works out to 5th January, A.D. 611, Pulakeśin must have ascended the throne between these two dates i.e., 11th October, A.D. 610 and 5th January A.D. 611. At the time of his accession the Cālukya kingdom, which had been vastly enlarged by the additions made by his father and uncle, had become engulfed in chaos and confusion owing to revolts and uprisings on all sides. A graphic account of how he put down the rebels and other enemies, and established order in his dominions is given in the Aihole inscription. First of all he is stated to have encountered two chieftains named Āppāyika and Govinda, who tried to overrun Pulakeśin's territories north of the Bhīmarathī with a huge army of elephants. One of them terrified at Pulakeśin's might fled from the field, while the other was won over by Pulakeśin, who then turned his attention towards the wealthy city of Vanavāsī on the banks of the Varadā, laid seigé to it and captured it. Evidently, the Kadāmbas, the rulers of Vanavāsī, who had formerly been the feudatories of the Cālukyas had revolted during the period of confusion following the death of Maṅgaleśa; and Pulakeśin had therefore to resubjugate. After this exploit he subdued the Gaṅga and Ālupa rulers, who submitted to him meekly. It has already been noticed that the Ālupas and Gaṅgas were subordinates of the Cālukyas even during the reign of his father, Kīrtivarman I. It looks as though every subordinate of the Cālukyas had taken advantage of the chaos and confusion following Maṅgaleśa's demise and had tried to declare himself independent. So Pulakeśin had the herculean task of reconquering them all. In addition to the Kadāmbas, the Ālupas and the Gaṅgas, he had to reduce the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ also to submission and capture Purī (probably their capital) with the assistance of his fleet of innumerable ships. Purī has been described as "the fortune of the Western Seas" and has been identified variously with Elephanṭā near Bombay or Rājāpurī in Kolābā District, Rājāpur in Ratnāgiri District, or Ṭhāṇā⁴. Seeing the invincible might of Pulakeśin, the Lāṭas, the Mālavas and the Gurjaras voluntarily became his feudatories. Apparently at this time Harṣa was trying to expand his dominions by invading the Deccan. This infuriated Pulakeśin whose authority had by now

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 257.

² *Ibid.*, p. 261.

³ *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, p. 365.

⁴ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 284.

extended up to the river Māhī and consequently the forces of these two mighty rulers met in battle in the region of the river Revā in the neighbourhood of the Vindhyas. In this battle Pulakeśin inflicted a crushing defeat on the great Harṣa destroying his army of innumerable elephants.

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By these numerous victories Pulakeśin acquired the sovereignty over the three Mahārāṣṭrakas with their 99,000 villages. The three Mahārāṣṭrakas mentioned here do not denote any specific geographical areas but 'the three great administrative divisions' of his dominions. The expression *Mahārāṣṭra-ṭraya* is to be taken in its literal sense of the three great administrative divisions of his kingdom (*Mahā* = big or great, *rāṣṭra* = administrative division). It is well known that the word *rāṣṭra* occurs in the sense of administrative division in innumerable inscriptions. In this connection, attention may be drawn to the fact that in the *Rāmāyaṇa*¹ of Vālmīki, King Daśaratha is described as Mahārāṣṭra-vivardhana i.e., one who increased the prosperity of his extensive country. Evidently the word *Mahārāṣṭra* here refers to Daśaratha's own large kingdom in general and not to any specific geographical unit of India. That the word *Mahārāṣṭra* is used in the sense of an "area bigger than a *rāṣṭra*" becomes clear from cognate expressions like *nāḍu*, *Mahānāḍu*; (*nāḍu* = assembly; *mahānāḍu* = a big assembly) *grāma mahāgrāma*; *agrahāra*, *Mahāgrahāra*. Thus it would be most appropriate to take the word *Mahārāṣṭra-ṭraya* to mean the three great administrative divisions of Pulakeśin's dominions, of which the present Mahārāṣṭra no doubt formed a part.

The victory over Harṣa was the most noteworthy of all his victories since it was a victory over a great monarch who was the supreme lord of the whole of Northern India. This outstanding achievement of Pulakeśin's was prized so highly by his successors, that it finds a prominent mention in their records. They proclaim that Pulakeśin acquired the title of *Paramēśvara* after defeating. 'Harṣavardhana, the lord of the whole of *Uttarāpaṭha* (Northern India)." In contrast to this Pulakeśin calls himself 'the lord of *Dakṣiṇāpaṭha*'² (Southern India). There are differences of opinion among scholars as to the date of the conflict between the two great monarchs of the time — Harṣa and Pulakeśin. The Hyderābād copper-plate inscription of A.D. 613, says that Pulakeśin acquired the title of *Paramēśvara* by defeating a hostile king who had devoted himself to the contest of a hundred battles³. It has been noted above that records of Pulakeśin's successors state that he acquired this title by defeating

¹ *Balakanda*, *Sarga* 5, v. 9.

² Yekkeri rock inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 7-8.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 73; *śamara-śata-saṅghaṭṭa-saṁśakta-para-nripati-parājaya-opalabdha-paramēśvar-para-namadheyah*. The relevant passage in inscriptions of Pulakeśin's successors is:

śamara-saṁśakta-sakala-uttarāpaṭhā-esvara-śri-Harṣavardhana-parājaya-upalabdha pa-Paramēśvara-apara-namadheyasya.

The similarity between these is eloquent.

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Harṣa. So some scholars think that the conflict mentioned in all these records refer to Pulakeśin's war with Harṣa. Hence these scholars consider that this conflict took place before A.D. 613 *i.e.*, in the first three or four years of his reign. Others think that because the defeat of Harṣa is not mentioned in his Lohaṇer plates¹ of 630 A.D., Pulakeśin was too busy with his domestic troubles to pit his strength against Harṣa till A.D. 630 and hence the great conflict could have taken place only after A.D. 630. But we cannot so easily brush aside the definite statements found in his own son's records that 'Pulakeśin acquired the title of Parameśvara after defeating Harṣa', and as stated above, the first mention of the acquisition of the title *Parameśvara* is in Pulakeśin's inscription of A.D. 613. And it is not quite safe to assume that as Pulakeśin's Lohaṇer Plates of A.D. 630, are silent about this conflict, it could not have taken place earlier than A.D. 630. There are quite a few instances where a particular event, which is not mentioned in a record of a particular date had actually taken place earlier than the date cited in the record. For example, the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has pointed out that the Cālukya king Vinayāditya's (grandson of Pulakeśin II) subjugation of the Pallavas, Kaḷabhras and others is mentioned in his Jejuri plates² of the ninth year of his reign, though it is not mentioned in the copper-plate inscription of the eleventh year of his reign. Till the discovery of the Jejuri plates it was thought that this subjugation took place only after the eleventh year. And there is nothing inherently impossible in a powerful monarch of the calibre of Pulakeśin punishing the defection of his feudatories and stemming the tide of Harṣa's invasion of the Cālukyan territories within the first few years of his reign.

After describing the victories mentioned above, the Aihole inscription proceeds to narrate Pulakeśin's campaigns against the countries of Kosala and Kalinga, whose rulers were the first to bow down to the might of his arms. Kalinga was probably ruled by the early Eastern Gaṅgas at that time and Kosala by the Somavarṁśī kings. He then stormed the inaccessible fortress of Piṣṭapura (modern Piṭhāpuram in the East Godāvari District of Āndhra Pradeśa), the ruler of which was possibly Prṭhivimahārāja of the Raṇa-Durjaya family. He then marched towards the banks of the Kunāla lake (Kolleru lake in the West Godāvari District, Āndhra Pradeśa) where a fierce battle took place in which he won a resounding victory. His opponents in this battle were apparently the Viṣṇukunḍins.

Proceeding further south he inflicted a crushing defeat on the lord of the Pallavas, who was forced to 'vanish behind the walls of Kāñcīpurī'. The Pallava monarch at this time was Mahendrarvarman I, who in the Pallava inscriptions is described as having inflicted an utter defeat on his principal foes at Pullalūra about fifteen miles north of the Pallava capital Kāñcī. This evidently refers to the conflict with Pulakeśin. Pulakeśin then crossed the river Kāverī with a view to conquering the Coḷas but apparently made them as well as the Keraḷas and Pāṇḍyas his joyous allies.

¹ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVII p. 37.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 63.

After thus conquering all the four quarters i.e., the land between the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian sea on the one hand and the Indian ocean and the Narmadā on the other, he returned to his capital Vātāpī (Badāmī) in triumph. And to administer this vast empire he appointed some of his trusted kinsmen to act as governors at some strategic points. He appointed his younger brother Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana as *Yuvarāja* and placed him in charge of the territory on the East Coast i.e., the Veṅgī country. Later on Pulakeśin seems to have allowed him to rule independently over this tract and so Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana became the founder of the dynasty known to historians as the Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgī. Before his appointment as governor of the Veṅgī country (which probably took place in A.D. 624) he was in charge of the Sātārā region; for according to the Sātārā plates¹ of Viṣṇuvardhana dated in the eighth year of the reign of Pulakeśin II (i.e., A.D. 617-18), Viṣṇuvardhana made a grant of the village of Alandatirtha on the south bank of the Bhīmarathī. This village has been indentified with Alanda, thirty-five miles north of Sātārā. Probably he was also ruling over the region of Acalapura (modern Acalpūr, Amravāti District) according to the Sanskrit work *Avantisundarikathā*².

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Another relative of his named Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman of the Bappūra family to which his grandmother (Kirtivarman's mother) belonged was placed in charge of the Revatī-dvīpa and the surrounding country, for according to the Goā plates of this Indravarman dated Śaka 532 (A. D. 610-11) he (Indravarman) made a grant of the village of Kārellikā in Khetāhāra (Khetāhāra has been identified with the Khēd Taluka in Ratnāgiri District). This inscription is dated in the twentieth year of the reign which has been rightly taken by Fleet to be that of Dhruvarāja Indravarman. So the first year of his rule was A.D. 590-91; but we do not know whether he began to rule on this date, from which he counts regnal years³.

A third kinsman, Śrīvallabha Senānandarāja of the Sendraka family—Pulakeśin's maternal uncle—was placed in charge of the region round about Ciplūṇ in South Koṅkaṇ. We know from the Ciplūṇ copper-plates of Pulakeśin that Śrīvallabha Senānandarāja of the Sendraka family made a grant of the village Āmravātaka in Avaretikā-*viṣaya*, which is possibly modern Āmboli near Ciplūṇ.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 309.

² *Avantisundarikathāsāra*, ed. by G. Harihara Śastri, Summary of Contents, p. 1. (*Supplement to Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XXV).

³ Since A. D. 590-91 fell in the reign of Kirtivarman, Fleet thought that Kirtivarman appointed him (Dhruvarāja Indravarman) as the governor of his possessions in Koṅkaṇ as we find him stationed in A. D. 610-11 in Revatī-dvīpa (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii p. 345). But according to the Aihole inscription it was Maṅgaleśa who conquered Revatī-dvīpa. Dr. Mirashi, however, conjectures that Maṅgaleśa appointed Indravarman as governor of Revatī-dvīpa about A.D. 601-02 (*C. I. I.* Vol. IV, p. XLVIII n.); but Dhruvarāja Indravarman counted his regnal years from A. D. 590-91.

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The Kairā Plates¹ of Vijayarāja son of Buddhavarman, who was the son of Jayasimharāja of the Cālukya family, would show that he was in charge of the Kairā region, where he made a grant in A.D. 643 of the village of Pariyaya (modern Pariyā in the Olpād Taluka, Surat District). It has been considered that he had been in charge of this region under Pulakeśin II after his conquest of Lāṭa². But this appears to be a spurious grant and hence no credence can be given to the historical information contained in it.

The fame of Pulakeśin spread far and wide and the contemporary ruler of Persiā, Khuśrū II, sent an ambassador with valuable presents to his court and friendly letters and presents were exchanged between the two monarchs. These facts we learn from the Persian historian Tabari. Many historians were thinking till a few years ago (and some do even now) that one of the paintings in Cave No. 1 at Ajinṭhā, frequently reproduced in history books, represented this Persian embassy to the court of Pulakeśin. But Ananda Kumarswamy has opined that the subject of this picture is Buddhist³, and this view is quite tenable, for the entire group of paintings at Ajinṭhā is about the Buddha and Buddhism, though traces of Persian influence are visible in the dresses depicted in some of the paintings.

The famous Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who travelled in India between A. D. 629 and 645 visited parts of Pulakeśin's kingdom—apparently Mahārāṣṭra, which he calls *Mo-ho-la-ch'a*. This pilgrim gives the following interesting account of Mahārāṣṭra :—

“This country is about 5000 li in circuit. The capital borders on the west on a great river. It is about 30 li round. The soil is rich and fertile; it is regularly cultivated and very productive. The climate is hot; the disposition of the people is honest and simple; they are tall of stature, and of a stern, vindictive character. To their benefactors they are grateful; to their enemies relentless. If they are insulted, they will risk their life to avenge themselves. If they are asked to help one in distress, they will forget themselves in their haste to render assistance. If they are going to seek revenge, they first give their enemy warning; then, each being armed, they attack each other with lances (spears). When one turns to flee, the other pursues him, but they do not kill a man down (a person who submits). If a general loses a battle, they do not inflict punishment, but present him with women's clothes, and so he is driven to seek death for himself. The country provides for a band of champions to the number of several hundred. Each time they are about to engage in conflict they intoxicate themselves with wine, and then one man with lance in hand will meet ten thousand and challenge them in fight. If one of these champions meets a man and kills him, the laws of the country do not punish him.

¹ C. I. I. Vol. IV, p. 165.

² Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 360.

³ Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 99.

Every time they go forth, they beat drums before them. Moreover they inebriate many hundred heads of elephants, and taking them out to fight, they themselves first drink their wine, and then rushing forward in mass, they trample everything down, so that no enemy can stand before them. The king, in consequence of his possessing these men and elephants, treats his neighbours with contempt. He is of the Kṣatriya caste, and his name is Pulakeśi (Pu-lo-ki-she). His plans and undertakings are wide-spread and his beneficent actions are felt over a great distance. His subjects obey him with perfect submission. At the present time Śilāditya Mahārāja has conquered the nations from east to west and carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of this country alone have not submitted to him. He has gathered troops from the five Indies and summoned the best leaders from all countries, and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered their troops. So much for their habits. The men are fond of learning and study both heretical and orthodox (books). On the eastern frontier of the country is a great mountain with towering crags and a continuous stretch of piled up rocks and scarped precipice. In this there is a *saṅghārāma* constructed in a dark valley. Its lofty halls and deep side-aisles stretch through the (or open into the) face of the rocks. Storey above storey they are backed by the crag and face the valley (water-course) Going from this 1000 li or so to the west and crossing the Nai-mo-to (Narmadā) river we arrive at the kingdom of *Po-lu-kie-che-po* (Bharukaccheva, Barygaza or Broach)."¹

The capital city mentioned here is very likely to have been Nāśik and the mountain containing the *saṅghārāma* is Ajinṭhā as shown by Fleet.

सत्यमेव जयते

On the basis of the Nirpaṇ copper-plate charter² it was supposed that Pulakeśin had a brother named Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarmanrāja, who was a governor of the Nāśik region during Pulakeśin's reign; and the Sañjān plates³ of Buddhavarasa, describe him as the younger brother of Pulakeśin, and state that he was ruling at this time over the present Thāṇā region. But since both these grants are spurious, it is doubtful whether Pulakeśin had these two brothers. We know that Pulakeśin had a son named Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman and it is not likely that both his brother and son should have had the same name. Pulakeśin had four sons named Ādityavarman, Candrāditya, Vikramāditya and Dharāśraya Jayasimha. According to a spurious copper-plate grant⁴, he had also a daughter named Amberā.

Hiuen Tsang's graphic description of Pulakeśin's kingdom would show that when he visited Mahārāṣṭra, Pulakeśin was at the zenith of his power. But shortly afterwards he seems to have suffered some

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¹ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 353 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 123.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 144.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII, p. 96; Rice: *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 64.

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serious setbacks for according to the Kūram plates¹ of the Pallava king Parameśvaravarman I, Pulakeśin was thoroughly routed by his grandfather Narasimhavarman in the battles of Pariyāla, Maṇimaṅgala and Sūramāra etc., and these plates describe these defeats in these colourful words :—"Narasimhavarman who wrote the three syllables of the word *viṣaya* as on a plate on Pulakeśin's back, which was caused to be visible in the battles of Pariyāla, Maṇimaṅgala and Sūramāra." As one of these battle fields, Maṇimaṅgala, has been identified with Maṇimaṅgalam about twenty miles from the Pallava capital Kāñcī², Pulakeśin must have attacked the Pallava dominions a second time in order evidently to annex the whole of the Pallava kingdom, the northern part of which he had already conquered. Since he was defeated by Narasimhavarman, evidently by the time of this defeat it was Narasimhavarman, son of Mahendravarman who was on the Pallava throne. The Kūram plates also say that Narasimhavarman destroyed the city of Vātāpī (i.e., Badāmi), the Cālukyan capital. This fact is not only supported by Narasimhavarman's title *Vātāpikoṇḍa* but also by an inscription³ of the thirteenth year of this very Narasimhavarman's reign found at Badāmi itself. After this we do not hear of Pulakeśin and we may therefore presume that he was killed in battle at Badāmi, probably in A.D. 642, by Narasimhavarman, who must have taken full possession of the Cālukyan capital. Since Pulakeśin's son Vikramāditya is known to have ascended the throne in A.D. 654-55, the Cālukya dominions were under the sway of the Pallavas for a period of nearly thirteen years. In this fight against the Cālukyas, Narasimhavarman seems to have been aided by the Ceylon prince Mānavarman according to *Mahāvamsa*, a Buddhist chronicle of Ceylon.

Pulakeśin, in addition to the usual paramount titles, bore the following titles as well : *Raṇavikrama*⁴, *Satyāśraya* (which he seems to have cherished most), *Ereyya*⁵ and *Ereyitiadigaḷ*⁶.

The inscriptions of Vikramāditya and his successors declare that
VIKRAMADITYA I. Vikramāditya who is called the dear son of his father Pulakeśin, acquired for himself the regal fortune of his father. And after defeating the hostile kings in battle in country after country he acquired the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors. His Talamāñci plates are dated in the sixth year of his reign on the day of the solar eclipse in the month of Śrāvaṇa, which has been equated with 13th July, A.D. 660. On the basis of this record and the Nerūr plates of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā Kielhorn fixed the commencement of the reign of Vikramāditya sometime between September A.D. 654 and July A.D. 655⁷. His Gadvāl plates⁸ are dated on Tuesday, the full-moon day of the month of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 596, which is stated to be the twentieth year of his reign. The equivalent of this

¹ S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 144.

² G. Jouveau Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 40

³ S. I. I., Vol. XI, pt. i, p. 1

⁴ Lohapāra plates.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 106.

⁶ S. I. I., Vol. IX pt. i., No. 46.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 102.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 100.

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date in the Christian Calendar is 25th April, A.D. 674, or in other words his reign must have commenced some-time between September 654 and April, A.D. 655. Apparently, in the interval between the death of Pulakeśin in A.D. 642 or so and the accession of Vikramāditya I, the Cālukya country was in the hands of the enemies, though, as we shall presently see, another son of Pulakeśin named Ādityavarman and his son Abhinavāditya were ruling in parts of Karnool (Āndhra Pradeśa), Bellāry and Citaldrug (Mysore State) districts. But these princes do not find mention in the genealogies given in the inscriptions of Vikramāditya and his successors. Yet Ādityavarman in his Karnool District plates¹ which record the grant of a village in the Karnool region calls himself the dear son of Pulakeśin and bears the paramount titles like *Mahārājādhirāja*. So it has been surmised by scholars that Ādityavarman was a rival claimant to the Cālukyan throne and was probably the elder brother of Vikramāditya. It may be noted that a recently found copper-plate grant² of Abhinavāditya, son of Ādityavarman also gives both father and son all the paramount titles and states that Abhinavāditya granted the village Nelkunda situated in Uchchaśringa-ṣṣaya. As Uchchaśringa-ṣṣaya comprised parts of the present Bellāry and Citaldrug Districts of Mysore State we may conclude that these princes were ruling over parts of the present Citaldrug, Bellāry and Karnool Districts. There is nothing definite to show that Vikramāditya and Ādityavarman were rival claimants and Vikramāditya ousted his elder brother; but we can definitely infer that Ādityavarman or his son were unable to drive out the enemy from the Cālukyan kingdom whereas Vikramāditya could and did. Consequently, Vikramāditya succeeded to the Cālukyan throne after acquiring the regal fortune of his father which had been interrupted by the confederacy of three kings (*avanīpati-trīṭaya*) and so brought the whole kingdom under the sway of himself as the sole ruler and re-established the grants to gods and Brāhmaṇas which had lapsed during the rule of the three kings (*rājya-traya*). There is a difference of opinion as to who these three kings were. In inscriptions of the successors of Vikramāditya the cognate expression *trairājya*³ is used with reference to the same event. Tradition explains this word as the kingdoms of the Coḷa, Keraḷa and Pāṇḍya monarchs. Moreover in inscriptions of the Gujarāt Cālukyas⁴ the expression *rājya-traya* with reference to the same event is elaborated as the three kingdoms of Cera, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya. Some scholars held the opinion that the expression *trairājya-Pallava* referred to the three branches of the Pallavas ruling over different parts of their dominions. But the Surat Plates⁵ of Satyāśraya Śīlāditya of the Gujarāt branch of the Cālukyas and a recently discovered inscription of Vinayāditya⁶

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 67.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, 213.

³ See, for instance, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 64, text-line 16.

⁴ See Manor Plates of Vinayāditya Maṅgalrasa, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 21, text-line 11.

⁵ *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 132.

⁶ *Karnātak Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 8.

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of A.D. 693 make a clear distinction between the kings of *trairāṣya* and the Pallava king. We have noticed, however, that it was the Pallavas who inflicted a crushing defeat on Pulakeśin and occupied Badāmi, the Cālukya capital. Therefore the occupation of the Cālukya kingdom by the confederacy of three kings can be explained by the fact that the Pallavas were supreme in the south and that the three kings *viz.*, Coḷa, Keraḷa and Pāṇḍya were under the Pallava hegemony. Vikramāditya had to fight very hard to drive out the Pallavas and to regain his authority. He was mostly occupied in fighting numerous battles with the Pallavas and his inscriptions give us some elaborate details about his battles. They¹ state that he destroyed the glory of Narasimhavarman, broke the prowess of Mahendravarman and by diplomacy conquered Paramēśvaravarman. As these victories are mentioned in the inscriptions of the twentieth year of his reign *i.e.* A.D. 674, the defeat of these three Pallava kings must have taken place before this date. It is quite well known that there were severe conflicts between the Cālukyas and Pallavas during Vikramāditya's reign. We have already seen that Narasimhavarman had occupied Badāmi during Pulakeśin's reign; and so Vikramāditya had to drive him out in order to recapture the lost Cālukyan capital. The conflict evidently continued during the reign of Narasimhavarman's successor, Mahendravarman II, who appears to have sustained a severe defeat at the hands of Vikramāditya. But Paramēśvaravarman I, the son of Mahendravarman II, tried to wreak his vengeance on Vikramāditya and possibly tried to attack him. Being enraged at this, Vikramāditya led a campaign right into the heart of the Pallava territory, took the unassailable city of Kāñcī and vanquished Paramēśvaravarman. In the course of this campaign he marched right upto the southern bank of the Kāverī and was camping at Urāgapura (modern Uraiyūr near Trichinopoly) in the Coika-*viṣaya*. But one of the Pallava inscriptions states² that Vikramāditya was put to flight covered only by a rag. Another Pallava inscription³ says that Paramēśvaravarman defeated the army of Villabha (*i.e.*, Vikramāditya) at Peruvaḷanallūr, which has been identified with a place of the same name at a distance of ten miles north-west of Trichinopoly *i.e.*, not far from Uraiyūr⁴. A third Pallava inscription⁵ states that Ugradaṇḍa (*i.e.*, Paramēśvaravarman) was the destroyer of Raṇarasika's (*i.e.*, Vikramāditya) city. These varying accounts would make it clear that there were bitter conflicts between the Cālukyas and Pallavas in the heart of the Pallava dominions; and probably after the battle of Peruvaḷanallūr, Vikramāditya had to withdraw to his own kingdom without annexing any part of the Pallava country. The inscriptions of Vijayāditya⁶, grandson of Vikramāditya, state that Vikramāditya humbled the pride of the

¹ Gadval Plates, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 100 and Sāvanur plates, *ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 115.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 343.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pt. iii, p. 371.

⁴ Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 43.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 12-13.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 15, text-line 11.

Kaḷabhras besides that of the Coḷas, Keraḷas and Pāṇḍyas. The Kaḷabhras are yet to be definitely identified, though they seem to have given a good deal of trouble to the southern kings for quite a long time. The onslaught of the Kaḷabhras seems to have been checked to some extent by the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas also, in addition to the efforts of the Cālukyas in quelling them.

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Vikramāditya seems to have been ably assisted by his son Vinayāditya in his campaigns against the Pallavas and the other southern powers and by his grandson Vijayāditya in maintaining peace and order in the home provinces. At the command of his father, Vinayāditya is stated, in the Cālukya inscriptions,¹ 'to have arrested the excessively exalted power of the three kings of Coḷa, Pāṇḍya and Keraḷa, and of the Pallavas and thus gratified his father's mind by bringing all the provinces into a state of quiet'. And of Vijayāditya it is said that 'while his grandfather was successfully dealing with his enemies in the south, he himself completely rooted out all the troubles that had beset the kingdom'.² Vikramāditya's younger brother Dharāśraya Jayasīṃha appears also to have been of assistance to his elder brother in putting down the local rebellions in the north and north-western parts of the Cālukyan kingdom and in preserving law and order. He is described in his Nāśik plates³ as having defeated and exterminated with his bright-tipped arrows the whole army of Vajjaḍa in the country between the Māhī and Narmadā rivers. Inscriptions say that his prosperity had been increased by his elder brother, the illustrious Vikramāditya. Evidently this refers to Jayasīṃha's appointment as Viceroy over Lāṭa (south Gujarāt) and Mahārāṣṭra and in this capacity we see him issuing the Nausārī,⁴ and Nāśik plates. The former records the grant of the village Āsatṭigrāma by Yuvarāja Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya, son of Dharāśraya Jayasīṃha, on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the Kalacuri year 421 (A.D. 671). The grant was made when the Yuvarāja was camping at Navasārikā (modern Nausārī).

As in the case of the Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgī the descendants of Dharāśraya Jayasīṃha continued to rule over Lāṭa for nearly seven decades and are known to historians as the Cālukyas of Gujarāt. The Mānor Plates⁵ of Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa establish clearly that the date of the founding of this branch of the Cālukya dynasty was A.D. 671 by specifying that the grant recorded therein was made in the twentyfirst regnal year, which was Śaka year 613 (A.D. 691-92).

In two copper-plate inscriptions found at Nerūr and Kochrem in the Ratnāgiri District, Candrāditya, an elder brother of Vikramāditya speaks in glowing terms of the prowess and victories of his younger

¹ e.g., Jejuri plates of Vinayāditya, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 62.

² Rāyagad plates of Vijayāditya, *ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 14.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 127.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 229.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17.

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brother, in conquering the enemies and acquiring the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors. Apparently Candrāditya himself could not regain the lost Cālukyan fortunes and so he did not oppose his younger brother's elevation to the throne of his ancestors. In appreciation of this attitude of Candrāditya's, he seems to have been placed by Vikramāditya in charge of the administration of the Koṅkaṇ region. The Nerūr inscription¹ records a grant of land by Vijayabhattachārikā, wife of Candrāditya in the fifth year, evidently of Vikramāditya's reign. The Kocrem grant² states that Candrāditya's wife Vijayamahādevī, the same as Vijayabhattachārikā mentioned above, made a gift of land at Koccuraka, the modern Kocrem about seven miles to the north of Veṅgurlā. This Vijayabhattachārikā has been identified on good grounds with the famous Sanskrit poetess Vijayāṅkā or Vijjakā praised by Rājasekhara and others.

We have already seen that the Sendraka Prince Senānandarāja, the maternal uncle of Pulakeśin II, was ruling in the Koṅkaṇ region near Ciplūṇ as a subordinate of Pulakeśin II. Another chief of this family named Allaśakti is stated in his Kāsāre plates³ to have made a grant of land in the village of Pippalakheta, modern Pimpalner in Dhulia District. The inscription is dated in the Kalacurī year 404 (A.D. 653). And the Nāgad Plates⁴ of the same chief dated in Śaka 577 (A.D. 656) record a grant of the village Suścīrākholi in the district of Nāndīpuradvārī, the present Nandurbār in Dhulia District. Another inscription⁵ of this same family issued by Jayaśakti, son of Allaśakti, records the grant of the village Senāṇa (probably modern Saundāne in Dhulia District) in the Śaka year 602 (A.D. 681). None of these records mention any overlord, though this part of the country was under the sway of Vikramāditya I from A.D. 655 to 681. But it may be surmised that the Sendrakas continued to remain loyal to the Cālukya family; for another Sendraka prince named Devaśakti was a subordinate of Vikramāditya in the Karnool region. At his request Vikramāditya made a gift of some lands to a Brāhmaṇa in the tenth year of his reign (A.D. 664)⁶.

Another loyal feudatory of Vikramāditya was Svāmicandra of the Hariścandra family who is known from two grants of his grandson Prthvīcandra Bhogaśakti⁷. In these inscriptions he is described as living upon the favour of the feet of Vikramāditya who looked upon him as his own son. He is stated to have been governing the entire Purī-Koṅkaṇ, a region consisting of 14000 villages.

The latest regnal year of Vikramāditya (found in an inscription at Dimmaguḍi in Anantapur District, Āndhra Pradesh) is the twenty-seventh year which would take his reign upto April, A.D. 681. And

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 163.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 45.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 110.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 201.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 116.

⁶ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 238.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol., XXV, pp. 225 ff.

as the reign of his son began sometime in April, A.D. 681, we may conclude that Vikramāditya ceased to reign in April, A.D. 681.

Besides the usual titles assumed by the Cālukyan monarchs he had the additional epithets of *Kokkuli*, *Raṇarasika*, *Anivārita* and *Rājamalla*.

It has been noticed already that king Vikramāditya had two brothers, Ādityavarman and Candrāditya. Another brother of Vikramāditya—his elder one—by name Raṇarāgavarman is mentioned in the Honnūr copper-plates,¹ which state that Vikramāditya made a gift of land at the request of his niece (daughter of Raṇarāgavarman), when Vikramāditya was camping at Malliyūr to the west of Kāñcīpuram. Vikramāditya's queen Gaṅgamahādevī is mentioned in the Gaḍvāl plates of this king. He had a son named Vinayāditya who succeeded him on the Cālukyan throne.

A recently discovered inscription² of Vinayāditya gives the earliest date known so far for this king, *i.e.*, the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 604 (approximately 27th April, A.D. 682). The inscription cites this year as the second year of his prosperous reign. This would show that he must have ascended the throne some time before 27th April, A.D. 681. But there are two inscriptions,³ which would place the starting point of his reign between 18th October, A.D. 678 and 2nd July, A.D. 679. Probably in some cases he counted his regnal years from the date from which he was associated with his father in the administration of the kingdom and it has already been pointed out that he was actively assisting his father in various ways. His inscriptions state that he ably assisted his father in crushing the might of the Pāṇḍya, Coḷa, Keraḷa and Pallava kings and in reducing the Kaḷabhras, the Haihayas (*i.e.*, the Kalacurīs), Viḷa and Mālava kings to a state of servitude similar to that of the hereditary subordinates, namely the Ālupas, the Gaṅgas and others. And the subsequent records of the dynasty state that he levied tributes from the rulers of Kavera (or Kamera), Pārasika and Simhala and that he acquired the *pālidhvaja* banner and other insignia of sovereignty by inflicting a crushing defeat on the overlord of the whole of North India. We cannot specifically say who the Pārasika or Simhala kings referred to in these inscriptions were. As regards the paramount ruler of North India, Fleet conjectured that 'he may perhaps be the Vajrāṭa, whom some of the Rāṣtrakūṭa records mention in connection with the victories of the Western Cālukyas'. The Nāsik plates of Dharāśraya Jayasimha which are of the time of Vinayāditya do mention Jayasimha's victory over Vajjaḍa (Sanskṛt Vajrāṭa). They clearly state that he exterminated the army of Vajjaḍa. But Dr. Mirashi thinks that this lord paramount of North India is not identical with the Vajrāṭa defeated by Jayasimha. He identifies Vajrāṭa with the Valabhī king

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VIKRAMADITYA. I.

VINAYADITYA.

¹ *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1939, p. 129.

² Copper-plate No. 13, *Ar. Rep. on Indian Epigraphy* for 1955-56.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 26.

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VINAYADITYA I.

Śilāditya III, who was a very powerful king and who bore the paramount titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* and *Cakravartin*¹. During the reign of Vinayāditya the feudatories like the Gujarāt Cālukyas, Ālupas and Sendrakas remained loyal and continued to rule over their respective territories as subordinates. For example in Mahārāṣṭra we see the Gujarāt Cālukya prince Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman issuing his Nāśik plates² which are dated on the 10th day of the bright fortnight of Caitra in the Kalacurī year 436 (A.D. 685). They state that Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman granted the village of Dhonḍhaka in the Nāsikya-*viṣaya* to the Brāhmaṇa Trivikrama. Nāsikya is undoubtedly Nāśik and Dhonḍhaka is the modern Dhonḍlegānṁ, twelve miles to the north-west of Nāśik.

And Dharāśraya Jayasimha's son Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa made the grant³ of some villages for the benefit of the temple of the sun-god at Mānapura situated in Kurāṭa-*viṣaya*. Mānapura has been identified with Mānor in the Pālghar Taluka of Thānā District. The name Kurāṭa-*viṣaya* has perhaps survived in the name of the village Kirāt, twelve miles to the north-east of Pālghar. The date of this grant is the 15th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 613 (A.D. 691-92) and Maṅgalarasa here bears the titles of *Vinayāditya* and *Yuddhamalla* in addition to the title of *Jayāśraya*, already mentioned.

A stone inscription⁴ at Beḷagānṁ in Simogā Taluka (Mysore State) states that when Vinayāditya Rājāśraya was ruling, his feudatory *Mahārāja* Pogilli of the Sendraka family was governing the Nāyarakhaṇḍa district. We have no means of ascertaining how this Pogilli was related to the Sendraka chiefs, who were governing parts of Mahārāṣṭra during Vikramāditya's reign.

In addition to these grants we have a grant of Vinayāditya⁵ himself in the Mahārāṣṭra region, made when he was encamped at the village of Bhāḍalī near Paḷayatṭhāṇa (modern Phaltan, the chief town of the lower Nīrā valley; and Bhāḍalī is the present Budlee Budruk, five miles to the south-east of Phaltan). It records the grant of a village called Vīra on the north bank of the river Nīrā in the [Sā]timāla *bhōga* in the Paḷayatṭhāṇa-*viṣaya*. Vīra is the modern Vīr, a mile and a half north of the river Nīrā. The record is dated in the ninth year of Vinayāditya's reign and Śaka 609 (A.D. 687).

Vinayāditya had the titles of *Rājāśraya* and *Yuddhamalla*. The existence of the latter title was in doubt till recently, as it was found only in inscriptions of the 11th century (e.g., Kauṭhem plates). But a recently discovered stone inscription⁶ at Itagi in the Yalḷbargī Taluka, Raichur District (Mysore State) would show that

¹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. LXI ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 127.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 142; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg, from Inscriptions*, p. 64.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 62.

⁶ *Ar. Rep. Ind., Ep.*, 1955-56, No. 210, Appendix B.

Yuddhamalla was in fact a title of Vinayāditya. This inscription which is written in characters of the seventh century, refers itself to the reign of Yuddhamalla Satyāśraya who can be no other than Vinayāditya, as this title was not known to have been adopted by any earlier or later monarch of the Badāmi Cālukya family.

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He had a son named Vijayāditya, who succeeded him, and a daughter named Kumkumamahādevī¹ or Kumkumadevī², who is said to have built a Jain temple called Ānesejjeya-basadi at Purigre. The inscriptions of his son and successor Vijayāditya show that Vijayāditya was crowned sometime in July, 696. So we will have to presume that Vinayāditya ceased to rule before this date.

Though Vijayāditya ascended the throne in A.D. 696, he must have been nominated as *Yuvarāja* before 10th January, A.D. 692, as he is actually called *Yuvarāja* in the Karnool District copper-plate grant³ issued by his father on this date. His inscriptions describe him as having acquired even in his childhood the skill in the use of arms and as having mastered all the *śāstras*. As mentioned already he was maintaining peace and order in the home provinces, when his grandfather was engaged in his southern campaign. While assisting his father in his northern campaigns he advanced farther than his father and won for him the insignia of Gaṅgā, Yamunā and *pālidhvaṣa*, and also the riches of the enemy consisting of elephants and jewels. On a certain occasion he was somehow captured by the enemy, who had actually been defeated and had taken to flight. But cleverly he escaped without any assistance like Vātsarāja of legendary fame and averted the danger of anarchy in his country. The Ulchāla inscription⁴ dated in the thirtyfifth year of his reign (A.D. 730-31) states that *Yuvarāja* Vikramāditya (*i.e.*, son of Vijayāditya) after he returned from Kāñcī having raided that city and having levied tribute from Paramēśvara-Pallava made a gift of the villages, Ulchālu and Pariyalu to Durvinīta Ereyappor of the Koṅguṇi family. This would show clearly that the conflict between the Pal'avas and the Cālukyas, which had been going on for many decades continued even in the time of Vijayāditya. This inscription is not only important in showing the continuance of the Pallava-Cālukya conflict but also in fixing the initial year of the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla of the Pallava dynasty, who could not have come to the throne earlier than A.D. 730-31, as his predecessor Paramēśvara II figures in this record as the adversary of Vijayāditya.

VINAYADITYA.

The Gujarāt Cālukya prince Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa continued to rule as a subordinate of Vijayāditya as attested by Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa's Balsār (Gujarāt) copper-plate grant⁵. This is dated

¹ Gudigeri I inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 38.

² *i. p. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 201.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 89.

⁴ *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXX, part iii, p. 288.

⁵ *J. Br. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.

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in the Śaka year 653 (A.D. 731-32) and not in the Kalacurī era as is usual with the records of these princes.

There are some grants relating to Mahārāṣṭra made by the king himself. Two Nerūr copper-plate inscriptions¹ of Vijayāditya dated Śaka 622 (A.D. 700) and Śaka 627 (A.D. 705-06) respectively, record grants made in the Iridige-*viṣaya*, identified with one of the divisions of Koṅkaṇ. The Rāygaḍ plates² of Śaka 625 record the grant of two villages made by the king when he was staying at the victorious camp of Karahāṭanagara (modern Karnād). The Elāpur copper-plates³ of this monarch dated in Śaka 626 (A.D. 704) record a grant made by the king when he was camping at Elāpura (modern Ellorā in Aurangābād District). Another copper-plate⁴ grant dated Śaka 632 (A.D. 710) records the grant of the village Kārucgrāma (probably modern Koregānv) near Karahāṭanagara and situated on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā Venṇā.

Vijayāditya's reign is the longest in Cālukya history and it lasted over thirtyseven years; for his son Vikramāditya II ascended the throne in the year A.D. 733-34. This long reign is noteworthy for its manifold cultural activities, especially the construction of temples of great magnificence and grandeur. An inscription at Badāmi dated Śaka 621 (A.D. 699) mentions that he installed the images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara at the victorious capital of Vātāpī. He also built the beautiful temple of Vijayeśvara, now known as Saṅgameśvara, at Paṭṭaḍakal⁵.

Besides the usual titles of the Cālukya rulers he had the title of *Niravadya* and *Sāhasarasika*. He had a son called Vikramāditya who succeeded him in A.D. 733-34. Inscriptions of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi trace their descent from Bhīmāparākrama who, according to these inscriptions, was the younger brother of Vikramāditya.

VIKRAMADITYA II.

During the reign of Vikramāditya the wars with the Pallavas were intensified. In one of the inscriptions at Paṭṭaḍakal⁶ Vikramāditya is stated to have conquered Kāñcī thrice. We have already noticed that even when he was *Yuvarāja* he raided Kāñcī during his father's reign and levied tributes from the Pallavas. The other two invasions of Kāñcī are mentioned in the inscriptions of his reign⁷ and those⁸ of his successors. These inscriptions give a detailed account of these two campaigns against Kāñcī. According to them he made a strong resolve to destroy the natural enemies of the Cālukyas (namely the Pallavas) and made a sudden and expeditious incursion into Tundāka country and put to flight the Pallava king Nandipotavarman. He captured the Pallava king's musical instru-

¹ *Ind., Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 126 and *ibid.* p. 130.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 11.

³ *Ind. Hist., Quart.*, Vol. IV, p. 425.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 322.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 1.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 161.

⁷ Narayan plates, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 125 ff.

⁸ See e.g., Vakkaleri plates, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 202; and Kendur plates, *ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 200.

ments, *kaṭumukha* and *samudraghoṣa* and his flag *khaṭvāṅgadhvaṇa* in addition to heaps of gold, rubies and herds of elephants. He then entered the city of Kāñcī in triumph, but did not raze it to the ground. On the other hand he acquired great merit by making munificent gifts to the temples of Rājasimhēśvara and others, which Narasiṅghapottavarman had built. He then crippled the Paṇḍya, Cola, Keraḷa and Kaṭabhra kings and set up a pillar of victory on the shore of the southern ocean. His son Kirtivarman, even when he was *Yuvarāja* obtained his father's permission to lead another attack against the king of Kāñcī, who unable to meet this onslaught took refuge in his fortress. Kirtivarman then seized a number of elephants and heaps of gold and rubies, all of which he presented to his father. The Ainūli copperplates¹ give the name of Kirtivarman's adversary as Nandipotavarman. So both these invasions of Kāñcī took place in the reign of Nandipotavarman *i.e.*, Nandivarman Pallavamalla who had a long reign of 65 years. The three campaigns recorded in the Paṭṭaḍakal inscription are thus accounted for and they took place in the following order. The first, as shown above, took place during the time of Pallava Paramēśvara II. In this Vikramāditya seems to have been assisted by the Western Gaṅga prince Durvinīta-Ereyappor. The second campaign is mentioned in the Narvan plates of A.D. 741-42 and so it must have taken place before that date, and the third between A.D. 741-42 and the end of Vikramāditya's reign (*i.e.*, A.D. 744-45). That his conquest of Kāñcī is not a mere boast is borne out by an inscription of his at Kāñcī in the Rājasimhēśvara temple², which says that after the conquest of Kāñcī the king made grants to the temple.

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VIKRAMADITYA II.

His reign is also noteworthy for the repulsion of the formidable Arab invasion of Gujarāt, which was a part of the Cālukya dominions. The Tājikas (*i.e.*, the Arabs), who, according to the Navasāri plates³ of A.D. 739, had already destroyed the Saindhavas, the Kacchellas, the Cāvoṭakas, the Saurāṣṭras, the Mauryas and the Gurjaras tried to attack the Cālukya dominions with a view to overrunning the whole of South India but were routed by Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin of the Gujarāt Cālukya branch and evidently a feudatory of Vikramāditya II who was so pleased with Pulakeśin that he conferred on him (Pulakeśin) the titles of *Dakṣiṇāpatha-sādhāra* (pillar of the southern country) and *Anivartaka-nivartayitr* (the repeller of the unrepellable).

Thus while the Gujarāt Cālukyas continued to rule the Laṭa (Gujarāt) province, two Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes were in charge of parts of Mahārāṣṭra. The Narvan plates of Vikramāditya II⁴ state that the king, while staying in his victorious camp at Ādityavāḍa, granted Naravaṇa and other villages in the Ciprarulana-*viṣaya* at the request of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govindarāja to some Brahmins in the Śaka year 664

¹ Mys. Arch. Report, 1909.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 360.

³ C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 137.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVII, p. 125.

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(A.D. 741-42). Ciprarulana is modern Ciplūn in the Ratnāgiri District and Naravaṇa is the modern Narvan in the same district. Āḍityavāḍa has been tentatively identified with one of the two Āitavades in the Vālvā Taluka of the Sānglī District.

Dantidurga, the founder of the Mānyakheta branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, who later on overthrew the Cālukyas, made a grant to certain Brāhmaṇs the village of Pippalāla, in the district of Candanapurī-84, in the year Śaka 663 (A.D. 742) after bathing in the Guheśvaratīrtha at Elāpura is the famous Ellorā, where Dantidurga excavated the Daśavatārā cave temple. Candanapurī is even to-day called by the same old name and is situated on the Girṇā river about forty-five miles from Ellorā. Pippalāla is the modern Pimpra, twelve miles south-east of Candanapurī. Though Dantidurga does not mention his overlord in this grant, the fact that he calls himself *Mahāsāmantādhipati* shows that he still owed allegiance to the Cālukyas who were the lords of this part of the country.

The reign of Vikramāditya II also continued the great cultural and building activities for which this dynasty is noted. In an inscription of his son's time at Paṭṭadakal² his queen Lokamahādevī of the Haihaya family is stated to have constructed the temple of the god Lokeśvarabhāṭṭāraka at Paṭṭadakal; and his other queen Trailokyamahādevī, the younger sister of Lokamahādevī and the mother of Kīrtivarman II (son of Vikramāditya) constructed the temple of Trailokyēśvarabhāṭṭāraka at the same place. The family gave great encouragement to temple architecture, as for example, by conferring the title of *Tribhuvanācārya* (preceptor of three worlds) on Guṇḍa or Anivāritācārya, the chief architect of the temple of Lokeśvara, mentioned above. This architect was also honoured by the conferment of a fillet of honour called *perjerepu-paṭṭa*³.

Music too was encouraged, as is witnessed by the fact that Lokamahādevī confirmed the covenants which had been given to the musicians and dancers (*gandharvas*) by Vijayāditya earlier. One of these dancers, named Acala seems to have founded a new school of dancing⁴.

Vikramāditya II had a son named Kīrtivarman, who succeeded him and perhaps a daughter named Vinayavatī⁵, queen of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Govindarāja mentioned above. He had the title of *Anivārita* besides the usual Cālukyan titles.

KIRTIVARMAN II.

Kīrtivarman II succeeded his father probably in A.D. 744-45, for the only verifiable date in his inscriptions is found in the Kenḍūr

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 29.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 1.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 162-164.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 166-67.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 151. Vinayavatī is described as the daughter of Vikramāditya, the lord of the four quarters.

copper-plates¹ issued in the sixth year of his reign on the full-moon day, in the month of *Vaiśākha* when there was a lunar eclipse in Śaka 672. The corresponding English equivalent is 7th April, A.D. 749. But the Vakkaleri copper-plates² and Ainūli copper-plates³ dated respectively in the eleventh and fourth years of his reign give slightly different starting points for his reign; the details of the dates given in these, however, do not admit of verification. His inscriptions state that he became so proficient in the use of arms even in his childhood that his father became overjoyed at his son's skill and nominated him as the *Yuvarāja*. It has already been noted that in this capacity as *Yuvarāja*, he obtained the permission of his father to attack the lord of Kāñcī, the hereditary enemy. Though he achieved a resounding victory against the Pallavas, he seems to have been defeated by the Pāṇdyas. The Velvikuḍi grant⁴ of about A.D. 769-70 states that an officer of the Pāṇḍya king had defeated the Vallabha (i.e., Cālukya Kīrtivarman II) at Veṇbai and secured the hand of the Gaṅga princess in marriage for his master. In this conflict evidently the (Western) Gaṅgas assisted Kīrtivarman II.

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KIRTIVARMAN II.

It was in Kīrtivarman's reign that the Cālukyan sovereignty was overthrown by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Dantidurga sometime before 5th January, A.D. 754 (the date of his Sāmangaḍ plates) and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas gained possession of the Cālukya dominions. But Kīrtivarman continued to rule in parts of his dominions for sometime more; for one of his inscriptions⁵ on a pillar at Pāṭṭadakal (which gives him the epithet *Nṛpaśimha*) is of A.D. 754 and the Vakkaleri plates are dated in Śaka 679 corresponding to A.D. 757. These plates record a grant made by the king when he was staying in the victorious camp at Bhaṇḍāragaviṭṭage on the north bank of the river Bhīmarathī. This place has been identified with Bhaṇḍārakaute in the Solāpūr District. The decline of the Cālukya power was evidently due to their constant conflicts with the Pallavas and other southern rulers (of whom the Pāṇḍya king who defeated Kīrtivarman was one), which had considerably weakened the Cālukyas. Taking advantage of this weakness, Dantidurga openly defied the Cālukyan might and utterly routed Kīrtivarman's forces—the famous Karnāṭaka army, which had been expert in defeating the lords of Kāñcī, the king of Keraḷa, the Coḷas, the Pāṇdyas, Harṣa and Vajraṭa. Dantidurga was apparently aided in his fight against Kīrtivarman by the Pallavas, as the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla is believed to have been related to Dantidurga by marriage. Nandivarman had a wife by name Revā, whose son was called Dantivarman⁶. As Danti reminds one of Dantidurga it has been surmised that Revā was Dantidurga's

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CHALUKYAS.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 200.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. V p. 202.

³ *Mys. Arch. Rev.*, 1909.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 291.

⁵ Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 48.

⁶ Velurpalaiyam plates, *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 511.

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CHALUKYAS.**

daughter and Dantivarman, the Pallava prince, was named after his maternal grandfather, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga, who was also called Dantivarman¹.

Dantidurga's successor Kṛṣṇa I is stated to have metamorphosed the great boar (the Cālukyan crest) into a fawn². So by the time of Kṛṣṇa I even the vestiges of Cālukyan supremacy completely passed into the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. We see many of the Cālukyan princes being mentioned in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records as their subordinates.

Of these subordinates two branches of the Cālukyan family are well known—the Cālukyas of Vemulavāḍa and the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi. Taila of the latter branch who claimed descent from a younger brother of Vikramāditya II and who was a subordinate of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III (A.D. 939-67) revived the lost Cālukyan power in A.D. 973 by overthrowing the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The other branch, namely that of Vemulavāḍa continued to be loyal to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

[A prince called Pūgavarman who has been considered to be a Cālukya and a son of Pulakeśin I may be mentioned here. He is known by a solitary record³ found at Mudhōl (Bijapur District, Mysore State). It has been assigned to the 6th century A.D. and it refers to Pūgavarman as the son of *Śrī-prithvī-vallabha-Mahārāja* who had performed *Agniṣṭōma*, *Agnichayana*, *Vājapeya* and *Aśvamedha* sacrifices and the *Hiranyagarbha* gift. But it may be noted that neither the name *Cālukya* nor the title *Satyāśraya*, distinctive of the kings of this family is associated with either Pūgavarman or his father.]

The genealogical table of the family of the Cālukyas of Badāmi is given below :—

¹ Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 75.

² *Mahā-avarāham harini-chakara*, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 162.

³ *Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Province from 1911 to 1945*, p. 61.

Raṣṭrakūṭa Govindarāja

CHAPTER 7

RASTRAKUTA EMPIRE AND ITS FEUDATORIES*

WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN HOW KIRTIVARMAN II OF THE CALUKYA DYNASTY was defeated by king Dantidurga of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa lineage. We shall now describe the career of the new house which was destined to far outshine the glory of its predecessor. Later records of the dynasty¹ claim that Dantidurga belonged to the Sātyaki branch of the Yadu race. In this line there was a prince named Raṭṭa, who had a son named Rāṣṭrakūṭa, who was the progenitor of the new dynasty and gave it its well-known name. Earlier records however are unaware of this Yādava origin of the new house; it was obviously introduced in the official genealogies in later days when it became the custom for every dynasty to claim descent from some Paurāṇic or legendary hero.

Sober history tells us that Rāṣṭrakūṭa was the name of an office and not of an individual. Rāṣṭra was the name of a territorial unit, corresponding roughly to the modern district and its administrative officer was called *rāṣṭrakūṭa*, a *rāṣṭrapati*, or *rāṣṭrika* or *rāṭhika* or *rāṭhi* in different periods and provinces. In the Deccan the term *rāṣṭrakūṭa* had come into general use to denote the officer of the district, as *grāmakūṭa* had become general for the village headman. The status and powers of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* corresponded to those of the Deśmukhs and Desāis of the Marāṭhā period; but very often they were given, or they used to acquire the status of a feudatory.

We get references to a few feudatory Rāṣṭrakūṭa chiefs in the Deccan and Karnāṭak during the ascendancy of the Cālukyas of Badāmī. A Rāṣṭrakūṭa chieftain named Abhimanyu was ruling in Hoṣaṅgābād district in the first half of the 6th century²; a hundred years later, we find another Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory house ruling in southern Marāṭhā country³. A third Rāṣṭrakūṭa family is disclosed

* This Chapter is contributed by late Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt. Some notes based on subsequent research have been supplied by Dr. V. V. Mirashi.

¹ Wardhā plates, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XVIII, p. 239; Sangli plates, *Ibid*, IV, p. 111 etc.

² *E.I.*, VIII, p. 163.

³ [Both these houses were identical. The family was ruling at Mānapura (Māṇ in the Sātārā District). See *Studies in Indology*, II, 178 f. for the history of these Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura.] (V.V.M.)

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by the Multai, Tivarkhed and Nagardhan plates and it was ruling in Berār, probably at Ellicpūr¹. There may have been some more. Rāṣṭrakūṭa records claim that Laṭṭalūra was the original city of the family; this Laṭṭalūra is obviously the town of Lātūr in the former state of Hyderābād. No evidence is so far forthcoming to show that Dantidurga was holding a fief at this place; his career and exploits suggest that his patrimony was somewhere in northern Mahārāṣṭra or Berār. The present writer had suggested that Dantidurga probably belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family disclosed by the Tivarkhed and Multai plates²; the question however cannot be regarded as finally settled as the genuineness and dates of the records of this house are not certain³. It is however very probable that the family of Dantidurga originally hailed from Laṭṭalūra, but had migrated to northern Mahārāṣṭra or Berār in search of pastures new. Its Canarese origin suggested by the mention of Laṭṭalūra or Lātūr as its home is further corroborated by several significant facts. Canarese literature flourished in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa court; emperor Amoghavarṣa I is the reputed author of the earliest Canarese work on poetics; the sign manuals of several charters of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa branch of Gujārāt are in south-Indian proto-Canarese characters, as contrasted with the proto-Nāgarī characters of the charters themselves.

Our records take the genealogy of Dantidurga five generations back, but naturally the earlier figures are all shadowy. The earliest definitely known ancestor of Dantidurga is Dantivarman, who was his grandfather's grandfather. His probable time may be c. 650 to 665 A.D. He and his son Indra Prechakarāja (c. 665—680) and grandson Govinda I (680—700 A.D.) are however mere names to us; we know of no specific political exploits of any one of them. Since Govinda I ruled from c. 680—700 A.D., we cannot obviously identify him with Govinda, the opponent of Pulakeśin II, who had invaded the Cālukya empire in c. 610 A.D. Govinda I was a staunch Śaivite. Govinda's son Karka I is also a shadowy figure. He ruled from c. 700 to 720. He had at least three sons, Indra I, Kṛṣṇa I, and Karka⁴ who may be presumed to have been born between 695 and 705 A. D. Of these Indra was probably the eldest and succeeded his father in c. 720 A.D.

¹ I.A., XVIII, p. 236, E.I., XI, p. 276.

² See Rāṣṭrakūṭas, pp. 7-11. The recently discovered Nagardhan plates of this house supply the date 322 for Nannarāja Yudhāsura. If we take this date as referring to the Gupta era, my theory gets additional support; if we refer it to the Kalacuri era then it has to be abandoned; for there would result a gap of seventy-five years between Dantivarman and Yudhāsura. The plates are not yet published and so no definite conclusion can yet be arrived at, See I.H.Q., XXV, p. 81 and p. 138 for Mirashi's view that the date is given in the Kalacuri era. (The plates have since been published see Sp. Ind., XXVIII, 1 f., C.I.I. IV, pp. 611f.—V.V.M.)

³ (The Tivarkhed plates are proved to be spurious. See Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, II, 25 f. Nannarāja of the Nagardhan plates was different from his name sake who issued the Multai plates. Nagardhan plates have since been published in E.I., XXVIII, II. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were not of Canarese origin. Otherwise the Cālukya forces defeated by Dantidurga would not have been published in E.I., XXVIII, II. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were not of Canarese origin. described as Karnāṭaka in Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants. See E.I., VI, 209, V.V.M.)

⁴ This Karka is probably identical with Karka I, the great-grandfather of Karka II, who was holding a small principality in southern Gujārāt in 757 A.D. For a contrary view, see Rāṣṭrakūṭas, pp. 11-12.

We begin to get information about definite political events from the time of Indra. His bride Bhavanāgā was a Cālukya princess and he is stated to have carried her away by force by *rākṣasa*¹ *vivāha* from the marriage pandal at Kairā (in northern Gujarāt). This event may be placed in c. 710 or 715 A.D. The name of Bhavanāgā's father is not known, but very probably he may have been king Maṅgalarasa of the Gujarāt Cālukya house or a cousin of his². This successful *coupe* of Indra, of course, presupposes that his father Karka I had become fairly powerful; otherwise he could not have challenged the Gujarāt Cālukyas in this manner.

As Hindu marriage is indissoluble, and as the *rākṣasa* form of marriage was recommended to and not uncommon among the Kṣatriyas, we may presume that the relations between Indra and his wife's Cālukya parents may have soon become normal. Dantidurga, the son of this union, may be presumed to have been born in c. 716 A.D. Indra may be presumed to have ruled down to c. 735 A.D.

In order to understand the careers of Indra and Dantidurga, it is necessary to take a bird's eye view of the contemporary political situation, with special reference to Berār and northern Mahārāṣṭra, in which block of territory the Rāṣṭrakūṭa principality lay. The Cālukya empire lay to the south of the growing principality of Indra, and he was its feudatory. To the north in Gujarāt lay the small kingdom of the Gujarāt Cālukyas with its capital at Nāndīpurī or Nandod near Broach. Both these kingdoms were suffering grievously from repeated Arab invasions. By about 737 A.D. the Arabs had penetrated up to Navsārī, but in the following year they were driven back by king Pulakeśin of the Gujarāt Cālukya branch, obviously with the help of his suzerain Vikramāditya II. It is quite likely that Indra and his son may have co-operated with the Cālukyas in repulsing these raids.

The precise date of accession of Dantidurga is not yet known; but the Ellorā plate, published in 1940, now makes it clear that his career had begun before 742 A.D.³ Like Śivājī and Bābar, Dantidurga began his career early and it is not unlikely that he took a leading part in the defeat of the Arabs in 738, though no mention of his share in this feat is made in the Navsārī plates, which being issued by Pulakeśin, give the entire credit of the victory to that prince. Some weight is lent to this conjecture by the new titles *Prthivīvallabha* and *Khaḍgāvaloka*, which Dantidurga is assuming in the Ellorā plates.

¹ (The name of the princess was Bhavaganā not Bhavanāgā. See *E.I.*, XIV, 124. She was probably a Kalacuri princess. See the name Śaṅkaragaṇa of a Kalacuri king, V.V.M.)

² (See, however, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, p. 22. V.V.M.)

³ Prof. Mirashi has advanced the view that the year of the issue of the Ellora plates is 463 of the Kalacuri era and not 663 of the Śaka era as suggested in *E.I.*, XXV, p. 25; see *I.H.Q.* XXV, 81-86. This would place the accession of Dantidurga some years before 712 A.D. If Dantidurga had begun his career say in 705 A.D., it is difficult to understand how he could be succeeded by his uncle in c. 755, who could rule for about 17 years. The first symbol of the numerical figure is taken as 400 by Mirashi. The adjunct to the symbol for 100 looks more like six than four; and so it appears more probable that year should be 663 of the Śaka era rather than 463 of the Kalacuri era (See *Studies in Indology*, II, 1 f.—V.V.M.)

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Dantidurga's records claim that during the course of his career, he had defeated the kings of Kāñcī, Kalinga, Śrīśaila, Kosala, Mālava, Lāṭa and Sindh before he overthrew the power of the imperial Cālukyas in c. 752 A.D. Dantidurga died soon after he defeated the Cālukya emperor, and so his conflicts with the kings of the above countries must have taken place earlier when he was a Cālukya feudatory.

It appears that Dantidurga continued to be a loyal feudatory of the Cālukyas till the death of Vikramāditya II in 747 A.D. The Cālukya crown-prince Kirtivarman had led an expedition against Kāñcī in c. 743 A.D. and Dantidurga may have accompanied his feudal lord in this venture along with his battalions. His victories over the kings of Kāñcī and Śrīśaila must be really those which he had shared with his feudal lord.

The varied military experience which Dantidurga had acquired in repulsing the Arab raids and in participating in the offensive expedition against the Pallavas must have fired his ambition. His descent through a Cālukya princess may have aroused imperial ambitions in his young heart. Soon after the death of Kirtivarman, he may have decided to make a bold bid for the imperial position in the Deccan.

Dantidurga was a clever diplomat; he chalked out a plan of expansion which would not much affect the Cālukya interests in the beginning. He therefore decided to extend his kingdom in the territories to the north and east, which were outside the Cālukya influence. The petty kingdoms in Gujarāt were already exhausted by the Arab invasions; Dantidurga attacked them and annexed their territories and put his nephew Govinda, son of Dhruva, in charge of southern Gujarāt. Dantidurga then invaded Maḷwā, marched upon Ujjayinī and captured it. He performed the Hiranyagarbha ritual to celebrate this event, when it is claimed that the Gurjara Pratihāra king acted as his door-keeper. From Maḷwā Dantidurga returned to Berār and marched into Mahākośala or Chhattisgarh. Who was then ruling there, we do not know. Dantidurga's charter claims that his war elephants had sported both in the Mahī river of Gujarāt and the Mahānadī of Kalinga; hence the above reconstruction of history appears to be very probable.

The above victories conclusively demonstrated that Dantidurga was growing into a powerful force and could no longer be neglected. The new Cālukya emperor Kirtivarman decided to put him down by c. 750. The immediate cause of the war must have been the annexation by Dantidurga of the territories ruled over in south Gujarāt by the Gujarāt branch of the Cālukyas, so closely related to the imperial house. It was a direct challenge to the imperial power and could not be ignored.

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Where the armies of the two combatants came into clash is not known, but most probably the scene of the battle was somewhere in central Mahārāṣṭra. Dantidurga came out successful in the encounter. His victory however seems to have been due to a stratagem; for his court poet tells us that he overthrew the Karnāṭak army of Kīrtivarman by the mere frown of his eye, without any serious effort being made or without any weapons being raised or used.

This victory did not break the power of the Cālukyas, but made Dantidurga the master practically of whole Mahārāṣṭra. We find him granting a village in Sātārā district in 754 A.D. Kīrtivarman continued to hold the whole of Karnāṭak and both the sides were making further preparations for crushing each other, when Dantidurga died rather suddenly in c. 755 at the premature age of about 40.

We have not yet sufficient material to reconstruct the career of Dantidurga, but such information as we possess shows that like most other founders of dynasties, Dantidurga was an able general, a clever diplomat and an efficient organiser. He was quick to realise the growing weakness of the Cālukya power due to the incessant wars with the Pallavas and the Arabs. He co-operated with his feudal lord in his campaigns to gain valuable military experience; he then started making his own conquests, but without coming into conflict with the imperial power. And finally he decided to challenge that power only when his strength and resources had grown adequate for the purpose. Unfortunately he did not live long enough to complete the overthrow of the Cālukyas, but there is no doubt that he had accomplished the greater part of the work in this connection.

Dantidurga was a pious Hindu and gave several villages in charity at the request of his mother. The Hīranyagarbha ritual, which he performed at sacred Ujjayini shows his deep faith in the tenets of medieval Hinduism.

Dantidurga, the founder of the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, left no son¹ and was succeeded by his uncle Kṛṣṇa, who on his accession, assumed the titles of *Śubhatuṅga* (prominent in good luck) and *Akālavarṣa* (raining unexpectedly). Kṛṣṇa was about 45 at his accession and had probably participated in several campaigns of his ambitious nephew and the latter had probably approved of his succession. The view of Fleet that Kṛṣṇa dethroned his nephew because he had grown oppressive is altogether untenable; a record of Kṛṣṇa himself has now come to light in which he pays a glowing tribute to his valourous nephew². Kṛṣṇa no doubt had to oust a refractory

KṚSNA I
(c. 756 to 768
A.D.).

¹ As stated in the Kaḍḍa plates. R. G. Bhandarkar disbelieved the statement of these plates as they were issued about 200 years later; he thought that Kṛṣṇa may have dethroned Dantidurga's son. *B.G. (1st Ed.)* I, ii, p. 195.

² The earlier view was based upon the following verse in the Begumra plates of Kṛṣṇa II

तस्मिन्दिव प्रयाते वल्लभराजे कृतप्रजाबाध ।

श्रीकर्कराजसूनुर्महीपतिः कृष्णराजोभूत् ॥

The reading of this verses in other grants shows that there was an *anagraha* after *Vallabhanḍje*, see *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 41-42. For Kṛṣṇa's own eulogy of his uncle see *E.I.* XII 123.

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Feudatories.KṚṢṆA I
(c. 756 to 768
A.D.).

relative, but he was most probably Karka II (of the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa family), who had begun to entertain imperial ambition at about 757 A.D.¹ At any rate the house of Karka disappears from our view after 760 A.D. and we find southern Gujarāt being directly governed by the officers of the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. Majority of Kṛṣṇa's relatives, however, accepted his accession and were loyal to him, and were appointed to different posts of trust and responsibility. His younger brother, Nanna Guṇāvaloka was in charge of Aurangābād district, where he was later succeeded by his son Saṅkaragaṇa. Mānāvaloka Ratnavarṣa, a nephew of his, participated in his campaign against Veṅgī in c. 770 A.D.

Dantidurga's victory over Kīrtivarman II was no doubt decisive, but it had not shattered the latter's power. Taking advantage of the domestic troubles of Kṛṣṇa, Kīrtivarman reorganised his forces and advanced into Śolāpūr district. The two rivals came into clash soon after the autumn of 757 A.D. This time the Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces scored a smashing victory; for the records of the Later Cālukyas admit that the glory of the family set with Kīrtivarman II. The Cālukya emperor was probably slain in battle and no relation of his could later dare to challenge the power of the new house. King Rāhappa, after overthrowing whom Kṛṣṇa is stated to have obtained the imperial status was probably none other than Kīrtivarman II who may well have borne that additional name.

Several Cālukya families, however, were ruling as petty feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas during their ascendancy at different places in Karnāṭak like Didgur, Kotur, Lemulvād, etc.²

Kṛṣṇa next brought Koṅkaṇ under his sway and appointed a local Śilāhāra chief as his governor. The latter became the founder of the Śilāhāra house of northern Koṅkaṇ, which continued to rule in the feudatory capacity for more than 400 years.

As a result of the overthrow of Kīrtivarman II, northern Karnāṭak came under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sway; but Kṛṣṇa wanted to conquer southern Karnāṭak as well. King Śrīpuruṣa of the Gaṅga family was ruling over this territory, which was then known as Gaṅgavāḍī. He offered stubborn resistance and also scored a few initial victories with the help of his son Prince Siyagalla.³ But Kṛṣṇa soon crushed down all opposition and occupied the Gaṅga capital Mānyāpur (Maṇṇe in Bangalore district) where he made a thanksgiving grant. Kṛṣṇa returned home by 768 A.D. after imposing his overlordship over the Gaṅga ruler, who also ceded some of his northern districts to the conqueror.

¹ Cf. I.A., XII, p. 159.

The Antroli Chharoli plates show that in 757, Karka II had begun to claim imperial titles like *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*. His three predecessors had only feudatory titles.

² I.A. V, p. 145, XII, p. 181 etc. see Rāṣṭrakūṭas, p. 43.

³ M.A.S.R., 1939, p. 121.

Kṛṣṇa was now getting old and we find him appointing his eldest son Govinda as his heir-apparent in c. 770 A.D. The latter signalled his selection by leading an attack upon the Veṅgī Cālukya ruler Viṣṇuvardhana IV. It is not improbable that the Cālukyas of Veṅgī might have given some cause of offence; they were the cousins of the Cālukyas of Badāmī and could not have liked their overthrow by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Kṛṣṇa also must have felt that his empire could not be regarded as firmly established till the power of the Cālukyas of Veṅgī was crushed. He therefore ordered an expedition against them and put it under the charge of the Crown-prince, who was a great cavalry leader. Govinda scored a smashing victory; 'the Great Boar (the emblem on the Cālukya banner) ran like a deer', says a Rāṣṭrakūṭa court poet. In June 769, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa victorious army was encamped at the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the Musī, only a hundred miles from the Cālukya capital. Viṣṇuvardhana opened peace negotiations, agreeing to pay some tribute and cede some frontier districts. He also gave his daughter Śilābhaṭṭārikā in marriage to Dhruva, a younger brother of Govinda. As a result of this victory and treaty, practically the whole of the former State of Hyderābād passed under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sway.

Kṛṣṇa was not only a conqueror, but also a builder. The rock-cut Śiva temple at Elorā, now known as Kailāsa, but originally named after the builder as Kṛṣṇeśvara, was excavated at his order¹. When the construction was complete, Kṛṣṇa personally attended the consecration ceremony and made suitable presents and endowments. Kailāsa temple at Elorā is one of India's most precious archaeological monuments and posterity will not forget Kṛṣṇa as long as this monument lasts. Any visitor, who has seen the beauty and grandeur of the structure, can well concede that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa court poet cannot be charged with exaggeration when he observed that gods moving in celestial cars were loath to believe that the temple was a human construction, and that its gifted architect could not think of repeating the feat.

Kṛṣṇa died in c. 773 A.D. after a reign of 15 years². By crushing the possible rivals and annexing the major part of the former states of Mysore and Hyderābād, he made the position of his house unchallengeable in the Deccan and secured for it a definite imperial status.

Govinda, who had been duly selected as the crownprince, ascended the throne in c. 773 without any opposition³, assuming the titles of Prabhūtavarṣa (copious rainer) and Vikramāvaloka (one whose sight inspires courage). He had already won laurels as heir-apparent in the war against Veṅgī. In his own reign he is stated to have relieved Govardhana in Nāśik district and defeated a king

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KṚṢṆA I
(c. 756 to 768
A.D.).

GOVINDA II
(c. 773 to 780
A.D.).

¹ For the history of this temple and its glory, see Baroda plates, *I.A.*, Vol. XII, p. 159 and Kadab plates, *E.I.*, IV, p. 341.

² 23rd June 772 A. D. is his latest known date supplied by Bhāudak plates *E.I.*, XIII, 275

³ Fleet's view that Govinda did not rule at all but was superseded by his younger brother (*B.G.*, I, ii p. 393) is no longer tenable. See Rāṣṭrakūṭa, p. 49.

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Feudatories.GOVINDA II
(c. 773 to 780
A.D.).

named Pārijāta¹. But why Govardhana had to be relieved and where king Pārijāta was ruling is not yet known.

Soon after his accession Govinda abandoned himself to a life of pleasure and vice², entrusting the administration to his younger brother Dhruva. The latter, who was able and ambitious, soon entertained the idea of becoming the *de jure* ruler as well. He started giving charters in his own name³ and organising a party of his own. This soon aroused the suspicion of Govinda, who removed his brother from the administration and took the reins of government in his own hand. For a time Dhruva submitted to his authority⁴, but was secretly continuing his intrigues to oust his brother. Govinda tried to strengthen his position by entering into alliances with the kings of Gaṅgavāḍī, Kāñcī, Veṅgī and Mālhwā, offering them monetary and territorial reward for their promised assistance against Dhruva⁵. This was a bad move; his alliance with the hereditary enemies of his house alienated the sympathies of his ministers and senior officers and supplied a good pretext to Dhruva to rise in open rebellion. Pleading that there was the danger of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty itself being wiped out by its traditional enemies⁶ he proceeded to attack his brother when negotiations to induce him to abdicate failed. Dhruva dealt a swift blow and defeated the armies of Govinda before the promised help from his confederates could reach him from Veṅgī, Talkād or Kāñcī. We find him seated firmly on the throne by January 781⁷.

DHURVA
(c. 780 to 793
A.D.).

After overthrowing his brother, Dhruva ascended the throne assuming the titles of *Nirupama* (matchless), *Dhārāvarṣa* (profuse rainer) and *Kalivallabha* (lover of strife). He had first to put down some refractory feudatories, who had rebelled against him during his war of succession. Then he proceeded to punish Gaṅga and Pallava rulers, who had espoused his brother's cause. The Gaṅgas were crushed as admitted even by their own records, and their king Śivamāra, who was more a scholar than a warrior, was taken prisoner⁸. For a time the entire kingdom was annexed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire, and Stambha, the eldest son of Dhruva, was appointed its viceroy. Dhruva then attacked the Pallavas, whose king purchased peace by offering submission and presenting a number of war elephants. These victories made Dhruva the unchallenged overlord of the Deccan.

This achievement, however, did not satisfy Dhruva. He was anxious to intervene in the politics of northern India with a view to bring it under his sphere of influence. At this time there was a conflict

¹ *E.I.*, IX, 195.

² Karhād plates, *E.I.*, IV, 298.

³ Pimpri plates, *E.I.*, X, p. 81.

⁴ As shown by Dhulia plates of 779 A.D. D. R. Bhandarkar regarded these as spurious, *E.I.*, XXII, 102. For the opposite view of the present writer, see *ibid* pp. 178-81. If we regard Dhulia plates as spurious, the reign of Govinda will have to be regarded as closed in 775 A.D.

⁵ See *Daulatābād* plates, *E.I.*, IX, p. 193.

⁶ *Ibid*.

⁷ As shown by the Bhor plates, *E.I.*, XXII, 176.

⁸ Gattiyadhur plates (*E.C.* XII, Naujangad No. 129) inform us how Vijayāditya, the younger brother of Śivamāra, though the *de facto* under refrained from enjoying the earth, knowing her to be his (absent) elder brother's wife.

going on between the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Vatsarāja and the Pāla king Dharmapāla for the hegemony in the Gangetic plain. The former was championing the cause of Indrāyudha, the titular ruler of imperial Kanauj, and the latter of a rival of his named Vajrāyudha. When Dhruva decided to intervene, Vatsarāja had defeated Dharmapāla and had driven him out, capturing his two white umbrellas on the battle field. Dharmapāla was reorganising his forces with a view to retrieve the position.

CHAPTER 7.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa
Empire and its
Feudatories.

DHRUVA
(c. 780 TO c. 793
A.D.).

Dhruva collected his imperial army on the Narmadā, put his sons Govinda and Indra in charge of different divisions and first attacked and occupied Mālwa and then proceeded towards Kanauj to overthrow Vatsarāja. The armies of the two rivals probably met near Jhānsi and in the battle that ensued the Deccan army inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Rajput forces of Vatsarāja, who fled in great hurry to take shelter in the deserts of Rājputānā, leaving behind on the battle field the two white state umbrellas, which he had captured from the king of Bengal. Flushed with this victory Dhruva proceeded to attack Dharmapāla also, who had by this time entered the Doāb in the course of his fresh campaign against Kanauj. It was necessary for Govinda to defeat Dharmapāla also, because he was the only important king remaining undefeated at his hands. Dharmapāla was also overthrown¹ and the victorious Rāṣṭrakūṭa army encamped on the banks of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā for some weeks probably in 786 A.D. As proud mementos of this achievement these two holy rivers henceforward began to figure on the Rāṣṭrakūṭa banner.

Dhruva was now getting old and he did not think it prudent to press his victories further by marching against Kanauj. He was far away from his base and therefore retired to the south.

The bold campaign in northern India enhanced the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prestige; Dhruva became the most dreaded emperor. Gaṅga king was in his prison, the Pallava ruler had meekly surrendered; Vatsarāja had fled into the deserts of Rājputānā and Dharmapāla had been driven away into Beṅgāl. The Veṅgī king was his subordinate ally, being his father-in-law. None in India could thus challenge the Rāṣṭrakūṭa supremacy at the death of Dhruva.

As he grew old, Dhruva wanted to settle the question of succession. His choice fell not on his eldest son Stambha but on the latter's younger brother Govinda, who had taken a leading part in his military campaigns. The father proposed to abdicate to ensure Govinda's succession, but the latter dissuaded him from this step. Govinda was however formally installed as heir apparent before the death of Dhruva in the first half of 793 A.D.

¹ The view that Dhruva intervened in the northern Indian politics to help Dharmapāla, whose queen Raṇṇādevī was a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess is rendered untenable by the Sañjān plates which make it quite clear that both Vatsarāja and Dharmapāla were attacked and overthrown by Dhruva. Fleet was half inclined to identify Parabala the father of Raṇṇādevī with Govinda III, Dhruva's son and successor (*B.G.I.*, ii, p. 394). This is of course impossible. (*I.A.*, XXI, p. 254)

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GOVINDA III
(793 A.D. TO 814
A.D.)

The accession of Govinda took place peacefully, but clouds soon arose on the political horizon. Stambha, his elder brother, whose claims had been superseded, began to conspire to win the throne and some officers and feudatories championed his cause. He soon succeeded in having a confederation of twelve kings¹ to support his claim and rebelled against the *de jure* emperor. Govinda was an experienced general and administrator; he had scented the rebellion earlier and had made his own preparations. He could count upon the steadfast loyalty of his younger brother Indra. He decided to release Śivamāra, the Gaṅga king, from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prison and sent him back to Gaṅgavāḍī where his rebel brother was ruling as viceroy. This was a diplomatic move, for Śivamāra was expected to fight for Govinda to win back his patrimony from Stambha. The move however failed. Stambha, who expected to get the imperial throne, could afford to be magnanimous. Being the *de facto* governor of Gaṅgavāḍī, he was in a better position than Govinda to put Śivamāra on its throne. He offered it to Śivamāra and thus won him over to his own side.

Stambha however was no match for Govinda. The latter marshalled his forces, moved swiftly to south and inflicted a signal defeat on Stambha before his allies could join their forces with him. Stambha was taken prisoner but a rapprochement soon took place between the two brothers. With an unusual magnanimity Govinda reappointed Stambha as the viceroy over Gaṅgavāḍī, and the latter reciprocated this generous treatment by remaining steadfastly loyal to him.

The rapprochement between Govinda and Stambha rendered the position of Śivamāra, the released Gaṅga prince, very precarious. He was now attacked by both the brothers, taken captive and put back into the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prison. His younger brother Vijayāditya tried to continue the resistance, but not with any success. Stambha continued to rule practically over the whole Gaṅgavāḍī for more than a decade.

After occupying Gaṅgavāḍī, Govinda marched against Dantiga, the Pallava ruler of Kāñcī, and defeated him. This was probably by way of reprisal for having espoused the cause of his elder brother.

When his power was firmly established in the Deccan, Govinda turned his attention to northern India. Vatsarāja, his father's opponent, had died in the interval and was succeeded by his youthful and energetic son Nāgabhaṭa II. The latter had succeeded in defeating Dharmapāla and ousting his nominee Vajrāyudha from Kanauj. The sun of the Pratihāra glory, to quote a contemporary record, had begun to shine brilliantly when the clouds in the form of the Pāla army had been dispersed.

¹ Their names are not known, but most probably Dantiga of Kāñcī, Charnonnajir of Nolmabavāḍī and Kattiur of Banavāsī were among them.

Nāgabhaṭa II was thus at the height of his glory when Govinda launched his campaign in northern India. The causes of the war can only be inferred. Nāgabhaṭa was probably casting covetous eyes on Gujarāt and Mālhwā; Govinda probably felt that his opponent should be crushed before he became too powerful. It is also not unlikely, that Dharmapāla may have invited him to attack Nāgabhaṭa, their common enemy¹.

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GOVINDA III
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The northern expedition of Govinda was skilfully planned and boldly executed. Indra, the loyal younger brother of Govinda, who had been appointed viceroy of Gujarāt, was commissioned to guard the Vindhyan passes against a possible invasion of the Deccan by Nāgabhaṭa. A number of detachments were kept in Central India and Chhattisgarh to keep the local rulers in check² and guard the lines of communication. After taking these precautions, Govinda started his march, probably in the spring of 798 A.D. *via* Bhopāl and Jhānsī. His objective was Kanauj, the imperial capital of northern India³.

Where the contending armies of the two rivals met is not known, but the decisive battle was probably fought near Jhānsī. The power of Nāgabhaṭa was completely broken, and realising the futility of further opposition, his nominee Vajrāyudha, the puppet emperor of Kanauj, accepted Govinda's suzerainty. Dharmapāla is also described as having voluntarily submitted to Govinda. This was probably a diplomatic move. He knew that Govinda could not long remain in northern India and he was thankful to him for having broken the power of his formidable opponent.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa records do not claim conquest of Kanauj at this time. The reference in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records to the caves of the Himālayas reverberating with the noise of the Deccan drums must be dismissed as a poetic exaggeration. It is, however, likely that Govinda might have undertaken a victorious march in the Gangetic plain to visit Prayāg, Kāśī and Gayā, before his army returned to the south. He probably returned *via* Allāhābād, Citrakūṭa and Saugar.

Govinda's northern expedition was merely of the nature of a *digvijaya*, undertaken for glory and not for annexation. He wanted to establish the imperial position of his house by overthrowing the armies of Nāgabhaṭa and securing the submission of Cakrāyudha and Dharmapāla and he succeeded in this goal. Content with this achievement, he returned to Mālhwā, the outpost of his empire. In the summer of 799 or 800 A.D., the victorious army was lying encamped at Śrībhavana, modern Sarbhan in Broach district, where

¹ A verse in the Sañjān plates states that Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha voluntarily surrendered to him, hence the above inference.

² One ruler defeated in this direction was Candragupta of the Pāṇḍava dynasty. (This is unlikely. See *Studies in Indology*, I, 227 f. V.V.M.)

³ The details of this expedition are gathered from the Sañjān plates of Amoghavarṣa I, E.I., XVIII, 235. Its date is suggested by the Manne plates of 802, which refer to this expedition as a recent event.

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it was hospitably looked after by Śarva, a local Vindhya chief. It was during the sojourn at this place that Śarva, the son and successor of the emperor, was born.

Pallava, Pāṇḍya, Keraḷa and Gaṅga rulers had formed a confederation against the Rāṣṭrakūṭa hegemony during Govinda's absence in the north. When Govinda heard of this development, he marched down to the Tuṅgabhadra with a lightning speed and defeated the coalition forces in 802 or 803 A.D. He then marched right up to Kāñcī and occupied it. By May 804, the subjugation of the Dravidian powers was complete.

The peaceful relations brought about by the marriage of Govinda's father with Śilābhāṭṭārikā, the daughter of the Cālukya king Viṣṇu-vardhana IV, came to an end with the death of the latter monarch. His successor Vijayāditya rebelled against Govinda. The latter however got a golden opportunity to intervene; Bhīma Saḷukki, the younger brother of Vijayāditya, rose against him and solicited Rāṣṭrakūṭa help. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa force easily overthrew Vijayāditya and put Bhīma upon the throne. The latter naturally became an humble and submissive feudatory.

Govinda thus defeated almost every power in India that counted at that time. His victorious armies had marched from Kanauj to Cape Cāmorin, from Broach to Banāras. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa house commanded an all-India prestige and we find the king of Ceylon seeking to establish cordial relations with it by presenting to Govinda a statue of himself and another of his premier. Govinda installed these statues in one of the Śiva temples at Kāñcī where they served the purpose of columns of victory to proclaim to his enemy's subjects the great power of their mighty conqueror.

During the last five or six years of his reign Govinda undertook no military expeditions. His crown-prince Śarva was very young and Govinda was making anxious preparations to secure his peaceful succession. He released Śivamāra, the Gaṅga king, and reinstated him in Gaṅgavāḍī. His loyal brother Indra, who had been appointed viceroy of Gujarāt and Mālwa was now dead and had been succeeded by his eldest son Karka. When however the old emperor felt his end approaching, he appointed Govinda, a younger brother of Karka, to the Gujarāt viceroyalty and re-called Karka to the capital Mālkheḍ to become the guardian of the boy emperor and to be at the head of the imperial administration during the critical days of the opening years of the new reign¹. The emperor's death took place in 814 A. D.

Govinda may well be called the greatest among the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors. The statement in his charters that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa armies became invincible under his leadership as the Yādava armies were under that of Kṛṣṇa is borne out by a hundred victories he won from Kanauj to Cape Cāmorin. No power in India could challenge the Rāṣṭrakūṭa supremacy during the latter half of Govinda's reign.

¹ (Amoghavarṣa was about sixteen years old at his accession. There is no sufficient evidence of the regency of Karka. See *Studies in Indology*, II, 209 f. V.V.M.)

Never again was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prestige to rise so high. Indra III was no doubt to occupy Kanauj in c. 916 A.D., but his hold over the south was not so firm as that of Govinda. Kṛṣṇa III was to occupy effectively the entire peninsula in c. 950 A.D., but he was not able to enter the Doāb and defeat any rulers of northern India. Govinda's title Kīrtinārāyaṇa was undoubtedly well deserved by him.

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GOVINDA III
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A.D.).

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital during the first fifty years of the rule of the dynasty (c. 750 to 800 A.D.) is not yet known. It is possible that it might have been somewhere in Berār or northern Mahārāṣṭra. It was Govinda who built the new capital at Mānyakheta (modern Mālkheḍ), 90 miles south-east of Śolāpūr, and shifted the administration there¹. The new capital was more centrally situated with reference to the growing Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire; it was also in Karnāṭak, from where the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas had first emigrated.

Śarva succeeded his father in 814 A.D. and assumed the title of Amoghavarṣa (Fruitful rainer); he was known to historians by that title only, as his personal name remained unknown for a long time. (814 to 880 A.D.). Nṛpatuṅga and Vīranārāyaṇa are other epithets given to him in his records. We shall refer to the emperor by his title Amoghavarṣa.

SHARVA

AMOGHAVARSHA I

Arrangements carefully planned by Govinda III worked satisfactorily for a time and everything went on well under the regency of Karka Pātālamalla, though the new emperor was a boy of 14 only. The tradition of war at succession had, however, become so well established in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty by this time that it could not be eventually avoided in spite of Govinda's precautions. In c. 817 a serious rebellion broke out which practically liquidated the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire for three or four years and compelled the boy emperor to flee from the capital². The rebels are expressly described as Rāṣṭrakūṭas; it appears that they were led by some cousins of Amoghavarṣa, like Saṅkaragaṇa, the son of Stambha, who could not succeed his father in the Gaṅga viceroyalty. Saṅkaragaṇa, being the son of Amoghavarṣa's elder uncle, was probably regarded as a more legitimate ruler than the boy emperor by a section of ministers, who joined the rebellion. The recall of Karka from Gujārāt to be at the head of the regency administration may have caused heart-burning among local high officials, who also joined the rebellion. Bhīma, the nominee of the late Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor on the Veṅgi throne, had been ousted by this time by his brother Vijayāditya, who naturally retaliated against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas by invading their empire, when it was torn by the internal rebellion. Cālukya records refer to 108 battles fought against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas by Vijayāditya; Rāṣṭrakūṭa records admit that Amoghavarṣa had to raise afresh the glory of his house, which had sunken deep into the Cālukya ocean³. The course and events of this serious rebellion are not known, but there is clear evidence to show that Amoghavarṣa

¹ (The Karda plates state distinctly that it was Amoghavarṣa I who founded Mānyakheta, V.V.M.)

² Sañjāp plates describe the details of this revolt, *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 225.

³ Begumra Plates, *E. I.*, IX, p. 24.

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SHARVA

AMOGHAVARSHA I
(814 TO 880 A.D.).

and his cousin Karka were able to re-establish their authority before May 821 A.D.¹ The eclipse of the power of Amoghavarṣa thus lasted for about four or five years. A few more years may have been required to re-establish the imperial authority in the distant districts of the empire.

Amoghavarṣa then assumed offensive against the Cālukyas of Veṅgi and smashed their power on the battle field of Viṅgavallī and occupied their capital Veṅgī². His opponent was most probably Vijayāditya III, for his grandson describes how Veṅgī had to be recovered from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas soon after his accession in 844 A.D. Amoghavarṣa thus could hold Veṅgī for about 15 years, when the city was recaptured by the able Cālukya general Pāṇḍuraṅga for his master. Amoghavarṣa was at this time busy in fighting his cousins in Gujarāt and could not send sufficient force to defend Veṅgī.

Let us now review the Rāṣṭrakūṭa relations with the Gaṅgas. Their king Śivamāra had been released from captivity by Govinda before his death. Śivamāra was succeeded by his son Rājamalla who rescued from Rāṣṭrakūṭas his country which they had held too long, 'as Viṣṇu did the earth in the Boar incarnation'. Rājamalla could, however, recover only the southern portion of Gaṅgavāḍī; its northern part continued to be under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and was being governed by Baṅkeya, one of the able and trusted generals of Amoghavarṣa. In c. 855 Amoghavarṣa married his daughter Candrabhābā to the Gaṅga king Būṭuga, a grandson of Rājamalla. This put an end to the long standing enmity between the two houses.

Amoghavarṣa became entangled in a long war with his Gujarāt cousins³ from about 835 A.D. We have seen already how Govinda had appointed his younger brother Indra as Viceroy of Gujarāt in recognition of his steadfast loyalty. His son Karka was recalled to Mālkhēḍ to conduct the regency administration, but he retired to Gujarāt in 824 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Dhruva in c. 830 A.D. Soon after his accession the friendly relations existing between the Gujarāt branch and the main house came to an end. Either Dhruva became too overbearing, puffed up by the consciousness that it was his father Karka who had restored Amoghavarṣa to the throne, or Amoghavarṣa became ungrateful and wanted to impose his authority harshly on the Gujarāt viceroys. Whatever the reason, the two branches of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family were entangled in a serious struggle which lasted for more than twenty years. Dhruva was killed in this long-drawn war in c. 845 A.D. and his son Akālavarṣa had to regain his throne. His victory however was not decisive for his son Dhruva II had to continue the fight; at one time he had to meet the forces of Amoghavarṣa on the southern front and those of Mihira Bhoja on the northern one. Peace however

¹ Surat Plates, *E.I.*, XXI, 133 f.

² Sangli Plates, *I. A.*, XII, p. 249

³ Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa records mention Vallabha as the name of the enemy. He can be no other than Amoghavarṣa who had *Prthivivallabha* as one of his epithets. See *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* § 82-84.

was eventually restored between the two Rāṣṭrakūṭa families. Amoghavarṣa probably realised the danger from the growing power of the Pratihāras, whose empire was now stretching beyond the Narmadā, embracing the greater part of northern India. He therefore had to patch up his quarrel with his cousins in order to present a united front to the northern enemy. No serious conflict, however, occurred between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pratihāras; there were only occasional frontier skirmishes.

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SHARVA
AMOGHAVARSHA I.
(814 to 880 A.D.).

Let us now review Amoghavarṣa's relations with other powers. The claim of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records that the kings of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha paid homage to Amoghavarṣa is more rhetorical than historical; there is nothing to indicate that Amoghavarṣa had ever penetrated into Bihār and Beṅgāl.

The military achievements of Amoghavarṣa can hardly be compared with those of his father Govinda or grandfather Dhruva. He can be only credited with having kept the empire intact in spite of serious rebellions that occurred every now and then. The fact was that war and diplomacy did not attract him half as much as religion and literature. He was himself the author of *Kavirājamārga*, the earliest Canarese work on poetics and Canarese poets like Nāga-varman II, Keśirāja and Bhaṭṭakalāṅka flourished in his court, as also Jain authors like Jinasena and Mahāvīracārya. In his later life, Amoghavarṣa developed pronounced leanings to Jainism owing to the influence of Jinasena. He however continued his devotion to Hindu deities as well.

In spite of his indifferent military achievements, Amoghavarṣa will rank high in history. He had no spectacular conquests to his credit, but he protected his subjects from foreign invasions. He loved and encouraged science and literature and treated all creeds with equal impartiality. In his own life he made a synthesis of Hinduism and Jainism and acted up to his religious conviction by voluntarily retiring from public administration several times to pursue his spiritual exercises. He had a high regard for public weal and on one occasion sacrificed one finger of his own in order to avert a public epidemic.¹ Few kings are known to have made such a sacrifice. His court poets naturally compared him with Śibi and Dadhīci of Purāṇic fame. Amoghavarṣa's position is thus naturally high among the rulers of India.

There is some uncertainty about the date of the death of Amoghavarṣa and the accession of his son and successor Kṛṣṇa II. One record proves that Amoghavarṣa was ruling down to 878 A.D.² but another shows that his son was on the throne three years earlier. This discrepancy is due not to any revolt on the part of the son, but to the father's habit of periodical abdications for following the pursuits of spiritual life, which is referred to as early as

¹ Sañjān Plates, *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 235.

² Kanheri Ins., *I.A.*, XIII, p. 135.

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SHARVA

AMOGHAVARSHA I
(824 to 880 A.D.).

KṚṢṆA II

861 A.D. in the Sāñjān grant. Records issued during the temporary abdication may have often referred to the Crown prince, the *de facto* head of the government, as the ruling monarch. We may presume that the death of Amoghavarṣa took place in c. 880 A.D., after a long reign of about 66 years.

On his accession in c. 880 A.D., Kṛṣṇa assumed the titles of *Subhatuṅga* and *Akālavarṣa*, which had been earlier assumed by Kṛṣṇa I and which were to be later adopted by Kṛṣṇa III.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ and the Cālukyas of Veṅgi had by this time become 'natural' enemies and the wars between them continued unabated during the reign of Kṛṣṇa. The charters of each dynasty claim victories for it over its opponents but hardly refer to any specific battles and their dates. It is therefore not easy for the historian to reconstruct the course of this long-drawn war with any positive certainty.

Vijayāditya III (844-888 A.D.) and Bhīma I (888-918 A.D.) were the two Cālukya contemporaries of Kṛṣṇa. The former had succeeded in wresting Veṅgi from Amoghavarṣa I. Soon after the accession of Kṛṣṇa, Vijayāditya started an indirect war with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas by launching an attack on the Nolambas and the Gaṅgas, who were feudatories or relatives of Kṛṣṇa II. Vijayāditya was successful in the beginning. The Nolamba army was defeated and its general Maṅgi was killed in battle. The victors then advanced into Gaṅgavāḍī, defeated its king Rājamalla II (whose younger brother was a brother-in-law of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor) and occupied a part of his kingdom¹.

Emboldened by these successes, the Cālukyas invaded the north-eastern part of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire, occupied Bastar state, burnt the fort of Cakrakūṭa, modern Cakrakotya, and then advanced to Kiraṇapura, about 150 miles north of that fort. Kṛṣṇa and his brother-in-law Saṅkaragaṇa (called Saṅkila in Cālukya records) were encamped in this city. The Cālukya force captured and burnt this city. The Veṅgi records are not therefore exaggerating when they describe how the Gaṅgas were locked up in their forts and how Kṛṣṇa and Saṅkila were shorn of their glory. Such was the situation in c. 888 A.D. at the death of Vijayāditya.

¹ The above reconstruction of history is not free from difficulty; in fact the present writer had himself suggested that the attack of Vijayāditya upon the Nolambas and the Gaṅgas was at the instigation of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor; Rāṣṭrakūṭas, p. 63. The expression used in the Idar plates is *Raṭṭeśasañoditaḥ* and considering the political context of the history of the dynasties I am now inclined to think that Fleet was right in translating the expression as 'Challenged by the lord of the Raṭṭas.' The same verse immediately refers to the defeat of Kṛṣṇa and the burning of Kiraṇapura and it is likely that all these incidents refer to one and the same war. It is however possible to argue that political exigencies convert enemies of yesterday into allies of today and that Vijayāditya attacked the Nalamodita and the Gaṅgas as the feudatory allies of Amoghavarṣa and Kṛṣṇa (*somcodita* meaning instigated by). Further discoveries alone can clarify the point.

Kṛṣṇa took a lesson from these reverses, reorganised his forces, strengthened them by summoning the battalions of his cousin Kṛṣṇa of Gujarāt branch and Baddega, a Cālukya feudatory of Vemulvāḍa, and assumed the offensive at the north-eastern front. The Veṅgī forces were this time completely crushed, and Bhīma, the new Cālukya ruler, fell a prisoner in the hands of the victors. Veṅgī records themselves admit that after the death of Vijayāditya (the sun of victory) the Veṅgī kingdom was enveloped in darkness in the form of Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces¹. We may therefore well presume that Kṛṣṇa occupied several districts of the enemy kingdom and proceeded to administer them through his own officers for some time. Bhīma then made an effort to reconquer his partimony and was ably assisted by his general Mahākāla, the son of his foster mother Nagipoli. A rather indecisive battle was fought at Niravadyapura, (modern Nidadavobī in Godāvarī district); the Cālukyas claim victory in it, but admit the death of their crown-prince, a youth of 16, who was killed while attacking the Rāṣṭrakūṭa general from the back of his own elephant. Probably the battle was a drawn one, but the stubborn Cālukya opposition probably convinced Kṛṣṇa that he could no longer hold Veṅgī under his control. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces may have been gradually withdrawn from the Veṅgī kingdom.

Let us now survey the relations of Kṛṣṇa with his other neighbours. In the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, Dhruva II continued to rule down to c. 885 and was succeeded by his son Kṛṣṇa, who co-operated with his namesake and feudal lord in his Veṅgī wars. In the nineties of the 9th century, hostilities arose between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gujarāt Pratīhāras, and Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa records describe how Kṛṣṇa pushed back the Pratīhāra forces and captured Ujjayinī for his feudal lord Kṛṣṇa II². The latter, however, did not pursue his victory further by launching a campaign in northern India, as was done earlier by Govinda III and Dhruva.

Nothing is heard of the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭas after the year 888 A.D. In 910 A.D. Gujarāt was in charge of a new Brāhmaṇa feudatory named Pracaṇḍa³. The career of the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa branch thus came to an end at about the close of the 9th century. The causes of this development are however not yet known.

Later Rāṣṭrakūṭa records sometimes refer to homage being paid to Kṛṣṇa by kings of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga and Magadha; Uttara Purāṇa, finished in 898 A.D., describes in its historical appendix how the fair water of the Gaṅgā became soiled by the rut flowing from the temples of Kṛṣṇa's war elephants. But these statements are more rhetorical than historical and need not be taken seriously. Kṛṣṇa had not the military dash of his grandfather and his solid achievement was that he was able to keep his empire intact inspite of serious challenges from his neighbours. Like his father, he had leanings towards Jainism and this was natural; for the Jain sage and author Guṇacandra was his preceptor.

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Kṛṣṇa II.

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 40 (3).

² *I. A.*, XII, p. 154.

³ *E. I.*, I, p. 52.

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Kṛṣṇa II.

During the reign of Kṛṣṇa, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mālkhed and the Cedis of Tripurī were brought close together by a number of matrimonial alliances. Kṛṣṇa's own crowned queen was a Cedi princess, sister of king Śaṅkaragaṇa, who was his ally in the Veṅgī war. Kṛṣṇa's eldest son Jagattuṅga was married to Lakṣmī, a daughter of Śaṅkaragaṇa; later on he married her younger sister Govindāmbā also. In c 900 A.D. Jagattuṅga's son Indra was married to Vijāmbā a grand-daughter of a brother of Śaṅkaragaṇa, and Indra's younger brother Amoghavarṣa to Kundakadevī, a grand-daughter of Mugdhattuṅga, another brother of Śaṅkaragaṇa.

Kṛṣṇa II died towards the end of 914 A.D. after a fairly long reign of 34 years. He must have been about eighty at the time of his death and had the misfortune to see his crown prince Jagattuṅga predeceasing him. He was succeeded by the latter's son Indra.

INDRA III.

Indra's accession in 914 A.D. like that of his father was a peaceful one. His formal coronation took place at a sacred *tīrtha* named Kurundaka¹ in February 915 A.D. when he weighed himself in gold and granted or regranted 400 villages to Brāhmaṇas and temples and distributed 20 lakhs of silver *drammas* in charity. He assumed the coronation title of *Nityavarṣa* (continuous rainer of blessings).

Indra had fully inherited the martial spirit of his great-grandfather Govinda III and was determined to emulate his glorious example. Just after his accession, the Paramāra chief Kṛṣṇarāja *alias* Upendra attacked Nāsik, possibly at the instigation of his feudal lord, the Pratihāra emperor Mahīpāla.² Indra drove him back and occupied Ujjayinī, the key town in Mālhwā. With his base at this place, he planned a bold invasion of the Pratihāra empire. The Pratihāra emperor Mahīpāla had ousted his elder brother Bhoja II from the throne; and the latter's cause was being espoused by the Cedi ruler Kokkala. The close matrimonial relations existing between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Cedis naturally induced Indra to intervene in Pratihāra politics, ostensibly to support the claims of Bhoja, but really to satisfy his desire of *digvijaya*.

Indra assembled a large army in Mālhwā which included some battalions of his Cālukya feudatory Narasimha of Vemulvād. The army started its march in the autumn of 916 A.D., with Kanauj as its definite objective. Its route was most probably via Bhopāl, Jhānsī and Kālpī. Crossing the Yamunā at the latter place³, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces besieged and captured Kanauj, which was the imperial capital of northern India for more than three hundred years. This was a sensational achievement and has been naturally described with great gusto in Rāṣṭrakūṭa records. Both Dhruva and Govinda III had defeated their contemporary Pratihāra emperors but they could not succeed in unfurling the Rāṣṭrakūṭa flag on Kanauj.

¹ This is probably identical with Kurundvād near Kolhāpur; R. G. Bhandarkar identified the place with Kadoda on the Tapi, *B. G.*, I, ii, p. 203.

² The victory over Upendra is mentioned in the Navsārī plates issued in 916 A.D. (There is no mention of any victory over a king named Upendra in the verse of the Navasārī plates. For a correct interpretation of the verse which has misled many scholars see my article on the Jamgaon plates of Govinda III, *E.I.*, XXXVI, 277 f. V.V.M.)

³ Cambay plates, *E. I.*, VII, 26 f.

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INDRA III.

At the capture of Kanauj, or possibly even before that event, Mahīpāla fled to Mahobā, the capital of his Candella feudatory who was espousing his cause. Indra sent his Cālukya general Narasiṃha to pursue him. To quote the words of poet Pampa, a protege of Narasiṃha's son Arikesarin, 'Narasiṃha plucked from Gurjara king's arms, the goddess of victory, whom, though desirous of keeping, he held too loosely. Mahīpāla fled as if struck by thunderbolt, staying neither to eat nor to rest'. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa army pursued him right up to Allāhābād. Indra's expedition of northern India was merely of the nature of a *digvijaya*; he did not long remain in the north, but returned home by the spring of 917 A.D.

The Cālukya king Ammarāja of Veṅgī died in 925 A.D. and a civil war soon broke out after the accession of his son Vijayāditya V. Indra first championed the cause of Tāḍapa and then of the latter's son Yuddhamalla and eventually succeeded in putting the latter upon the throne; he continued to rule down to 934 A.D. as a Rāṣṭrakūṭa protege.

Recent epigraphical discoveries show that Indra was definitely ruling down to December 927 A.D.¹ So the earlier view that he had a short reign of three years² has to be abandoned. Indra's death probably took place in 929 A.D., and he was succeeded by his eldest son Amoghavarṣa, whose personal name is not known so far.

Amoghavarṣa II was in the prime of his youth at the time of his accession. But he died within a year and was succeeded by his younger brother Govinda IV. The latter's charters omit his elder brother's name, though it is included by the grants of the later kings and specifically aver that he did not ill-treat his elder brother or commit incest with his wife. Obviously the death of young Amoghavarṣa within a year of his accession had given rise to ugly rumours, which the new king seeks to refute in his charters. His subsequent vicious life and career however make one suspect that the rumours referred to above could not have been altogether unfounded³. Whatever its real cause may have been, the death of Amoghavarṣa took place in 930, in which year we find Govinda celebrating his coronation.

Govinda, who was about 30 at the time of his accession, assumed the coronation titles of Prabhūtavarṣa (Profuse Rainer) and Suvarṇavarṣa (Rainer of gold).

GOVINDA IV.

Govinda found himself entangled in a war with Veṅgī in c. 935 A. D. His father's nominee Yuddhamalla was ousted by Bhīma in 934 and Govinda sent an army to crush him. It did not however meet with any success and had to retire⁴.

Govinda ruled for only about seven years, as his career was cut short by his vicious life. Records of his rival's successor describe how the intellect of Govinda became ensnared in the eyes of young

¹ *E.I.*, XXVI, p. 162. The record supplying 919 as the earliest date for Govinda IV (*J.A.* XII) p. 222, is probably a forgery.

² Rāṣṭrakūṭas., etc., p. 205.

³ (There is no basis for these scandals. The verse in these charters has been misunderstood. See *Studies in Indology*, I, 158 f. V.V.M.)

⁴ *E.I.*, VIII, p. 196.

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GOVINDA IV

women and how his body was undermined by a number of maladies, how his vicious life alienated the sympathies of a number of ministers and high officials and how he met with a natural ruin¹. This is perhaps a little biased account but appears to be substantially true. The defeat of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa armies in the Veṅgī war induced a feeling that the continuance of Govinda on the throne was not in the interest of the empire; his vicious life must have created a number of scandals, making the average citizen intensely pine for his deposition. Govinda had an uncle named Baddiga who was a half brother of Indra. He was leading a retired life in the Cedi country at Tripurī, his wife being a Cedi princess. He had a high reputation for character and saintly life. The dissatisfied courtiers and alienated subjects pressed him to accept the Rāṣṭrakūṭa crown. He was disinclined to do so, but his ambitious son Kṛṣṇa managed to overcome his reluctance. Baddiga eventually started his march on Mālkheḍ, probably with the assistance of his Cedi father-in-law, Yuvarāja I. The attack from the north was a signal for dissatisfied feudatories to rebel against Govinda. Prominent among these was Cālukya king Arikesarin II, son of Narasimha, who had played a brilliant part in Indra's expedition in the north. He had offered asylum to Vijayāditya of Veṅgi and refused to surrender him to Govinda, when commanded to do so. Pampa, a protege of Arikesarin, no doubt states that it was Arikesarin, who shattered Govinda's power and offered the crown to Baddiga²; but this is probably an exaggeration. He appears to have attacked Govinda from the south when Baddiga was marching from the north. The decisive battle was fought in Berār on the bank of the Payoṣṇī a tributary of the Tāpī³.

Govinda was firm on throne in 934 A.D.; we find Baddiga ruling in 937. The former's deposition probably took place early in that year. Whether Govinda died in the war or was put in prison, we do not know.

BADDIGA-AMOGH-
HAVARSHA III

Baddiga ascended the throne in 937 A.D. assuming the title of Amoghavarsha. He was an old man of 50, and more interested in the affairs of the future world than in those of the present one. He left the administration entirely in the hands of his ambitious crown-prince Kṛṣṇa who was ably and loyally assisted by his brothers Jagattuṅga, Nirupama and Khoṭṭiga. Such a cordial *entente* among brother princes was a rather rare phenomenon in the annals of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty.

The Crown-prince Kṛṣṇa was both ambitious and unscrupulous, and he proceeded to take active steps to restore the prestige of his house. His sister Revakanimaḍi had been married to Būṭuga, a younger brother of Rājamalla II, the ruling Gaṅga king. Kṛṣṇa

¹ Deoli and Karhad plates, *E. I.*, III, p. 271; IV, pp. 278 f.

² *Vikramārjunaviṇaya*, after v, 52,

³ Rāṣṭrakūṭas p. 109-110.

decided to oust him and put his brother-in-law upon the throne. He therefore led an expedition to Gaṅgavāḍī, killed Nolamba¹ princes Dantiga and Vappuga, who had championed Rājamalla's cause, and eventually overthrew and killed Rājamalla himself. Būṭuga was put upon the throne and he proved to be not only a loyal but also an able feudatory of Kṛṣṇa.

Kṛṣṇa then led an expedition in the north and captured the forts of Kaliñjar and Citrakūṭa in Bundelkhaṇḍ. Probably he wanted to repeat his grandfather's feats in the Gangetic plain, but was recalled to south owing to his father's impending death. During this northern expedition, the relations of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas with the Cedis became strained, leading to a military conflict between the two². The cause probably may have been the disinclination of the Cedis to allow the Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces to retain the possession of the strategically important forts of Citrakūṭa and Kaliñjar. This was an unfortunate estrangement between the two families which were closely connected by several matrimonial alliances.

Kṛṣṇa had thus fully established his reputation as a general and administrator while still a Crown-prince³. He had brought both Gaṅgavāḍī and Bundelkhaṇḍ under his sphere of influence in a short period of about three years. His father therefore had no misgivings about his son's capacity, when he died probably in the summer of 939.

On his accession in 939 A.D., Kṛṣṇa like his two namesake predecessors assumed the title of Akālavarṣa. After his conquest of Kāñcī and Tanjore in c. 943 A.D., he took the Canarese title of *Kañciyun Tangaiyun Koṇḍa*, the conqueror of Kāñcī and Tanjore.

Within two or three years of his accession Kṛṣṇa planned a grand campaign in the south. His ally and brother-in-law was in effective possession of Gaṅgavāḍī, and using that province as his advanced base, Kṛṣṇa launched a lightning attack on the Cola king Parāntaka and captured the two important cities of Kāñcī and Tanjore before the fifth year of his reign⁴. Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces continued to be in the effective occupation of Toṇḍaimaṇḍala, Arcot, Cingleput and Vellore districts, down to the end of the reign of Kṛṣṇa.

Parāntaka soon organised a counter attack to regain his lost districts. The two rival armies met in a sanguinary battle at Takkolam in the North Arcott district, in which eventually the Cola army was signally defeated, its general Crown-prince Rājāditya being killed right in his own elephant's *howdah* by Kṛṣṇa's brother-in-law, the Gaṅga king Būṭuga II⁵. Kṛṣṇa rewarded his brother-in-law's feat by bestowing upon him the governorship of Banavāsī 12,000, Bevlol 300 and Purigere 300.

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GHAVARSHA III

Kṛṣṇa III

(¹) See Rāṣṭrakūṭas, pp. 112-13; *E. I.*, X, p. 54.

(²) This is expressly referred to in the Deoli plates, which state that Kṛṣṇa conquered the elders of his wife and mother *E. I.*, IV, 281f; V, 192f.

(This view is based on a wrong interpretation of a verse in Karhāḍ and Deoli plates. See *C. I. I.*, IV, lxxxii, n. V. V. M.)

(³) See Deoli plates, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XVIII 239.

(⁴) See Rāṣṭrakūṭas p. 113-4.

(⁵) *E. I.*, XXI pp. 261-2.

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Kṛṣṇa III.

Kṛṣṇa fully exploited this signal victory and led his victorious army down to Rāmeśvaram, where he built two temples of Kṛṣṇeśvara and Gaṇḍamartaṇḍāditya, which shone there as resplendent hills of fame¹. Kings of Keraḷa, Pāṇḍya and Ceylon were terrified into submission. Kṛṣṇa did not occupy the entire peninsula for a long time; eventually he retired to north but kept an effective control over Toṇḍai-Manḍalam, where numerous Rāṣṭrakūṭa records have been found dated down to the end of Kṛṣṇa's reign.

Kṛṣṇa did not for a long time interest himself in the affairs of Veṅgī. Eventually he decided to champion the cause of Bādapa, a son of the former Rāṣṭrakūṭa nominee Yuddhamalla II. A Rāṣṭrakūṭa expeditionary force entered the Veṅgī kingdom, ousted the ruling king Amman II and put Bādapa upon the throne in 950 A.D. He continued to rule as a Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory down to 970 A.D.²

Kṛṣṇa's commitments in the south could not but affect his position in the north. Candellas wrested away the fort of Kaliñjar and Citrakūṭa in c. 950³, the Cedis now naturally remaining passive spectators. Later on troubles arose in Gujārāt and Mālhwā and Kṛṣṇa had to send an army under the leadership of the Gaṅga king Mārasimha, the successor of Būṭuga II. The expedition was successful; we find Mārasimha taking the title of the King of Gurjaras and his two captains Sudrakayya and Goggiyamma, that of Ujjeni-bhujāṅgas or conquerors of Ujjayini⁴. The conquest of this city would show that the Paramāra king Siyaka had grown recalcitrant and that punitive action had to be taken against him. There is some evidence to show that Kṛṣṇa's forces may have marched once more in Bundelkhaṇḍ to regain the forts of Citrakūṭa and Kaliñjar, but it is not conclusive⁵.

Kṛṣṇa III was undoubtedly one of the ablest Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors. No doubt he had no sensational victories in the north to his credit, as was the case with Dhruva, Govinda III or Indra III, but he was more truly lord paramount of the entire Deccan (Sakala-dakṣiṇa-dig-adhipati) than was the case with any of his predecessors. His temples at Rāmeśvaram proclaimed the might of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa arms to every pilgrim at the far end of south India. The power of the Colas, Pāṇḍyas and Keraḷas was broken and Veṅgī was being governed by a nominee of Kṛṣṇa, who remained loyal to him.

Apparently Kṛṣṇa's sons had all predeceased him. One of them had no doubt left a son behind named Indra, but he was apparently too young to succeed. When Kṛṣṇa died in 967 A.D., we find him succeeded by his brother Khoṭṭiga.

(1) Kolhapur plates, *vide* B.B.R.A.S., X, p. 28.

(2) *E.I.*, XIX, p. 137.

(3) Khajuraho inscr., *E.I.*, I, p. 124.

(4) *E.I.*, V, 179; *E.O.*, XI, Keri Nos. 23, 33.

(5) Kṛṣṇa's first expedition in the north was undertaken when he was a Crown-prince. Jura inscription in the Canarese language discovered near Maihar Railway Station refers to Kṛṣṇa as an emperor and describes his conquest of Kāñbei and Tanjore; *Prima facie* this record would suggest a second invasion after 945 A.D. But it is not improbable that the record may have been inscribed later in c. 945 by a captain in the garrison left behind by Kṛṣṇa in 940 A.D.

At his accession, Khoṭṭiga assumed the title of *Nityavarṣa* (Incessant Rainer of blessings).

Khoṭṭiga succeeded a brother who had ruled long ; he must therefore be on the wrong side of 50 when he ascended the throne. It appears that he lacked the martial spirit of his elder brother ; for the events show that he was unable to protect even his capital.

For a few years everything went on well with the Rāṣtrakūṭa empire under the stewardship of Khoṭṭiga. The Paramāra chief Sīyaka was however smarting under the defeat he had suffered at the hands of Kṛṣṇa and invaded the Rāṣtrakūṭa empire to avenge it. His forces tried to cross the Narmadā at the fort of Khalinghaṭṭa¹, but were repulsed with the loss of a general. Sīyaka however sent fresh reinforcements and succeeded in forcing the passage of his army. Khoṭṭiga, being alarmed at this development, sent for his trusted ally king Mārasimha of Gaṅgavādī, but before his help could reach the Rāṣtrakūṭas, Sīyaka reached Mālkheḍ and plundered it. It was not his aim to permanently occupy the capital ; it is therefore difficult to state whether Mārasimha drove out Sīyaka and pursued him to the Vindhya or whether he just succeeded in harrying the victorious army marching with its rich booty² during its retreat homewards according to its previous plan³.

The plunder of Mālkheḍ took place in the spring of 972 A.D. Khoṭṭiga was already an old man and did not long survive this shock. He died in the autumn of 973 A.D.⁴ and was succeeded by his nephew Karka, the son of his younger brother Nirupama. Either Khoṭṭiga left no sons behind him or their claims were superseded by Karka.

Karka ascended the throne in September 972 and assumed the title of Amoghavarṣa. The only charter issued by him refers to his victories over the Pāṇḍyas and the Coḷas, the Hūṇas and the Gujaras⁵. But these were conventional claims devoid of any historical value. Karka was ousted from his empire in about a year's time by one of his Cālukya feudatories Taila II.

Karka was a weak and vicious ruler and his two principal advisors were tyrannical, if we are to accept the version of the opposing party⁶. He had superseded the claims of Indra, the grandson of Kṛṣṇa III, and had thus naturally alienated the sympathies of the Gaṅga ruler Mārasimha, who was the maternal uncle of that prince. The Cedis had been alienated from the Rāṣtrakūṭas by the wanton attack of Kṛṣṇa III upon them.⁷ Their sympathies were rather with Taila who was out to challenge the supremacy of the Rāṣtrakūṭas ;

(1) *E.I.*, XXI, p. 47.

(2) Among the booty were included office copies of Rāṣtrakūṭa copper plates, some of which were reused by Munja for a fresh grant in 982 A.D. See *E.I.*, XXIII, p. 101.

(3) For the Paramāra version, See *E.I.*, XIV, 299 ; I. p. 235. XIII, p. 180 ; for the opposite version, see *Śravana Belgola inscriptions*.

(4) *S.I.I.*, IX p. 43.

(5) Kharda plates, E. XII, p. 263.

(6) *E.I.*, XII, p. 150.

(7) (As shown above, this supposition is baseless.—V.V.M.).

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KHOṬṬIGA

KARKA II

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KARKA II

for he was the son of a daughter of the Cedi King Lakṣmaṇa. Taila believed himself to be a descendant of the earlier Cālukyas, who had been supplanted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in 752 A.D. He was ambitious and wanted to regain for his house the overlordship of the Deccan, which it had lost two hundred and twenty-five years ago. He was married to a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess named Jakavvā and believed that both by virtue of his own descent and that of his wife, he was entitled to be the emperor of the Deccan.

Down to 965 A.D., Taila was a mere feudatory, ruling at Bāgevāḍi in Bijāpūr district and having the humble feudatory title of *Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati*¹. The sack of Mālkheḍ however convinced him that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire was rotten to its core and he decided to rebel and make a bold bid for the hegemony of the Deccan. He was able to win over some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatories like the Yādava chief Bhillama to his side and he counted upon the help of the Cedis as well. Above all, he himself was a brave soldier and an astute general and eventually succeeded in realising his objective.

We do not know where the two forces met in the fateful combat, which was to decide the fate of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire. The scene of battle was probably somewhere in northern Karnāṭak. The struggle was intense and severe, for Taila's own records admit that it was after an exceedingly great effort that he obtained the sovereignty of the world². Karka's two wicked advisors were killed, but he escaped to south and carved a small principality in the Sorab Taluka of the Mysore State³. After the flight of Karka, Taila marched upon and occupied the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital Mālkheḍ, which continued to be the headquarters of his administration till the end of the 10th century. सत्यमेव जयते

Though Karka retired from the contest, a few other claimants came in the field and Taila had to defeat them. The most important among them was Indra IV, a grandson of Kṛṣṇa III, whose cause was championed by his powerful Gaṅga maternal uncle Mārasimha. Taila however signally defeated both of them, who eventually became Jain monks and died by the *sallekhanā* vow, the maternal uncle in August 975 and the nephew in 982 A.D.⁴ When Mārasimha died, his successor Pāñcāladeva made a bid for the overlordship of the Deccan, but he also was completely overthrown and killed in battle⁵ and Taila remained the undisputed master of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions. What part of these extensive territories came under his direct sway and how the different Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatories transferred their allegiance to the new emperor will be narrated in the next chapter.

(1) *Inscriptions of Bombay-Karnāṭak*, Vol. X, p. 40.

(2) *E.I.*, V p. 20.

(3) *E.C.*, X, Sorab, W. 479. The date of this record given as 991 A. D. is not above doubt.

(4) *Inscriptions from Śravaṇa Belgola*, No. 59.

(5) Toragala inscription, *I.A.*, XII, p. 98.

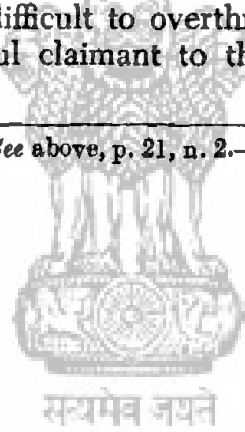
The fall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire was dramatic in its suddenness. In the winter of 967 A.D. Kṛṣṇa III was the undisputed master of the whole of the Deccan; in the winter of 973 A.D., his empire crumbled like a pack of cards. Like other earlier empires, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire was a feudal federal organisation, lacking the strength of a unitary state. There were a number of feudatories under the emperor, whose stability and position depended as much upon his own strength and resources as upon the goodwill and co-operation of his subordinate feudatories. If the emperor was weak and the feudatories refractory, empires used to vanish in the twinkling of an eye. The forward policy of Kṛṣṇa III had probably drained the resources of his treasury; the cessation of a large slice of northern Karnāṭak to the Gaṅgas must have further affected the finances of the empire. Kṛṣṇa's war with the Cedis was a great blunder,¹ it transferred their sympathies to Taila II. Irreparable damage had been caused to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prestige by the Paramāra sack of Mālkhed in 972 A.D. Karka, the last emperor, not only lacked military skill and initiative, but was also in the hands of vicious and incapable advisors whose administration was very unpopular. Taila therefore did not find it difficult to overthrow the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire and become the successful claimant to the paramount overlordship of the Deccan.

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 Rāṣṭrakūṭa
 Empire and its
 Feudatories

 KARKA II.

(¹ See above, p. 21, n. 2.—V.V.M.).





सत्यमेव जयते

CHAPTER 8

THE ŚILĀHĀRAS OF WESTERN INDIA*

THE SILAHARAS WERE ONE OF THE MOST LOYAL FEUDATORIES of the Rāṣtrakūṭas. There were three families of the Śilāhāras, one of which was ruling over North Koṅkaṇ comprising the modern Kolābā and Ṭhānā Districts. This country was traditionally supposed to have comprised 14,000 villages¹. Its capital was Purī, from which this country came to be known as Purī-Koṅkaṇa. Purī has been variously identified. Some take it to be the same as Ghārāpurī or the island of Elephanta near Bombay, but the identification appears improbable as the island is too small to be the capital of a fairly large kingdom. The most plausible view appears to be that Purī is identical with Rājāpurī in the former Jañjirā State², which is situated at the mouth of a large creek on the western coast. The second family of the Śilāhāras was ruling over the Kolhāpūr and Sātārā districts. Its capital was situated at Valivāda or at Kolhāpūr with the strong fort of Panhālā in its vicinity. The third family was governing South Koṅkaṇ, which was traditionally supposed to have comprised 900 villages. It was also known as Sapta-Koṅkaṇa³ and comprised the modern territory of Goa and the Iridige country including the former Sāvāntvāḍī State and the Ratnāgiri district. Its capital was Balipattana⁴, which has not yet been definitely identified, but was probably the same as modern Khārepāṭaṇ, where one of the grants of this family was discovered.

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* This Chapter is contributed by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi of the Nagpur University.

¹ C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 157. In some later inscriptions the number of villages in North Koṅkaṇ are said to have numbered 1,400 only. See the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 274, and the Khārepāṭaṇ plates of Anantadeva, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 35.

² P. I. H. C. (Fourth Session), pp. 86 f.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 18.

⁴ The name of the capital occurs as *Valipattana* in both the grants of Raṭṭarāja, but *Valipattana* gives no satisfactory sense. The name is read as *Balipattana* in the Cikodī plates. The same form may have been intended in the former grants also; for *v* is used for *b* therein. *Balipattana* may have been named after *Bali*, the king of demons or may signify the town of the mighty.

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All the three families traced their descent from the mythical Vidyādhara prince Jīmūtavāhana, the son of Jīmūtakeṭu who offered to sacrifice himself to rescue a Nāga from the clutches of Garuḍa. The family name Śilāhāra, 'food on a slab', was supposed to have been derived from this incident. It seems, however, to have been an attempt to Sanskritise the family name which is spelt variously as Śilāra¹, Śilāra², Silāra³ and Siyalāra⁴ in the records of the Śilāhāras. This was in pursuance of the tendency in mediaeval times to trace the descent of royal families to eponymous heroes.

The Śilāhāras hailed from the Kanarese territory. The first two families mentioned above, which were ruling over North Koṅkaṇ and Sātārā-Kolhāpūr region, state with pride in their grants that they hailed from the city of Tagara. This place is variously identified, but the most plausible identification is with the village Ter in the Osmānābād district of the Marāṭhvāḍā Division of Mahārāṣṭra. Tagara was, like Pratiṣṭhāna, modern Paṭhan, an important market town in the Deccan which lay on the highway to Bharukaccha, modern Broach, from where merchandise such as common cloth, muslin and mallow cloth was exported to western countries. Both Ptolemy and the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* mention it, but while the former places it in a north-easterly direction from Barygaza, the latter says that it was a ten days journey to the east from Paṭhan⁵. Ter is about 95 miles from Paṭhan. So its distance fairly answers to the description in the *Periplus*, but it is to the south-east, not north or north-east, of Paṭhan. The Greek writers appear to have committed a mistake in stating the direction of Tagara from Paṭhan or Broach. The identification of Tagara with Ter is now generally accepted and is also corroborated by recent excavations at the place.

Ter, though now situated in the Marāṭhī speaking country, was probably included in the Kanarese territory in ancient times. That the Śilāhāras, who hailed from Tagara, were Kanarese-speaking is shown clearly by their Kanarese *birudas* which are mentioned in their records viz. Malagalagaṇḍa, Gaṇḍaragaṇḍa, Gaṇḍavaṅgara, Nannīsamudra, Villaveḍaṅga, etc.⁶ This is again corroborated by their use of such Kanarese technical terms as *Hanjamana* and *Nagara* in the formal parts of their grants, which baffled scholars for a long time⁷. All this evidence leaves no doubt that the Śilāhāras of North Koṅkaṇ and Kolhāpūr-Sātārā region hailed from the Kanarese country.

The third family ruling over South Koṅkaṇ states that it originally belonged to Sīmhala. Kielhorn identified Sīmhala with Ceylon, but

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 278.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 33.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 299.

⁴ *A. S. W. I.*, No. X, p. 102.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 329 and Vol. VIII, p. 144, and XIII, p. 366.

⁶ Important inscriptions from Baroda State, Vol. I, pp. 35 f.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 292.

doubted whether the family could have originally come from the southern island. *Siṃhala*, however, appears to have been the name of the Goa region; for the Degamve inscription, describing the conquest of Goa states that the lord of *Laṅkā* was subdued by the Kadamba king Jayakeśin¹. This family does not appear to have been connected with the other two families as it does not claim any connection with Tagara.

The Śilāhāras of both North and South Koṅkaṇ rose to power as feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Before their rise, Koṅkaṇ was ruled by the feudatories of the Cālukyas of Badāmī. From the Aihole inscription we learn that Pulakeśin II conquered North Koṅkaṇ from the Mauryas who were probably feudatories of the early Kalacuris². Thereafter Vikramāditya I, the son and successor of Pulakeśin II, placed his younger brother Jayasimha Dharāśraya in charge of North Koṅkaṇ, Gujarāt and the Nāsik District. Jayasimha's own copper-plate grant is found in the Nāsik district³, while the copper-plate grants of his eldest son Śryāśraya Śilāditya have been found at Navasāri and Surat in Gujarāt⁴. The grants of his second son Maṅgalarasa-Jayāśraya were found at Balsād in Gujarāt⁵ and in Kacch⁶. His capital was Maṅgalapurī evidently founded by himself, which has not yet been identified, but that he was ruling over parts of North Koṅkaṇ is shown by his Kacch plates which were issued from Śrīpura, probably identical with Śirgānṇ on the sea-shore, about 14 miles west of Mānor in the Pālghar tālukā of the Thāṇā District. These plates are dated in *Śaka* 653 (A. D. 731). Some portion of North Koṅkaṇ was under the rule of the Hariścandriya king Svāmicandra, who is said to have been treated by Vikramāditya I as his own son and placed in charge of Purī-Koṅkaṇa. The Añjaneri plates of his grandson Bhogaśakti, recording assignment of some taxes levied on the people of a district in North Koṅkaṇ, are dated in the Kalacuri year 461 (A. D. 710)⁷. Soon thereafter North Koṅkaṇ was conquered by Dantidurga, the founder of Rāṣṭrakūṭa imperial power. His Mānor plates, recording the grant of the village Tambasāhikā (modern Tamsāhi near Mānor) in favour of a temple at Śrīpura, are dated in the *Śaka* year 671 (A. D. 749), only 18 years after the Kacch plates of Maṅgalarasa⁸. Thereafter North Koṅkaṇ was under the direct rule of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas until Govinda III placed it in charge of Kapardin I, the founder of the North Koṅkaṇ branch of the Śilāhāras.

South Koṅkaṇ was conquered by the Cālukyas of Badāmī in the reign of Maṅgaleśa. The Nerur plates⁹ tell us that Maṅgaleśa slew

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¹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX, p. 266.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 f.

³ C. I. I., Vol. IV, pp. 127 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 132 f.

⁵ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, pp. 5 f.

⁶ J. O. I., Vol. IX, pp. 141 f.

⁷ C. I. I., Vol. IV, pp. 146 f.

⁸ J. O. I., Vol. IX, pp. 141 f.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 161 f.

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a chief named Svāmīrāja of the Cālukya family, who had been victorious in eighteen battles. He was ruling from Revatīdvīpa, modern Reḍi, 8 miles south of Veṅgurlā in the Ratnāgiri district. Maṅgaleśa then placed South Koṅkaṇ in charge of Satyāśraya Dhruva-rāja Indravarman of the Baṭputrā family. The Goa plates tell us that he was stationed in Revatīdvīpa in A. D. 610 and was governing four provinces¹. We have no further information about the rulers of this territory. It was evidently governed by some feudatory of the early Cālukyas, perhaps by a Sendraka chief; for the home province of the Sendrakas, the Sendrakas-*viṣaya*, lays not far to the south.

ŚILAHARAS OF
SOUTH KONKAN.

We have seen above that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga conquered North Koṅkaṇ. South Koṅkaṇ was added to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire in the reign of Dantidurga's uncle and successor Kṛṣṇa I. He placed Saṇaphulla, the founder of the Southern Śilāhāras, in charge of the territory. The grants of his descendant Raṭṭarāja record with gratitude that Saṇaphulla, his ancestor, had the favour of Kṛṣṇarāja¹. This Kṛṣṇarāja is none other than the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor Kṛṣṇa I, who ruled from A. D. 758 to A. D. 773. That Saṇaphulla, the founder of this family, also flourished in the period can be inferred from the fact that he was the ninth ancestor of Raṭṭarāja, whose two known grants are dated in *Śaka* 930 and 932.

Only three records of this family are known. The Cikodī plates issued by Avasara III are dated in *Śaka* 910³. The other two grants dated in *Śaka* 930 and 932 were issued by his son Raṭṭarāja⁴. These latter grants give the following genealogy of these southern Śilāhāras. The Cikodī plates show some discrepancies which will be noticed below :—

Saṇaphulla (c. A. D. 765-795).

|
Dhammiyara (c. A. D. 795-820).

|
Aiyaparaja (c. A. D. 820-845).

|
Avasara I (c. A. D. 845-870).

|
Ādityavarman (c. A. D. 870-895).

|
Avasara II (c. A. D. 895-920).

|
Indrarāja (c. A. D. 920-945).

|
Bhīma (c. A. D. 945-970).

|
Avasara III (c. A. D. 970-995) (known year A. D. 988).

|
Raṭṭarāja (c. A. D. 995-1020) (known years A. D. 1008
and 1010).

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, pp. 365-6.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 299.

³ A. R. B. I. S. M. for *Śaka* 1835, pp. 430 f.

⁴ I. H. O., Vol. IV, pp. 203 f.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 292 f.

As stated before, Saṇaphulla, the founder of this family, had the favour of the Rāṣtrakūṭa Emperor Kṛṣṇa I, whereby he acquired the territory between the Sahyādri mountain and the sea-shore¹. His name is, however, omitted in the Cikoḍi plates. He was ruling over the Goa region which is called Sīṁhala in both the grants of Raṭṭarāja. Saṇaphulla's capital is not named in them, but it was probably at Candrapura, modern Cāndor on the left bank of the Parodā river, south of Goa. His son and successor Dhammiyara is said to have founded Balipattana² on the sea coast. This place may be identical with Khārepāṭaṇ in the Ratnāgiri district. Dhammiyara probably conquered some territory north of Goa and so felt the need of shifting the seat of government to a more central place like Khārepāṭaṇ. As stated before, a grant of Raṭṭarāja was found at Khārepāṭaṇ. Perhaps Candrapura was invaded and occupied by some enemy, which may have necessitated the shifting of the capital. We know that it was in hostile hands in the reign of his successor Aiyapa.

The grants of Raṭṭarāja mention Aiyapa as the son and successor of Dhammiyara. The Cikoḍi plates, however, mention another prince named Āmalla between them. The cause of this discrepancy is not known. Aiyapa followed an aggressive policy and invaded Candrapura, the erstwhile capital of the family, which was then in the occupation of some enemy. He is said to have bathed there with the water of cocoanuts,³ signifying his conquest of the territory.

According to the grant of Raṭṭarāja, Aiyapa was followed by his son Avasara I, but the Cikoḍi plates, for some reason, omit his name altogether. Avasara is said to have been conversant with the principles of political science. Otherwise his description is conventional. His son was Ādityavarman. He was succeeded by Avasara II, who is said to have rendered help to the rulers of Chemulya and Candrapura⁴. Chemulya, identical with Semulla mentioned as a port by Ptolemy, is modern Caul, about 30 miles south of Bombay. The ruler of this place was probably a feudatory of the Śilāhāras of Pūrī, but he seems to have revolted at the accession of his suzerain Laghu-Kapardin who was then in his teens. Avasara seems to have taken advantage of this opportunity to extend his sphere of influence in North Konkan. The other prince to whom he gave military aid was ruling at Candrapura in the Goa region. He is not named, but he may have been Kaṇṭakācārya, the founder of the Kadamba family of Goa, which rose to power about this time. Avasara seems to have aided him in occupying Candrapura which he later made his capital. Avasara II was followed by his son Indrarāja, about whom we have only conventional praise in the records of

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ŚILAHARAS OF
SOUTH KONKAN.

Saṇaphulla
Dhammiyara

Aiyapa

Avasara I

Adityavarman
Avasara II

Indrarāja.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 299.

² As stated before, the name of this capital occurs as *Valipattana* in the grants of Raṭṭarāja, but as *Balipattana* in the Cikoḍi plates of Avasara III.

³ See e.g. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 299.

⁴ *Lloc. cit.*

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SOUTH KONKAN.

Bhīma
Avasara III

the family. He was succeeded by Bhīma, who is said to have annexed Candramaṇḍala (comprising the territory round Candrapura) even as Rāhu devours the Moon at an eclipse. Bhīma reversed the policy of his grandfather and came into conflict with the contemporary Kadamba king, who was either Śaṣṭhadeva or his son Caturbhuja.

Avasara III succeeded Bhīma. He was a man of noble nature and peaceful disposition. He is said to have had no enemy. He issued the Cikoḍī plates in the Śaka year 910 (A. D. 988)¹. They record the *pād-pūjā* of some saint with the gift of 100 *dināras*. This reference to the *dināra* coins occurring in such a late work is interesting. The date of this record, Monday, *Kārttika śu. di. 5* in the cyclic year Sarvadhārin is irregular. The cyclic year corresponding to Śaka 910 was, no doubt, Sarvadhārin, but the week-day does not agree.

The Southern Śilāhāras were loyal feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. When Avasara III issued his Cikoḍī plates in Śaka 910 (A. D. 988), the last Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Karka II had already been overthrown by Tailapa in A. D. 974. Thereafter, the Gaṅga king Mārasimha tried to revive Rāṣṭrakūṭa power by placing on the throne his son-in-law Indra IV, the grandson of Kṛṣṇa III, but the attempt did not succeed and Indra IV put an end to his life by religious starvation in A. D. 982². There was thus no Rāṣṭrakūṭa king ruling at the time when Avasara III issued his grant. But true to the erstwhile suzerains of his family, Avasara has given the genealogy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the beginning of his Cikoḍī plates. At the end of the genealogy he states with regret that the noble sprout of the wish-fulfilling tree (*Kalpavṛkṣa*) in the form of Baddiga could not grow as it was crushed under the weight of the huge mountain in the form of Tailapa. It is not clear who is meant by Baddiga here. Perhaps it refers to Indra IV, who had ended his life just six years before³. Avasara III lived in those stirring times. His Rāṣṭrakūṭa suzerain had been overthrown, but he had not yet submitted to Tailapa. So he has cited the genealogy of his former Rāṣṭrakūṭa suzerain in the Cikoḍī plates.

Raṭṭarāja.

Avasara III was followed by his son Raṭṭarāja, who is known from two grants dated in Śaka 930 and 932. In the interval of twenty years that had elapsed since the issue of the Cikoḍī plates, the Later Cālukyas had consolidated their power in the Kuntala country and had proceeded to subdue the erstwhile feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Raṭṭarāja had to bend before this new power. He has eulogised

¹ A. R. B. I. S. M. for Śaka 1835, p. 433.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 35; *E. C.*, Vol. II, No. 133.

³ It is difficult to say who is referred to as Baddiga. The tenor of the description suggests that it might be Indra IV, who ended his reign before he could consolidate his power. But the Khārepāṭaṇ plates name the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king overthrown by Tailapa as Kakkala. Perhaps Kakkala had another name Baddiga.

both Tailapa and his son Satyāśraya in his Khārepāṭaṇ plates, but he retained his love and regard for the late Rāṣtrakūṭas, whose genealogy he has given in the grant dated Śaka 930. He however mentions that Satyāśraya, his suzerain at the time, was governing the Raṭṭarāḍi *i.e.* the Rāṣtrakūṭa kingdom¹.

Raṭṭarāja made the grant recorded in the Khārepāṭaṇ plates to the teacher Ātreya, the disciple of the Ācārya Ambhojaśambhu who belonged to the Karkaroṇi branch of the Mattamayūra clan of the Śaiva sect, for the worship of the god Avveśvara and the repairs of his temple. The temple had probably been constructed by king's father Avasara III as suggested by the name of the god installed therein. Mattamayūra, the original seat of the clan, is probably identical with Kadvāhā in Central India, where magnificent temples, as grand as those at Khajuraho, were erected by the Ācāryas of this clan with the patronage of the local rulers². Karkaroṇi, after which the branch was named, has not been identified, but it must have been situated somewhere in Central India. The second grant of Raṭṭarāja dated Śaka 932 records the gift of some land to a Senāvai (Seṇavī) Brāhmaṇa named Saṅkamaiya³.

Raṭṭarāja is the last known king of this branch. After the death of Satyāśraya, the power of the Later Cālukyas seems to have suffered a decline owing to their conflict with the Colas. Taking advantage of this debacle, Raṭṭarāja may have declared independence. As Satyāśraya's successor Vikramāditya V was a weak king, he would not punish this recalcitrant feudatory, but his younger brother and successor Jayasimha invaded South Koṅkaṇ, overthrew the ruler and appropriated all his possessions. This is recorded in his Mīraj plates (A. D. 1024), which were issued from his camp at Kolhāpūr in the course of a campaign for conquering the northern country⁴.

This branch of the Śilāhāras ruled over South Koṅkaṇ comprising Goa and the Ratnāgiri district for about 250 years from c. A. D. 765 to c. A. D. 1020. For some times its sphere of influence extended to Caul in North Koṅkaṇ. As stated before, its capital was Bali-pattana, which may be identical with modern Khārepāṭaṇ.

We have seen above that North Koṅkaṇ was conquered by the Rāṣtrakūṭa king Dantidurga some time in the second quarter of the eighth century A. D. The Mānor plates⁵ dated in the Śaka year 671 (A. D. 749) show that North Koṅkaṇ was then governed by

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SOUTH KONKAN.

Raṭṭarāja

ŚILAHARAS OF
NORTH KONKAN.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 299.

² *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. cli, f.

³ Chakladar, who has edited the grant, takes *Senāvai* to mean *Sendapati*, but this appears unlikely in the context.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 18.

⁵ Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, pp. 10 f.

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The Śilāhāras of
Western India.ŚILĀHĀRAS OF
NORTH KONKAN.

Kapardin I

Aniruddha who appears to have been a governor appointed by Dantidurga and not a feudatory of his, since he bears no feudatory title like *Sāmanta* or *Maṇḍaleśvara*. The next known ruler of this territory is Kapardin I, the founder of the northern branch of the Śilāhāras. He was a contemporary of the Rāṣtrakūṭa Emperor Govinda III (A. D. 793-813); for the Kānheri inscription of his successor Pullaśakti is dated in Ś. 765 (A. D. 843)¹. Kapardin I seems to have rendered help to Govinda III in extending his rule in Koṅkaṇ and was apparently rewarded with the rulership of North Koṅkaṇ. No record of his reign has yet been discovered, but that he was the founder of this branch of the Śilāhāras is shown by the name *Kapardika-dvīpa* or *Kavaḍi-dvīpa* given to North Koṅkaṇ in his honour.

The genealogy of this branch² of the Śilāhāras with approximate dates may be stated as follows :—

Kapardin I, c. A. D. 800-825.

Pullaśakti I, c. A. D. 825-850 (known date A. D. 843 (?)).

Kapardin II, c. A. D. 850-880 (known dates A. D. 853 and 877).

Vappuvanna, c. A. D. 880-910.

Jhañjha, c. A. D. 910-930.

Goggi, c. A. D. 930-945.

Vajjaḍa I, c. A. D. 945-965.

Cadvaideva, c. A. D. 965-975.

Aparājita, c. A. D. 975-1010 (known dates A. D. 993 and 997).

Vajjaḍa II, c. A. D. 1010-1015.

Arikesarin *alias* Keśideva I,
c. 1015-1025 (known dates
A. D. 1012 and 1017).

Chittarāja, c. A. D. 1025-
1040 (known dates A. D.
1026 and 1040).

Nāgārjuna, c. A. D.
1040-45.

Mummuṇi, c. A. D.
1045-1070
(known dates 1049
and 1060).

Anantadeva or Anantapāla, c. A. D. 1070-
1110 (known dates A. D. 1095).

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 136 f.

² The genealogy is taken from Dr. A. S. Altekar's article in *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. II, p. 402, with some additions and corrections necessitated by subsequent research.

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Western India,
SHILAHARAS OF
NORTH KONKAN.

Aparārka or Aparāditya I, c. 1110-1140
(known dates 1127, 1129 and 1138).

Haripāladeva, c. A. D. 1140-1155 (known
dates 1148, 1149, 1150, 1153 and 1154).

Mallikārjuna, c. A. D. 1155-1170 (known
dates 1156 and 1162).

Aparāditya II, c. A. D. 1170-1195 (known
dates 1184, 1185 and 1187).

Keśirāja II, c. A. D. 1195-1240 (known
dated A. D. 1203, 1239).

Someśvara, c. A. D. 1240-1265 (known
dates 1259 and 1260).

Kapardin I was succeeded by his son Pullaśakti, who has left a much abraded inscription in one of the Kānheri caves¹. It bore a date at the end, which has now been almost completely effaced. Kielhorn doubtfully read it as (*Śaka*) 765. The date appears quite plausible; for Pullaśakti's son and successor Kapardin II is known from two dates *Śaka* 795 and 799.

Pullaśakti.

In the Kānheri cave inscription Pullaśakti is called *Mahāsāmanta* and is described as the lord of Purī-Konkaṇa, which he had obtained by the favour of *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Prthivivallabha Amoghavarṣa* (I). The inscription records the endowment of 124 *drammas* made by one Viṣṇugupta for the repairs of the cave as well as the raiment and books of the monks dwelling in Kṛṣṇagiri (Kānheri)².

Pullaśakti was succeeded by his son Kapardin II, who is called Laghu-Kapardin in the records of his successors to distinguish him from his grandfather who bore the same name. He seems to have come to the throne when quite young; for the Thānā plates of Arikesarin tell us that though he was an infant, his enemies paid homage to him. Two inscriptions of his reign, dated the *Śaka* years 775 (A. D. 854) and 799 (A. D. 877-878) in the Kānheri caves, record permanent endowments of some *drammas* for the raiment etc. of the monks dwelling in the caves³.

Kapardin II.

Kapardin II was followed by his son Vappuvanna, about whom his successors' records give only conventional praise. In his time

Vappuvanna

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 136.

² Kielhorn doubtfully read *kāñcana-dramma* in line 5 of this record and on the strength of this reading it was believed that *drammas* were issued in gold also. But the reading is incorrect. See *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 238 f.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 134 f.

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a part of North Konkan comprising Saṁyāna *maṇḍala* (the territory round Sañjān in the Ṭhāṇā District*) was given in charge of an Arab feudatory named Madhumatī by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor Kṛṣṇa II¹. His family ruled in this region for at least three generations. A set of plates found at Ciñcaṇī in the Ḍahāṇū tālukā of the Ṭhāṇā District mentions Madhumatī's son Sahiyārahāra and grandson Sugatipa, who was then ruling². Madhumatī, Sahiyārahāra and Sugatipa are evidently Sanskritised names of Muhammad, Shahariar and Subakta. This Arab feudatory family, though owning allegiance to the same Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor, often came into conflict with the Śilāhāras. Madhumatī is said to have conquered all ports on the western sea-coast and established his outposts in them. His grandson Sugatipa had Hindu ministers and administrators. He made some charitable works. He established ferries for the crossing of rivers and also a charitable feeding house at Saṁyāna for the use of travellers. He also made some grants of villages and land in favour of a temple of Bhagavatī at Saṁyāna after obtaining the consent of his suzerain, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor Indra III. These Arab feudatories seem to have continued to rule over the Saṁyāna *maṇḍala* till the downfall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in A. D. 974. Thereafter the Śilāhāra king Aparājita overthrew them and annexed their territory to his own kingdom³.

Jhañjha

Vappuvanna was followed by Jhañjha. That he was ruling in this period is also known from the statement of Al-Masudi that Samur (i.e. Caul in the Kolābā district) was governed by Jhañjha in c. A. D. 916. He was a very devout Śaiva. He is said to have built twelve temples of Śiva and named them after himself⁴. None of them is now extant.

Goggirāja.

Jhañjha seems to have left no issue. He was succeeded by his younger brother Goggirāja, about whom the grants give only conventional praise. He was followed by Vajjaḍa I, who is highly eulogised for his valorous deeds.

Vajjaḍa I.

Vajjaḍa I had probably a short reign. He was succeeded by his brother Chadvaideva. His name is, however, omitted in all later Śilāhāra records, not because he was a collateral; for the name of collaterals are also mentioned in the records of the dynasty. Perhaps he was a usurper. That he came to the throne is shown by his Prince of Wales Museum plates⁵. These plates are not dated, but since they bring the genealogy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the suzerains of the Śilāhāras, down to Kṛṣṇa III, Chadvaideva must be referred to the second half of the tenth century A. D. His successor Aparājita's grants are dated in A. D. 993 and 997. He may therefore have reigned in c. A. D. 965-975.

Chadvaideva.

* Now in Surat district.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 45 f.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ See v. 31 of the Jañjirā plates of Aparājita, *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State* (I. I. B. S.), Vol. I, pp. 35 f.

⁴ See v. 8 of the Khārepāṭaṇ plates, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 33 f.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 282 f.

The plates record the grant of some land in the village Sālāṇaka in the *viṣaya* of Pāṇāḍa. These places may be identified with Sālinde and Poināḍ, the latter being situated about 8 miles north by east of Alibāg in the Kolābā District. The grant had been promised by Vajjaḍa I, but remained unexecuted during his life time. Chadvaideva, on coming to know of it, issued these plates recording the gift.

Chadvaideva was followed by his nephew Aparājita, the son of Vajjaḍa. He has left us three copper-plate grants. Two of them,¹ found at Jañjirā, both dated in the same *Śaka* year 915 (A. D. 993), were issued by him after the overthrow of the Rāṣtrakūṭas by the Later Cālukya king Tailapa. But Aparājita, true to the erstwhile suzerains of his house, gives the genealogy of the Rāṣtrakūṭas from Govinda I to Kakkala and regretfully records that the light of the last Rāṣtrakūṭa king was extinguished by the hurricane in the form of Tailapa². He did not himself submit to the Cālukyas, but began to assume high-sounding titles like *Paścima-samudr-ādhipati* (the Lord of the Western Ocean) and *Māṇḍalikā-Trinetra* (The three-eyed god Śiva to his feudatories). He made several conquests. First, he seems to have proceeded against the Arab feudatory family ruling at Saṇyāna and overthrowing it, annexed its territory to his own kingdom³. Thereafter we do not hear of this Arab kingdom on the western coast. He next conquered Pūnaka (Poonā), Saṅgameśvara and Cipluṇ and thus extended his rule to Southern Koṅkaṇ and the *Deśa*.⁴ A verse in his Jañjirā plates states the boundaries of his kingdom as follows—‘from Lāta (Central and Southern Gujarāt) in the north to Candrapura (Cāndor in the Goa region) in the south and from the ocean in the west to the territory of Bhillama in the east⁵. Another verse which occurs in the Khārepāṭaṇ plates states that he gave shelter to Goma, who had sought his protection, he firmly established Aiyapa on his throne and gave security from fear to Bhillama and Ammaṇa. He thereby became famous as *Birudaṅka-Rāma*⁶. None of these princes except Bhillama, the Yādava king, have been identified.

Aparājita was an ambitious king. He sought to extend his sphere of influence by allying himself with mighty rulers of other countries. He is probably meant by the Vidyādhara king Śikhaṇḍaketu, mentioned in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* of Padmagupta, who sent his son Śasikhaṇḍa to render help to the Paramāra king Sindhurāja (A. D.

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Aparājita.

¹ I. I. B. S., Vol. I, pp. 35 f.

² See तस्मिन्नरेन्द्र नृपतिप्रदीपे प्रचण्डतैलपसमीरणेन ।
संप्रापिते ज्योतिरलं विवृद्ध कथावभासे सति रट्टराज्ये ॥ २ ॥

V. 13 of the Bhādāna grant.

³ See v. 31 of the Jañjirā plates, *Śaka* 915 (Set A) and v. 26 of Set, B.

⁴ Loc. cit.

⁵ Ibid., Verse 27 of Set B.

⁶ See Verse 14 of the Khārepāṭaṇ plates, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 33 f.

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Aparājita.

993-1010) in his invasion of South Kosala at the request of the Nāga king of the Bastar District (M. P.)¹.

Aparājita's extensive conquests, his alliance with the Paramāras, his assumption of grandiloquent titles and his refusal to recognise the suzerainty of the Later Cālukyas exasperated Satyāśraya, the son of Tailapa. He invaded the kingdom of Aparājita and pressed as far as the capital Purī. Raṇṇa, the Kanarese poet, says that hemmed in by the ocean on one side and the sea of Satyāśraya's army on the other, Aparājita trembled like an insect on a stick, both the ends of which are on fire². Satyāśraya burnt Amśunagara in Koṅkaṇ and levied a tribute of 11 elephants on Aparājita. This invasion seems to have occurred in *circa* A. D. 1005. Aparājita did not live long after this humiliation. He probably closed his reign in A. D. 1010.

Vaijaḍa II.

Aparājita was succeeded by his son Vaijaḍa II, about whom only conventional praise is given in the records of his successors. An inscription from Hangal, however, tells us that Kuṇḍaladevī, the queen of the Kadamba king Chātṭadeva (Śaṣṭhadeva II) (c. A. D. 1005-1055) was the daughter of the king Vāchavya of Ṭhaṇī i.e. Ṭhāṇā³. As Altekar conjectured, this king of Ṭhāṇā was probably the Śilāhāra king Vaijaḍa II⁴.

Arikesarin.

Vaijaḍa was succeeded by his younger brother Arikesarin *alias* Keśideva I. While yet a prince, he had taken part in the Paramāra Sindhurāja's campaign in Chattisgaḍh and had also marched with an army to Saurāṣṭra where he worshipped Someśvara (Somanātha) and offered his conquests to the god.

It was during the reign of Arikesarin that Koṅkaṇ was invaded by the Paramāra king Bhoja. Two of his grants made in celebration of the victory are dated in A. D. 1020, one in January and the other in September of the year⁵. The causes of this invasion are not known. D. R. Bhandarkar thought that the invasion was undertaken by Bhoja to avenge the murder of his uncle Muñja. This reason does not appear convincing; for there was an interval of 44 years between the murder of Muñja (A. D. 975) and Bhoja's invasion of Koṅkaṇ (A. D. 1019). Perhaps as Altekar has suggested⁶, Arikesarin acknowledged the suzerainty of the Later Cālukyas, which Bhoja did not like. Bhoja seems to have occupied North Koṅkaṇ for some time as shown by his Betmā plates. However, the Cālukya king Jayasīṃha, after overthrowing Southern Śilāhāras and annexing their kingdom, planned to invade North Koṅkaṇ. The Miraj plates dated in A. D. 1024 tell us that he was encamped at Kolhāpūr in the

¹ *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, pp. 58 f.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 41.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 333.

⁴ *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. II, p. 408.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 182 f.; Vol. XVIII, pp. 322 f.

⁶ *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. II p. 408.

course of his campaign against North Koṅkaṇ¹. It is not known if he conquered the country, but it is noteworthy that Chittarāja, in his grant² issued soon after this date in A. D. 1026, does not mention the suzerainty of the Cālukyas.

Chittarāja succeeded his uncle Arikesarin some time before A. D. 1026, when he issued his Bhāṇḍup plates. Two other records of his reign viz. his own Berlin Museum plates³ and the Ciñcaṇī plates of his feudatory Cāmuṇḍarāja⁴ are dated in Śaka 956 (A. D. 1034). So he may have reigned from A. D. 1025 to A. D. 1040.

The Śilāhāras seem to have suffered a defeat about this time at the hands of the Kadamba king Śaṣṭhadeva II. As we have seen before, Aparājita, the grandfather of Chittarāja, had raided Candrapura, modern Cāndor, and defeated the ruler thereof, who was probably Gūhalladeva II, the father of Śaṣṭhadeva II. Śaṣṭhadeva took revenge in the beginning of the reign of Chittarāja, who was a mere boy at the time of his accession. From his capital Candrapura Śaṣṭhadeva marched to the north. He first annexed South Koṅkaṇ (called Koṅkaṇa Nine Hundred) and advancing further, he overran Kavaḍi-dvīpa (North Koṅkaṇ). The Narendra inscription describes this expedition in the following words—"As he took Kavaḍi-dvīpa, and many other regions, built a bridge with lines of ships reaching as far as Laṅkā (i.e. the Goa territory) and claimed tribute among grim barbarians, exceedingly exalted was the dominion of the Kadamba sovereign, which many called a religious estate for the establishment of the worship of Rāma⁵.

Śaṣṭhadeva did not, however, annex North Koṅkaṇ. He restored it to Chittarāja on condition that he recognised his suzerainty. There was another attack on the Śilāhāra dominion during the reign of Chittarāja. Goṅka of the Kolhāpūr branch of the Śilāhāras (c. A. D. 1020) calls himself the lord of Koṅkaṇ⁶. He had evidently scored a victory over the Śilāhāra ruler of North Koṅkaṇ; for South Koṅkaṇ had already been annexed either by him or by the Kadambas as feudatories of the Later Cālukyas.

As stated before, Aparājita had conquered Saṁyāna-maṇḍala. His son Arikesarin gave it in charge of a feudatory named Vijjarāṇaka, who probably belonged to the Moḍha family. His son Cāmuṇḍarāja was governing that maṇḍala as a feudatory of Chittarāja whom he names as Chinturāja in his Ciñcaṇī plates, dated Śaka 956 (A. D. 1034)⁷.

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Chittarāja

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 277 f.

³ *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. XC, pp. 265 f.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 63 f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 369.

⁶ *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 281.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, pp. 63 f.

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Chittarāja was a patron of art and literature. He built the magnificent temple of Śiva at Ambarnāth near Kalyān. He also patronised Soḍḍhala, the author of the *Udayasundarikathā*¹. Appreciating one of his verses containing the word *pradīpaka*, the king gave him the sobriquet *Kavipradīpa*². He also patronised some other learned men and poets who were contemporaries of Soḍḍhala³.

Nāgārjuna.

Chittarāja was succeeded by his younger brother Nāgārjuna, who had probably a short reign⁴. He is only conventionally praised in Śilāhāra grants. He may be referred to the period A. D. 1040-1045.

Mummuṇi

Nāgārjuna was succeeded by his younger brother Mummuṇi or Mārnvani in c. A. D. 1045. Three records of his reign have been discovered so far. The earliest of them, a copper-plate grant dated *Śaka* 970 (A. D. 1049)⁵, registers the donation of some villages in three *viśayas* or districts viz., Vareṭikā, Abhyantaraśaṭṣaṣṭi and Sūrpāraka-śaṭṣaṣṭi. Vareṭikā, the chief town of the first, was probably the same as the modern village Vadavali, about 6 miles north of Ṭhāṇā. Abhyantara-śaṭṣaṣṭi included the territory round about Ṭhāṇā, while Sūrpāraka-śaṭṣaṣṭi comprised that round Sopārā. Another grant of Mummuṇi is dated in *Śaka* 971 (A. D. 1049)⁶. It registers the gift of the village Kucchita in the Mandaraja *viśaya*. These places have not been identified. Mummuṇi also repaired the temple at Ambarnāth which had been built by his eldest brother. He has left an inscription there, which is dated *Śaka* 982 (A. D. 1060)⁷.

The power of the Śilāhāras weakened in the reign of Nāgārjuna and Mummuṇi. The latter had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kadambas of Goa. When Śaṣṭhadeva II visited his court he received him with great honour. The Narendra inscription describes this incident in the following words—"When the exalted valour of Caṭṭayadeva in his sport upon the ocean reached him, Mummuṇi of the famous Ṭhāneya, hearing of it, came into his presence, saw him and led him to his palace, and displayed intense affection; and he bestowed on him his daughter with much pomp, and gave to his son-in-law five lakhs of gold⁸.

As the power of the Śilāhāras declined, the Moḍha feudatories of Saṁyāna began to assert their independence and assumed the *birudas*

¹ *Udayasundarikathā* (G. O. S., 1920), p. 152.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁴ Altekar supposed that Nāgārjuna died before Chittarāja and so did not reign; but the description in the *Udayasundarikathā* does not leave doubt that he had come to throne.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 53 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 53 f.

⁷ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. IX, pp. 219 f.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 310.

of the Śilāharas themselves. The Moḍha prince Vijjala in his Ciñcanī plates dated Śaka 975 (A. D. 1053) calls himself the lord of Tagarapura and bears the proud title *Saraṇ-āgatavajra-pañjara*, which is usually met with in Śilāhāra records¹. Mummuni seems to have overthrown these recalcitrant feudatories some time after Śaka 975 (A. D. 1053), the last known date of prince Vijjala of this family.

Mummuni, like his two brothers, was a patron of poets and learned men. Soḍḍhala composed his work, the *Udayasundarikathā*, in his reign and recited it in his court. Mummuni greatly appreciated it and rewarded the author liberally. Soḍḍhala thereafter repaired to the court of Vatsarāja, the king of Lāṭa, but he mentions with gratitude the honour he received at the Śilāhāra court during the reigns of the three brothers Chittarāja, Nāgārjuna and Mummuni².

There was a civil war (*dāyāda-vyasana*) towards the close of Mummuni's reign, but the contending parties are not known³. Taking advantage of it some foreign king, perhaps Gūhalla II, the Kadamba contemporary of Mummuni, invaded the territory. He devastated the country and harassed gods and Brāhmaṇas. Anantapāla, the son of Nāgārjuna, rescued the country from this calamity. Gūhalla had perhaps secured the aid of some Muslim chief in this invasion. The Khārepāṭaṇ plates record that Anantapāla routed the desperate and vile Yavana (i.e. Muslim) soldiers and inscribed his fame on the disc of the moon⁴.

Only one inscription of Anantapāla has been found, viz., the Khārepāṭaṇ plates dated in Śaka 1016 (A. D. 1094)⁵. From it we know that he assumed the title of *Paścima-samudrādhipati* and claimed to be the ruler of the entire Koṅkaṇ country including Purī-Koṅkaṇ. The inscription exempts the ships of certain ministers of his from the customs duty levied at the ports of Sthānaka (Ṭhāṇā), Śūrpāraka (Sopārā), Cemulya (Caul) and others.

Hostilities with the Kadambas seem to have broken out again at the close of the reign of Anantapāla. Jayakeśin II, the valiant king of Goa, invaded North Koṅkaṇ and in the encounter that followed, killed the Śilāhāra king. The Degamve inscription describes him as Death to the king of Kavaḍidvīpa⁶. After this, Jayakeśin annexed North Koṅkaṇ. The Narendra inscriptions dated in A. D. 1125 and 1126 describe him as governing Kavaḍi-dvīpa, a Lakh and a quarter, in the time of the Cālukya Emperor Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya

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Mummuni

Anantapāla.

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 63.

² *Udayasundarikathā*, p. 12.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 34.

⁴ The correct reading of the verse appears to be यवनमहास्वेदराशीन in line 54 as suggested by Dr. Dikshit.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 33 f.

⁶ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. IX, p. 266.

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Anantapāl.

VI)¹. The Śilāhāra prince Aparāditya I was reduced to great straits. His Vaḍavalī inscription describes this calamity very graphically. "A demon named Chittuka invaded the kingdom and the feudatories sided with him. Dharma was lost, the elders were oppressed, the subjects became exhausted and the country's prosperity was at an end. Still undaunted, Aparāditya single handed rushed to the battle on horseback, relying on his power of arms and his sword. Then the enemy knew not whether to fight or to flee. He took shelter with the Mlechchhas²."

The demon Chittuka mentioned in this passage is probably none other than the Kadamba king Jayakeśin II. As Altekar has pointed out, Jayakeśin had two sons Śivacitta and Viṣṇucitta and he himself may well have borne a name like Chittuka³. Aparāditya thus completely routed the enemy and regained his ancestral kingdom. The date of this event can be settled precisely. As stated before, the Narendra inscriptions dated in A. D. 1125 and 1126 describe Jayakeśin as the ruler of Kavaḍi-dvīpa⁴. Aparāditya I seems to have defeated him and recovered the whole Konkan country in the following year A. D. 1127, when he issued his Vaḍavalī plates⁵.

Aparāditya I.

Aparāditya I appointed ambassadors at the court of important contemporary kings. This is shown by the mention of his ambassador Tejahkaṇṭha in the *Śrikanthacarita* of Maṅkha⁶. Tejahkaṇṭha, who was present in the assembly where the work was presented is described as the ambassador of king Aparāditya of Konkan at the court of king Jayasimha of Kāśmir (1128-1150). He had defeated an opponent in a Śāstrārha at Sūrpāraka where he was halting on his way to Kāśmir. As Altekar has shown, this Aparāditya must be identified with the first king of that name.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 316 and 323. Altekar, relying on Fleet's statement in *B. G.*, (Old Ed.) Vol. I. Pt. ii, p. 568, states that a later inscription at Narendra incised only five months later than the earlier one of A. D. 1125 omits Kavadikādvīpa from the dominion of Jayakeśin II, but this is incorrect. Both the inscriptions have, since the time of Fleet, been edited in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 298 f. and 316 f. Both describe Jayakeśin II as the ruler of Kavadidvīpa, a lakh and a quarter, i.e. of North Konkan. The date of the so-called Somanāth inscription viz. 1176, which Altekar referred to the Vikrama *Samvat* and took as belonging to the reign of Aparāditya I is really of the Śaka era and belongs to the reign of Aparāditya II. See below.

² *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 505 f.

³ *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, pp. 412 f.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 316 and 323.

⁵ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 505 f.

⁶ See वचोभिर्नुदे दन्तश्रुतिश्रीखण्ड पाण्डुभिः ।

वादीनां वाददर्पोष्मा येन शुर्पाङ्काध्वसु ॥

यं श्रीमदपरादित्य इति दूत प्रसिद्ध ये ।

प्रजिघाय धनश्लाघः काश्मीरान् कुंकणे कुणेश्वरः ॥

(Canto. XXV, pp. 109-10).

Aparāditya I was a versatile man. He took keen interest in music and was also proficient in Dharmaśāstra. His commentary Aparārka on the Yajñavalkya Smṛti is still regarded as the standard work on Dharmaśāstra in Kāśmīr. It seems to have been introduced there by the aforementioned ambassador Tejahkaṇṭha.

Aparāditya I was followed by Haripāladeva, whose inscriptions dated Śaka 1070,¹ 1071,² 1072,³ 1075⁴ and 1076⁵ have been discovered in the Thānā District. He may therefore have reigned from c. Śaka 1062 to Śaka 1077 (or c. A. D. 1140 to A. D. 1155). From his reign onward we get only stone inscriptions and they are mostly written in a mixed language of Sanskrit and Marāṭhī. As they do not give any genealogy, it is not possible to say how Haripāladeva was related to his predecessor Aparāditya I. These inscriptions record the gifts made by ministers, private individuals or village communities. The mention of a Sahavāsī Brāhmaṇa in one of them is interesting. These Brāhmaṇas later became known as Savāśe Brāhmaṇas in Mahārāṣṭra.

Mallikārjuna, who succeeded Haripāladeva, is known from two inscriptions—one found at Ciplun in the Ratnāgiri District⁶ and the other in Vasai in the Thānā District⁷. The former is dated in the Śaka year 1078 (A. D. 1156) and records the appointment of one Sūpaya as Daṇḍadhipati (Military Officer) in charge of the country of Prañālaka. The record was incised on a śāsana-stambha. Some scholars have proposed to identify Prañālaka with Panhālā near Kolhāpūr⁸ and others with Panvel in the Kolābā District⁹; but since the stone inscription was found at Ciplun, the country of Prañālaka must have been in the vicinity of that place. The Vasai inscription is dated in Śaka 1083 (A. D. 1162). It records the *jirṇoddhāra* (repairs) of a temple (of Śiva) and the gift of a garden in Lona (modern Lonāḍ in the Bhivaṇḍi tālukā) to an upādhyāya.

In his *Kumārapālacarita* Hemacandra gives a graphic description of Mallikārjuna's battle with the forces sent by the Cālukya king Kumārapāla¹⁰. Merutuṅga's account of the causes that led to this fight and the progress of it may well be true¹¹. Kumārapāla is said to

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Aparāditya I.

Haripāladeva.

Mallikārjuna.

¹ Rāñjali Stone Inscription, Prācīna Marāṭhī Korīva Lekha (P. M. K. L.), pp. 43 f.

² B. G. Vol. II, pt. ii (Old Ed.), p. 19, n. 3.

³ Āgāśī Stone Inscription (P. M. K. L.), pp. 48 f.

⁴ Borivali Station Stone Inscription, B. G., Vol. I, pt. ii (Old Ed.) p. 19 n. 3.

⁵ British Museum Inscription, Kiehlhorn's List, No. 310.

⁶ P. M. K. L., pp. 53 f.

⁷ B. G., Vol. I, pt. ii (Old Ed.) p. 19.

⁸ Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. XIII (New Series), pt. I, pp. 60 f.

⁹ P. M. K. L., p. 55.

¹⁰ Kumārapālacarita, Canto VI, vv. 40-70.

¹¹ Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi (ed. by D. K. Sastri, 1932) pp. 130 f.

- CHAPTER 8.** have felt offended by the title *Rājapitāmaha*¹ assumed by Mallikārjuna and sent an army under his general Āmbaḍa to invade his territory. Āmbaḍa was defeated by Mallikārjuna and feeling disconsolate, he repaired to Kṛṣṇagiri (Kānheri) where he passed some days in black clothing. Coming to know of it, Kumārapāla sent heavy reinforcements, which enabled Āmbaḍa to inflict a disastrous defeat on Mallikārjuna. He cut off his head, mounting daringly the elephant he was riding. He then presented the cut off head of the Śilāhāra king to Kumārapāla in the assembly attended by his seventy-two feudatories². There is much exaggeration in this account, but Hemacandra also records that Mallikārjuna was killed in the fight³. Kumārapāla thereafter became the suzerain of the Śilāhāras.
- The Shilaharas of Western India.**
- ŚILAHARAS OF NORTH KONKAN.**
- Mallikārjuna.**
- Aparāditya II.** Mallikārjuna was followed by Aparāditya II, but his relation to his predecessor is not known. Three inscriptions of his reign, dated Śaka 1106,⁴ 1107⁵ and 1108⁶ have been discovered at Lonāḍ, Thānā and Parel, respectively. In one of them Aparāditya has mentioned his imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Koṅkaṇa-cakravartī*,⁷ which show that he had thrown off the yoke of the Gujarāt Caulukyās. He may be referred to the period A. D. 1170-1195.
- Keśideva II.** Aparāditya II's successor Keśideva II is known from two stone inscriptions. The earlier of them is dated in Śaka 1125 and was found at Māṇḍavī in the Vasai tālukā⁸. It records the grant of something at the holy place of Māṇḍavali in the presence of god Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa. The second⁹ is historically more important. It was found at Lonāḍ and is dated Śaka 1162 (A. D. 1240). It states that Keśideva was the son of Aparārka and records the grant of a field or hamlet named Bāpagrāma (modern Bābgānv near Lonāḍ) to four worshippers of a Śaiva temple.
- As the two dates of Keśideva are separated by 36 years, he may have had a long reign of 40 or 45 years. He may therefore be referred to the period A. D. 1195-1240.
- Someśvara.** The successor of Keśideva was Someśvara, who like Aparāditya assumed the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Koṅkaṇa-Cakravartī*¹⁰. Only two inscriptions of his reign are known. The earlier of them, dated in Śaka 1181 (A. D. 1259), was found at the village of Rānavad

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² The title was assumed by earlier Śilāhāra kings, see e.g. lines 61-62 of the Vaḍavali plates of Anantadeva, dated Śaka 1016.

³ *Kumārapālacarita*, Canto VI, v. 69.

⁴ *P. M. K. L.*, pp. 72 f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 77 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 80 f.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 98 f.

⁹ *B. G.*, Vol. I, pt. ii (Old Ed.), p. 20, n. 2. A. B. O. R. I., XXIII. pp. 98-102.

¹⁰ See Rānavad Stone Inscription, *P. M. K. L.*, p. 159.

near Uraṇ (in Kolābā district¹) and the later, dated Śaka 1082 (A. D. 1160), at Cāñje in Panvel *tālukā*². Both of them record royal grants the former to some Brāhmaṇas and the latter to the temple of Uttareśvara in the capital Sthānaka (Ṭhāṇā).

Someśvara is the last known Śilāhāra king of North Koṅkaṇ. In his time the power of the Yādavas of Devagiri was increasing. The Yādava king Kṛṣṇa (A. D. 1247-1261) sent an army under his general Malla to invade North Koṅkaṇ³. Though Malla claims to have defeated the Śilāhāra king, the campaign did not result in any territorial gain for the Yādavas. Mahādeva, the brother and successor of Kṛṣṇa, continued the hostilities and invaded Koṅkaṇ with a large troop of war elephants. Someśvara was defeated on land and betook himself to the sea. He was pursued by Mahādeva. In the naval engagement that followed Someśvara was drowned. Referring to this incident, Hemādri says that Someśvara preferred to drown himself and face the submarine fire rather than the fire of Mahādeva's anger⁴. The scene of this fight is sculptured on some Virgāl stones found near the Borivali station in Greater Bombay. 'Some of the stones show the land battle in which the elephants took part, while others depict the lines of vessels propelled by oars, both in advance upon the enemy and the melee itself. Since Mahādeva's force was strong in elephants, and since the stone from the sculptures upon it appears to belong to the 12th or the 13th century A. D., it is quite possible, as Cousens has suggested, that these stones may be commemorating the heroes who fell in the battle between Someśvara and Mahādeva⁵.'

The battle may have taken place in c. A. D. 1265. Thereafter the Yādavas appointed a governor named Achyuta Nāyak to rule North Koṅkaṇ. His Ṭhāṇā inscription is dated A. D. 1272⁶. Thereafter we get several inscriptions of the Yādavas from North Koṅkaṇ.

The Northern Śilāhāras ruled over Koṅkaṇ for more than 400 years. The country under their rule comprised mainly the Ṭhāṇā and Kolābā Districts. After the downfall of the Southern branch they added the Ratnāgiri District to their dominion, while the Goa region was occupied by the Kadambas. Their traditional capital was Purī, from which the country under their rule was called Purī-Koṅkaṇa or Purī-prabhṛti-Koṅkaṇa. This country is described in some early records as comprising fourteen thousand villages⁷ and in some later

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Someśvara.

¹ Loc. cit.

² Ibid., pp. 161 f.

³ H. C. I. P., Vol. V. p. 192.

⁴ See एतत्प्रतापो बहिरम्बुराशोरीर्वोन्तरेप्यस्ति कुतः प्रयामि ।
चिरंविमुह्येति यदीयवैरी सोमेश्वरो वाडवमेवयातः ॥

⁵ Cousens, *Mediaeval Architecture of the Deccan*, p. 21, Pl IV.

⁶ Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, pp. 198 f.

⁷ C. I. I., Vol. IV, pp. 149 and 157.

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ones as containing only fourteen hundred¹. In some records of the Kadambas it is mentioned as Kavaḍidvipa, a lakh and a quarter². Though Purī (modern Rājāpurī near Jañjirā) was their traditional capital, the Śilāhāras, for the most part, ruled from Sthānaka (modern Thānā). Many of their grants record gifts of villages or land in the Thānā district.

These Śilāhāras gave liberal patronage to art and literature. The temples at Ambarnāth, Pelār and Vālkeśvar which are still extant, testify to the architectural and sculptural skill of that age. In the *Udayasundarikathā* Sodḍhala mentions several Jaina and other poets such as Candanācārya, Vijayasimhacārya, Mahākirti, Indra and some others who like himself, flourished at the Śilāhāra court. Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* is a monumental work of that age on Dharmaśāstra.

ŚILAHARAS OF
KOLHAPUR.

The third family of the Śilāhāras was ruling over the Southern Marāṭhā Country, comprising the modern districts of Sātārā, Kolhāpūr and Belgāñv. Like the other two families this family also traced its descent from Jimūtavāhana, and had the standard of the golden Eagle. Like the Śilāhāras of Northern Konkan, these Śilāhāras bore the hereditary title of *Tagara-pura-var-ādhiśvara* 'the lords of Tagara, the best of towns,' but their genealogies do not disclose any points of mutual contact. Their family deity was the goddess Mahālakṣmī of Kolhāpūr, whose boon they claim in their grants to have secured. Inscriptions mention three capitals of this branch, viz. Vaḷavāḍa, Kollāpura and the hill fort of Kiḷigila or Prañālaka. Vaḷavāḍa has not yet been definitely identified. Fleet thought that was identical with Waḷave in the Sātārā District, (now in Sāñgli district)³, about 25 miles north-east of Kolhāpūr. Perhaps a better identification of the place would be with the village Vaḷavade, now called Rādhānagarī, about 27 miles south-west of Kolhāpūr⁴. Kollāpura, also called Kshullakapura in some grants⁵, is plainly modern Kolhāpūr, until recently the capital of a princely State. It looks strange, however, that it is less frequently mentioned in the records of the period than the other two places. It was more known as a *mahā-tirtha* or a very holy place⁶. Kiḷigila or Pannāḷa (or Prañālaka) *durga* is the strong hill fort of Panhālā, 12 miles to the north-west of Kolhāpūr. The *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa, while describing the *svayamvara* of the Vidyādhara (i.e. Śilāhāra) princess Candralekhā, describes her father as Karahātā-pati, 'the ruler of Karahāṭa'⁷. This may be taken to indicate that Karahāṭa,

¹ See line 64 of the Khārepāṭaṇ plates of Anantadeva, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 35.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 316 and 323.

³ *B.G.* (old ed.), Vol. I, part ii, p. 548.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 30.

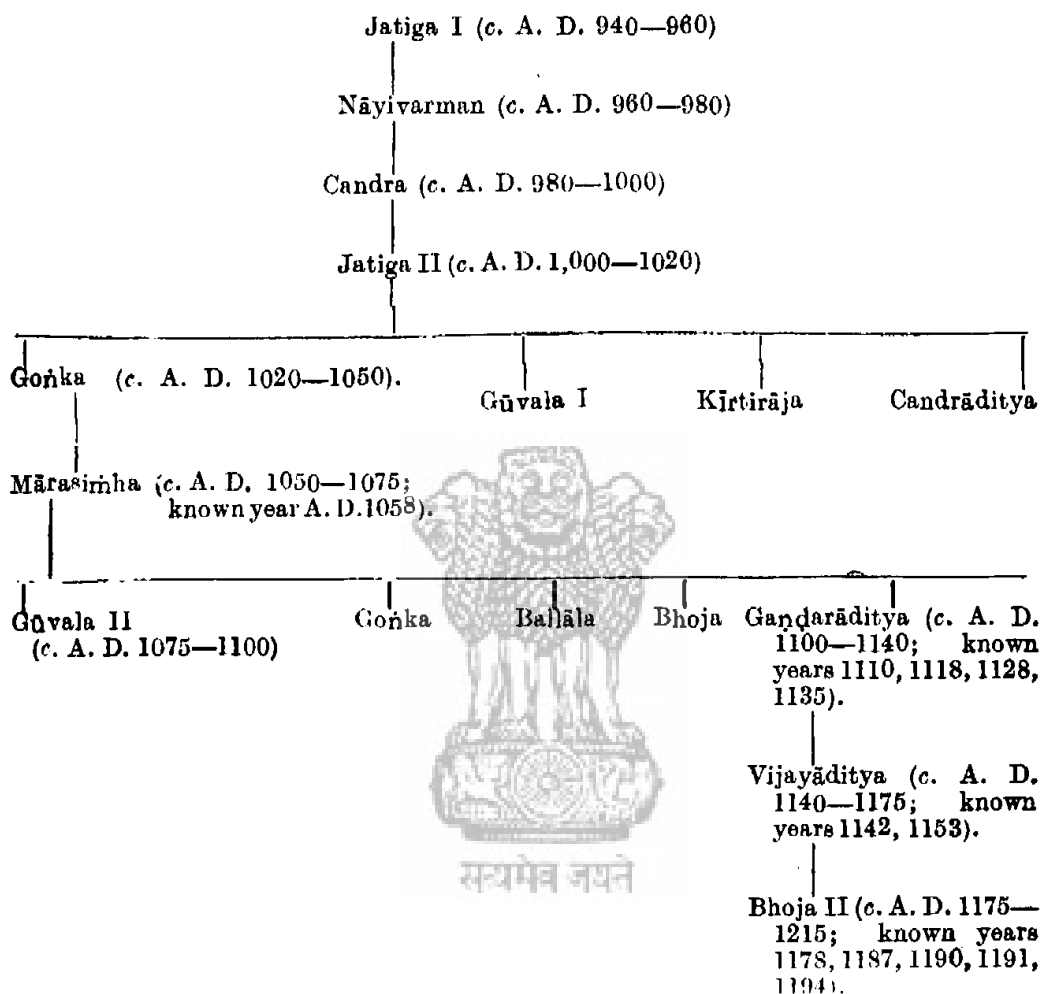
⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 209; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 18.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 31.

⁷ *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, canto VIII, v. 2.

modern Karhād in the Sātārā District, was also one of the capitals of this branch, but the father of Candralekhā, whom Bilhaṇa has not named, was then probably a provincial governor, not the ruling king. Karahāta may, in that case, have been only a provincial capital.

The genealogy of this family may be stated as below¹ :—



Unlike the other two branches of North and South Koṅkaṇ, this one does not mention its allegiance to the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas in any of its records. This is because it rose to power late in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period and no records of the first three generations have yet been found. The first three princes in the above genealogy are known only from two later records² of Gaṇḍarāditya and these also give them mere conventional praise. Altekar therefore thought that they had not, in their days, achieved even a feudatory status and they were called kings by their descendants when they themselves rose to power³. This is, however, only a negative argument and has not much force.

¹ This table is taken from Altekar's article in *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, p. 419, with some changes necessitated by subsequent research.

² See the Tālale plates of Gaṇḍarāditya, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 1 f. and the Kolhāpur plates of the same king, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 28 f.

³ *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, p. 419.

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Jatiga I

The first known date of this family viz., Śaka 980 (A. D. 1058) is furnished by the Miraj plates of Mārasimha¹. This king was fifth in descent from Jatiga I, the founder of this dynasty. The latter may therefore have flourished about a hundred years earlier from c. A. D. 940 to A. D. 960. In the beginning he may have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor Kṛṣṇa III (A. D. 939-967), but after his death when the power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas declined, his successors seem to have thrown off their yoke. We have, however, no information about the political events in the reign of Jatiga I and his son and grandson Nāyivarman and Candrarāja.

Jatiga II

Jatiga II is described in the grant of his son Mārasimha as a lion in the hill fort of Pannāḷa, modern Panhālā, about 12 miles north-west of Kolhāpūr. It is not known if he was the first to occupy this fort, but it must have undoubtedly increased his power and prestige. He may have tried to extend his dominion by conquering the surrounding territory; for the Later Cālukyas who succeeded the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the Deccan. were then preoccupied in their struggles with the Paramāras and the Colas.

Goṅka

Goṅka, the son and successor of Jatiga II, is described in the grant of his son Mārasimha as the ruler of the Karahāṭa-Kuṇḍi region, the Miriṅja-deśa and the whole of the large country of Koṅkaṇa². Karahāṭa is modern Karhād in the Sātārā District. Kuṇḍi was some part of the Belgāṇv District. Miriṅja is of course Miraj. Koṅkaṇa was probably South Koṅkaṇa. Goṅka was contemporary of the Later Cālukya king Jayasimha. From the Miraj plates³ of the latter dated in A. D. 1024 we learn that he had by then conquered South Koṅkaṇ and was encamped at Kolhāpūr in the course of his campaign in the north. Goṅka seems to have submitted to the Cālukya king and acknowledged his supremacy. He may have been asked by Jayasimha to govern some part of South Koṅkaṇ which he had just conquered. As no inscription of his reign has been discovered, we cannot say how long he continued to own the supremacy of the Later Cālukyas.

The Tālale plates⁴ of Gaṇḍarāditya mention Gūvala (I) and Kīrtirāja as brothers of Goṅka and since they describe both of them as kings, they are supposed to have succeeded Goṅka one after the other. The Kolhāpūr plates⁵ of Vijayāditya mention a third brother of Goṅka named Candrāditya. It appears very doubtful if these brothers of Goṅka succeeded him; for no grant of theirs has yet been discovered. If they ruled actually one after another, we shall have to suppose that they all died childless and their nephew Mārasimha had to wait until the close of the reign of his youngest uncle. This

¹ Cave Temples of Western India (C. T. W. I.), pp. 101 f.

² Loc. cit.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 18.

⁴ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, pp. 1 f.

⁵ Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 207 f.

does not appear plausible. The three brothers of Goṅka appear to have been called kings in later records because they belonged to the royal family and were ruling over some provinces of the Śilāhāra kingdom.

Goṅka was thus probably succeeded by his son Mārasimha, who issued his Miraj plates in Śaka 980 (A. D. 1058)¹. He mentions therein his title *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, but does not name his suzerain. This shows that though he had not actually proclaimed his independence, he wielded considerable power at the time. In this grant he states that he had obtained the special grace of a boon from the goddess Mahālakṣmī. He also mentions the fort of Kiḷigila as his capital². This was another and perhaps a more ancient name of the well-known fort of Panhālā. The Miraj plates record the grant of the village Kuṇṭavāda, probably identical with Kootwād,³ on the south bank of the Kṛṣṇā, five miles south of Miraj. The grant was made to a *Śaiva Ācārya* by one Cikkadeva, who is described as a *Rājaputra*, but whose relation to Mārasimha has not been specified.

Mārasimha had five sons viz., Gūvala (II), Goṅka, Ballāla, Bhoja and Gaṇḍarāditya⁴. Like the aforementioned sons of Jatiga II, they seem to have been placed in charge of the different provinces of the kingdom⁵. The youngest of them Gaṇḍarāditya, who seems to have come to the throne after Gūvala II, was associated with his brothers Ballāla⁶ and Bhoja⁷ in the administration of the kingdom as seen from some inscriptions in their joint names.

In the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*⁸, Bilhaṇa draws a graphic picture of the charms of the Vidyādhara (*i.e.* Śilāhāra) princess Candralekhā and describes her *svayamvara* held at Karahāṭa (*i.e.* Karhād). It is said to have been attended by well-known rulers of all parts of India viz., those of Cedi, Kānyakubja, Kālīṅjara, Mālava, Gurjara, Paṇḍya, Cola and others. Bilhaṇa's description is after the model in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, Canto VI, and deserves little credence. But that Vikramāditya had married a Śilāhāra princess of unrivalled beauty was known in distant Kāśmir. In the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*⁹ Kalhaṇa describes how when Harṣa, the king of Kāśmir, saw a portrait of Candalā (*i.e.* Candralekhā), the beautiful wife of the Karnāṭa king

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Gūvala II

¹ C. T. W. I., pp. 101 f.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ B. G. (Old. ed.), Vol. I, part ii, p. 547.

⁴ See Kolhāpūr inscription of Vijayāditya, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 207 f.

⁵ Altekar, however, supposes that all of them came to the throne. He is therefore obliged to assign them very short reigns. See *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, p. 419.

⁶ See Honnur Canarese Inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 102.

⁷ See Herley Inscription, Graham's *Kolhapoor* No. 2, p. 349.

⁸ Cantos VIII and IX.

⁹ *Taraṅga* VII, vv. 1119 f.

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Parmāṇḍi (*i.e.* Vikramāditya VI), he became smitten with love. He vowed in the open court that he would obtain Candalā after overthrowing Parmāṇḍi. He even took the vow not to use unboiled camphor till then. Kalhaṇa holds the king to ridicule for his foolishness.

The princess must have been the daughter of one of the uncles of Mārasimha, who was governing Karahāṭa. Bilhaṇa has not named her father. He only states that he was ruling at Karahāṭa and was therefore probably a provincial governor.

Gaṇḍarāditya.

Gaṇḍarāditya, who succeeded Gūvala II, is known from several grants ranging in dates from A. D. 1110 to A. D. 1135¹. He claims to be the sole ruler of the Miriṇja-deśa together with the seven *khollas* and also the country of Koṅkaṇ². The latter appears to be South Koṅkaṇ, which as we have seen, was at least partially under the rule of this family since its conquest by the Later Cālukya king Jayasimha. Gaṇḍarāditya fed a lakh of Brāhmaṇas at the holy place of Prayāga as stated in his Tālale plates. This place must be identified not with modern Allāhābād but with the one, still known by the name Prayāga, near the confluence of the Kāsārī and the Kumbhi, a few miles from Kolhāpūr. Gaṇḍarāditya constructed a tank which he named *Gaṇḍasamudra* near the village of Irukuḍi. He built the temples of all the three religions Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina on its bank³. This reference to a Buddhist temple is interesting as Buddhism had by this time all but disappeared from the Deccan. In another grant⁴, the king, in response to the request of his minister Mailapayya, donated lands for the temple of the god Kheḍāditya of Brahmapurī near Kolhāpūr and for the maintenance and residence of eight Brāhmaṇas. This grant is dated Śaka 1048 (A. D. 1126) on the occasion of the Karkāṭa saṅkrānti.

As we have seen, Gaṇḍarāditya was ruling over South Koṅkaṇ⁵. A record of the time of his son Vijayāditya⁶ states that he had reinstated the deposed ruler of Sthānaka or Ṭhāṇā. This must have been at the beginning of the reign of Aparārka or Aparāditya I, when the Kadamba king Jayakeśin II invaded North Koṅkaṇ, killed the Śilāhāra king Anantapāla and annexed North Koṅkaṇ to his dominion. As stated before, the Śilāhāra king Aparāditya I was reduced to great straits at this time. Gaṇḍarāditya seems to have sent his son to his help. He, inflicting a defeat on Jayakeśin II, helped Aparāditya to regain his ancestral kingdom.

Gaṇḍarāditya seems to have sent a force under his feudatory Nimbadevarasa to help his Cālukya suzerain in his war with the

¹ Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, Nos. 317-320.

² See the Tālale plates, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XIII, p. 1 f.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 28 f.

⁵ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 1 f.

⁶ See *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, p. 4, 5.

Colas. Nimbadevarasa is described in an inscription¹ at Kolhāpūr as 'an awful rutting elephant to the beds of lotuses, the barons of Toṇḍai.

Gaṇḍarāditya was succeeded by his son Vijayāditya in A. D. 1140. He bears the same titles as his predecessor and claims to have obtained the right to the five great sounds (*pañcamahāśabda*). He appears to have taken an active part in the conspiracy to depose the Later Cālukya king Tailapa III. It is said that it was with his help that Bijjala got the sovereignty². He is also said to have reinstated the deposed rulers of Sthānaka and Goa. The former reference may be to the help which his father is said to have rendered to the Śilāhāra king Aparāditya I of Ṭhāṇā. As for his help to the Kadamba king of Goa, it may have been in the reign of Jayakeśin II's son Parmāḍi in his conflict with the Kalacuri king Bijjala.

Vijayāditya, like his predecessors, mentions with pride in his grants that he had the favour of a boon from the goddess Mahālakṣmī. He was thus a follower of the Hindu religion; but true to the noble traditions of Indian kings, he showed equal reverence to other religions like Jainism. His Kolhāpūr inscription³ dated Śaka 1065 (A. D. 1143) records his gifts of land for the maintenance and residence of some Jaina Ācāryas and the repairs of the *Basadi* of Śrī-Pārśvanātha. The land was in the *kholla* (*tālukā*) of Ājirage (modern Ajre).

Vijayāditya II was succeeded by his son Bhoja II, the last and greatest ruler of this line. On account of his great valour he obtained the name of Vira-Bhoja⁴. Though in some of his grants he mentions his feudatory title *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, in others he is known to have assumed imperial titles. In the *Śabdārṇavacandrikā*, a work of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa, Somadeva its author, describes the reigning Śilāhāra king Bhoja as *Rājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* and *Paścima-Cakravartī*.⁵ Bhoja therefore seems to have declared his independence. This could not be tolerated by the Yādavas, who were then establishing their sovereignty. Siṅghana, the mighty Yādava king of Devagiri, invaded the Śilāhāra kingdom and laid siege to the fort of Praṇāla (Panhālā). He soon reduced it and taking Bhoja captive, he threw him into prison on the same fort. Some inscriptions⁶ describe Siṅghana as a very lord of birds (i.e. Garuḍa) in routing the serpent viz. king Bhoja, who resided on Praṇāla. The Puruṣottampuri plates⁷ state that Siṅghana threw

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ŚILAHARAS OF KOLHAPUR. SOUTH KONKAN.

Vijayāditya.

Bhoja II.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 31.

² *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, p. 415.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 207 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 215.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 76, n. 2.

⁶ Cf. पर्णाल निलय प्रबल भोज भूपाल व्याल विद्रवण विहङ्गराज cited by Altekar, *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, p. 425, n. 1.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 203.

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Bhoja into prison on the top of the fort (of Panhālā). Singhaṇa then annexed the Śilāhāra kingdom. Bhoja had a son named Gaṇḍarāditya, who is mentioned in one of his grants¹ but nothing is heard of him after this defeat and imprisonment of his father. Thereafter we begin to get inscriptions of the Governors of the Yādavas placed in charge of the conquered territory. The earliest² of these is dated in A. D. 1218, which shows that Bhoja II must have been defeated in c. A. D. 1215. Thus disappeared this line of the Śilāhāras after a glorious rule of nearly three hundred years.

Liko his ancestors, Bhoja II also was a devout worshipper of the goddess Mahālakṣmī at Kolhāpur. He made some grants for the worship and *naivedya* of the goddess and also for the worship of the god Umā-Maheśvara installed in a *Maṭha* at Kolhāpur³. The same record registers some grants made to some Brāhmaṇas who had hailed from Karahāṭa and bore the family name of Ghaisāsa. They correspond to the Karhāḍe Brāhmaṇas of the present day. The inscription also mentions some Sahavāsi Brāhmaṇas for whose maintenance some grants of land were made by Bhoja.

Like their brethren of North Koṅkan, the Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur also extended their patronage to learned men. One of these was Somadeva, the author of the *Śabdārṇavacandrikā*, a work of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa⁴.



¹ *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, p. 393.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 203.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 213 f.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 76, n. 1.

CHAPTER 9. THE CALUKYAS AND THE KALACURYAS OF KALYANI.

THE CHALUKYAS OF KALYANI, LIKE THEIR PREDECESSORS of Badāmī trace their origin from myths and legends of the hoary past and claim to have descended from Brahmā's *culuka*, from which sprang out a mighty hero who became the progenitor of the Cālukya race. According to Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*,² Brahmā created this hero at the request of Indra to bring to an end the growing sinfulness in the world. The Yevur tablet of Vikramāditya VI and the Miraj plates of Jayasimha II add that 'the birth place of jewels of kings, who were of the lineage of *Mānavya*, which is praised over the whole world, who were the descendants of *Hārīti*, who acquired the white umbrella and other signs of sovereignty, through the excellent favour of Kārtikeya, who had the territories of hostile kings made subject to them in an instant at the sight of the excellent sign of the boar which they acquired through the favour of the holy Nārāyaṇa.'³

The records of the family then trace their rise through a long list of personages, who ruled from Ayodhyā, down to the founders of the Cālukyas of Badāmī in the middle of the sixth century A.D. Two early ancestors, Vijayāditya and Viṣṇuvardhana, of the family are mentioned in the records of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī as much as in those of the Cālukyas of Badāmī as the builders of their power and dominion in the Deccan and a third, Jayasimhavallabha, is praised for restoring the fortunes of the family which had been eclipsed before him.⁴

The Yevur tablet and the Miraj plates describe the origin of the family in the traditions of the records of other branches of the family,

* This chapter is contributed by Dr. S. L. Katare, M.A., D.Litt.

¹ The name appears in different forms in the records of the different branches of the family. The earliest in the Badāmī Inscription dates Śaka 465 is *Chalikya*. *EI.* Vol. XXVII, p. 8. The later forms are *Chalkya* (*IA.* Vol. VI, p. 363), *Chatikya* (*Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 16), *Chalukya* (*EI.* Vol. VI, p. 4), *Chālukya* (*IA.* Vol. IV, p. 73), *Chalukya* (*Ibid.* Vol. VIII, p. 26), *Chālukya* (*Ibid.* Vol. XII, p. 92), *Chaulukika* (*Ibid.* Vol. VI, p. 191), *Chaulukya* (*Ibid.* Vol. XII, p. 201), *Chālīkya* (*EI.* Vol. XXVI, p. 324) and *Chālukya* (*Ibid.* Vol. VI, 243.)

² *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* Edited by Bühler, Intr. p. 26, text 1, vs. 31-36.

³ *IA.* Vol. VIII, p. 11.

⁴ *IA.* Vol. XIX, pp. 433-34.

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e.g., the Vaḍanagara praśasti of the Caulukya Kumārapāla of Gujarāt,¹ the Badāmī Cave inscription of the Cālukya Kirtivarman I of Badāmī² and the Hyderābād plates of the Cālukya Pulakeśin II,³ etc.⁴

The stories of the mythological origin of the family have no historical truth. The *Agnikula* origin,⁵ which describes the rise of the family from the *callu*, palm of the hand, along with three others, Pṛthivivāra (Pratihāra), Pramara (Paramāra) and Cāhamāna from the *Agnikuṇḍa* in which the Brāhmaṇas had kindled sacrificial fire to pray to Mahādeva for help against the demons, also has no historical foundations. The *Agnikula* origin was just a piece of poetry composed by the bards in praise of their patron prince to glorify the otherwise common origin of the latter and was entirely based on imagination.

The Gurjara origin,⁶ inspite of all its scientific analysis, does not any longer find favour with scholars on account of its historical improbabilities. If the Gurjaras migrated into India along with the Hūṇas, who were in G. E. 191,⁷ the date of the Eraṇ inscription of Goparāja, mere expeditionaries in search of dominion for founding a permanent power, they could not have established their kingdoms right upto the Deccan within a century or so, since the Cālukyas of Badāmī were rulers of the Deccan in the middle of the sixth century A.D. If *Sārasvatamaṇḍala* changed its name into Gujarāt because of the Cālukya occupation (if at all they were Gurjaras), how is it that the Deccan or Lāṭa, Āndhra or Kalinga over which also the Cālukyas ruled, did not adopt the same name? And how did then the Cālukyas claim victory over the Gurjaras?

The Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī were of Kṣatriya race and were the descendants of the Cālukyas of Badāmī. Dr. Fleet⁸ and Dr. Bhandarkar,⁹ [the first contributors of this Gazetteer] were of a different view. The long gap between Kirtivarman II, the last Cālukya prince of Badāmī, and Taila II, the first of Kalyāṇī, from *Śaka* 679 and *Śaka* 895, the last and the first known dates of the two respectively, give an average of about 32 years for each generation of the princes of the family who are mentioned in the records of the period. This need not be regarded unusual, since among the Paramāras and the Cālukyas of Gujarāt also there was an average of 33 and 38 years respectively, for each generation of kings. The more frequent use of the name Cālukya by the Cālukyas of Badāmī, is immaterial for supporting the views of the above scholars as this name has been

¹ *IA.*, Vol. XVI, p. 21.

² *Ibid.* Vol. VI, p. 363.

³ *EI.* Vol. VI, p. 72.

⁴ For other accounts reference may be made to *IA.* Vol. VIII, p. 11; XIX, pp. 14 and 114; VI, p. 76; XVI, p. 17; *EI.* Vol. XV, p. 106; *My. ASR.* 1935, pp. 119-20.

⁵ Col. Tod: *Annals & Antiquities of Rājasthān* Edited by Crooke Vol. I, pp. 112-13.

⁶ Smith: *EHI.*, p. 415; *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 449 ff; *IA.* XL, pp. 7 ff; *JBBRAS* Vol. XXI, pp. 426 ff; Ganguly: *IHQ.* Vol. VIII, pp. 21 ff; Vol. X, pp. 337 ff; Munshi: *The Glory That Was Gurjaradeśa* Vol. I, pp. 4 ff.

⁷ *CII.* Vol. III, pp. 91.

⁸ *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I, pt. II, p. 429.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

variously used as Cālukya, Cālkyā, Caulukya, Caulikika, Cālikya, etc., in the records of the different branches of the family. The rise of a large number of collateral branches after Kīrtivarman II of Badāmī, is not enough to dispute the claim, which they have repeated in a number of their inscriptions, of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī to have directly descended from the former. If the Cālukyas of Badāmī trace their descent from Satyāśraya, the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī also, if not invariably, at least quite often, do the same and any difference in the frequency of making this claim is mainly due to the flexibility of the tradition and its later rigidity. Further, if the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī claim their descent from Satyāśraya Pulakeśin II, this is not enough to challenge their claim of direct descent from the Cālukyas of Badāmī as suggested by Fleet. Among the Pallavas the successors of Dantivarman called themselves as his descendants and not those of the earlier Pallavas and this did not mean that the Pallavas, after Dantivarman, were not the direct descendants of earlier Pallavas.

Inscriptions of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī and the poet Raṇṇa in his *Gadāyuddha*,¹ which he wrote in 982 A.D., trace the descent of this family from the brother of Kīrtivarman II of Badāmī. The two tell the same tale and differ in minor details. This brother is called Bhīmaparākrama. It sounds more like a *biruda* than a proper name. This may be due to an attempt to distinguish him from a later Bhīma (Kuṇḍiga Bhīma of Raṇṇa). Any difference in the genealogical details in the inscriptions and the *Gadāyuddha* may be due to the mistakes of the copyist of the *Gadāyuddha*. Raṇṇa records that Kīrtivarman was the son of *Vikramārṇava Koṅkaṇi* Vikramāditya's son, who was the son of the friend of *Niravadya* Vijayāditya, who was the son of Dugdhamalla, but the inscriptions in his place give the name of Satyāśraya *samastabhuvanāśraya* Vijayāditya. (cf Table I).

Between Kīrtivarman II, the last king of Badāmī, and Taila II, the first of Kalyāṇī, besides the princes of the main dynasty, a number of others of collateral branches are mentioned as the feudatories of the Rāṣtrakūṭas, who ruled over the Deccan between the Cālukyas of Badāmī and the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī: Vimalāditya, son of Yaśovarman, and grandson of Balavarman, was governing the Kūṁgila-deśa in A.D. 812, May 24.² He was the son of Cākirāja's sister and was the *adhi-rāja* of the Gaṅgamaṇḍala division under the Rāṣtrakūṭa Prabhūtarvaṣa Govinda III. Vimalāditya was freed from the affliction of *Śani* (Saturn) by *muni* Arkakīrtti of *Vāpanīya-Nandī-Samgha* of the *Punnagavṛkṣamūla-gaṇa* for which Cākirāja granted a village for the *Jinendra* temple at Śilagrāma, a suburb of the Rāṣtrakūṭa capital Mānyakheta.³ Balavarman, father of Daśavarman, was governing certain districts as a feudatory of the Rāṣtrakūṭa *Nityavarṣa* Indra III in 812 A.D.⁴ In 944 A.D. *Mahāsāmanta*

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¹ *Gadāyuddha*, *Aśvāsa* II, prose passage.² *EI*. Vol. IV, p. 349.³ *Ibid*.⁴ *IMP*. Vol. I, By. No. 94; *HISI*. p. 46.

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Kāṭyera was governing the Kogaḷi 500 and the Māsiyavāḍi 140 divisions, which formed part of Bellāry, Haḍagalli (Huvinahaḍagalli) and Harapanahalli tālukās of the Bellāry district of the present Mysore State.¹ Mahāsāmanta Goggi and Narasiṃha are mentioned in some records.² Goggi may be the same who is mentioned with another Cālukya chieftain, Dugga or Durga, in some other records.³

The *Pampabhārata*, also known as *Vikramārjunaviḷaya*, of the Kanarese poet Pampa,⁴ *Yaśasatilaka Campū* of Somadevasūri,⁵ the Vemulavāḍa inscription⁶ and the Kollipara⁷ and the Parabhaṇi plates⁸ dated in Śaka 888, *Kṣaya samvatsara*, *Vaiśākha pūrṇimā*, *Budhavāra*=April 8, 966 A.D., of the time the Cālukya Arikeśarin III reveal the existence of a Cālukya family, feudatory to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and governing from Vemulavāḍa, Vemavāḍ, in the Karimnagar district of the former Hyderābād State. Vemulavāḍa is the same as Lembulapāṭaka of the Parabhaṇi plates. Pampa wrote his work under the patronage of Arikesarin II and completed it in Śaka 863, *Plava*, *Kārttika śu.* 5, Sunday. There are minor differences in the genealogies of the family, given in the above two sources. According to Pampa, Narasiṃha I and Dugdhamalla II had more than one son, while Dugdhamalla I and II are named Yuddhamalla in the Parabhaṇi plates.⁹ (of Table II).

Yuddhamalla, the founder of the family, ruled over the *Sapādalakṣa* country¹⁰ and claims to have bathed his elephants at Poḍana¹¹ (Boḍana according to Pampa). *Sapādalakṣa* is not Śākambharī, modern Sāmbhar in Rājputānā, as supposed by some scholars.¹² It is the area comprising the modern Nizāmābād and part of Karimnagar districts of the former Hyderābād State and Poḍana or Boḍana is the present Bodhan in the Nizāmābād district.¹³ *Sapādalakṣa* is called *savālakṣhe* in a later inscription and is mentioned with Chabbi 1,000 division, both of which were governed by one *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Rājāditya with his capital at Lembulapāṭaka. Yuddhamalla is said to have defended Veṅgī along with Trikaḷiṅga and stormed the hill fortress of Citrakūṭa, modern Cakrakōṭṭya in the Bastar District of Madhya Pradeśa. His son Arikeśarin¹⁴ conquered Veṅgī and attacked king Nirupama, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince. Arikeśarin was followed by Narasiṃha and he by Yuddhamalla II, who had a son named Baddega,

¹ *IMP.* Vol. I, By. No. 267.

² *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 380.

³ *MARS* 1936, Nos. 40-41; *EC* Vol III, My Nos 36-37.

⁴ *Karnāṭaka Sāhitya Pariṣad* Edn.

⁵ Shrikanta Sastri: *Sources of Kanarese History*, Vol. I, pp. 94-95.

⁶ *JAHRS.* Vol. VI, pp. 185 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 189.

⁸ Khare; *SMHD*, Vol. II, pp. 33 ff.

⁹ *Journal of Madras University*, Vol. V, pp. 101 ff.

¹⁰ *Vikramārjunaviḷaya* (*Karnāṭaka Sāhitya Pariṣad* Edn.), canto I, v. 16; *JAHRS*, Vol. VI, pp. 169 ff; Khare: *opt. cit.* p. 49.

¹¹ *JOR.* Vol. XVIII, p. 59.

¹² Khare: *Op. cit.* p. 49.

¹³ *JOR.* Vol. XVIII, pp. 39 ff.

¹⁴ *EC.* Vol. IV, My, No. 127. The date proposed by the Editor for the inscription cannot be consistent with this identification.

who won many battles and gained the title of *Soladagaṇḍa*. Baddega was succeeded by his son Yuddhamalla III and the latter by his son Narasiṃha II, who plundered the Mālava king and defeated the Pratihāra Mahīpāla of Kanauj, drove away the Gurjara king and bathed his horses in the waters of the Gaṅgā. He may be the same as *Mahāsāmanta* Narasiṅgaiyya, who granted a village to a temple constructed by him. Arikeśarin II was the son of Narasiṃha II and Jākabbe. He patronised Pampa, who wrote *Pampabhārata* at his instance at Lakṣmaṇeśvara in the Huligere sub-division and got the village Dharmaūru in the Bachhe 1000 division in reward. Arikeśarin married Lokāmbikā, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess. He is said to have defeated the feudatories of, and overthrown, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV, while sheltering the eastern Cālukya Vijayāditya, probably Bijjaṇa of the Vemulavāḍa inscription, when pursued by Govinda's feudatories. He claims credit for placing Baddegadeva, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa III (933-937 A.D.), on the throne and defeated Bappuva, younger brother of Kakkala, probably the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karka II¹ when attacked by him.

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Arikeśarin was followed by his son Vaddiga or Bhadradeva, or Vāgarāja.² He was a *Mahāsāmantaādhipati* under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja III and patronised Somadevasūri, who wrote his *Yaśastilakacampu* at Gaṅgadhārā and completed it in 960 A.D., when Kṛṣṇarāja and Vaddiga were camping at Melapāṭi, Melapāḍi, in Cittur tālukā of the North Arcot district of the Madras State³ after a victorious campaign against Pāṇḍya, Śiṃhala, Cera, etc. Somadevasūri calls Gaṅgadhārā as Vaddiga's capital. Hence, it was included in the *Savālakkhe* country. Vaddiga was followed by his son Arikeśarin III, who issued the Parabhaṇī plates, dated in Śaka 888, *Kṣaya Samvatsara*, *Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā Budhavāra* = April 8, 966 A.D. He was also a *Mahāsāmantaādhipati* of Kṛṣṇarāja and had his capital at Vemulavāḍa. He granted a village in Repāka 12 in Sabbi 1,000 to Somadevasūri. Sabbi is modern Chabbi.⁴

Another Cālukya chieftain was governing the Banavāsī 12,000 in 972 and 973 A.D.⁵ Rājāditya, defeated by the Gaṅga Mārasīṃha, may be the Rājāditya⁶ whose family is described in a copper-plate grant of November 16, 951 A.D.⁷ The family was founded by Avani-

¹ *EI* Vol. XIII, p. 329; *JAHRS.* Vol. VI, pp. 185 ff. [Kakkala, called Karkara in a Śilāhāra grant was the ruler of Acalapura in Vidarbha Sec. C. I. I. IV, p. lxxxii-V.V.M.]

² *Vikramārjunavijaya*, Khare: op cit, p. 36, f.n.1.

³ *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 281.

⁴ Khare: op. cit. pp. 33 ff.

⁵ *EO*, Vol. VIII, Sh. Nos. 465, 455, 454.

⁶ *MYASR*, 1935, No. 40.

⁷ *Ibid* 1921, p. 21.

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mayya and Candrāditya whose grandson claims to have defeated the *Aśvapati* king whom it is difficult to indentify. Rājāditya I, grandson of Candrāditya, married the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa *Akāla-varṣa* (Kṛṣṇa II—877-913 A.D.). His grandson Kaccega married a Gaṅga princess, sister of the Gaṅga Bhūtārya, probably a collateral of the main Gaṅga family. Kaccega's son Rājāditya had two wives. One is called Cakravarti-sutā and the other Gaṅga Gāṅgeya-tanayā, the former, being the daughter of the Emperor, was obviously a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess and the latter a Gaṅga. He was a *Mahāsāmanta*, who had acquired the five drums and the title of a *Māhārāja*. He was governing Kadambaḷige 1,000 division given to him by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Kṛṣṇarāja III, for his expenses.¹ An inscription dated in 968 A.D. records the details of another Cālukya family of which *Mahāsāmanta* Paṇḍiga was governing Kadambaḷige 1000, as a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III.²

The Cālukya princes, after the eclipse of their power when Kīrtivarman II was defeated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga in the middle of the eighth century, are rarely mentioned in the inscriptions of this period. Bhīma I (or Bhīmaparākrama as he is called), uncle of Kīrtivarman II, was followed in succession by Kīrtivarman III, his son Taila I, who may be the same who is mentioned as *Mahārāja* in a Paṭṭadakala inscription of the ninth century,³ his son Vikramāditya III, his son Bhīma II, his son Ayyaṇa I, who married the daughter of a certain king Kṛṣṇa,⁴ identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II, by Fleet.⁵ Dr. Fleet's identification of Ayyaṇa I, with Ayyapadeva of the Begūr inscription⁶ is not acceptable as pointed out by Rice.⁷ Ayyaṇa's son Vikramāditya IV married Bonthādevī 'glory of the lords of Cedi', a daughter of the Kalacuri Lakṣmaṇarāja of Tripurī.⁸ A Soṇḍekoḷa inscription⁹ dated in Śaka 892 (expired), Puṣya śu 13=January 13,970 A.D. records grant of a tank, 12 gadyāṇas, etc., to a Cālukya chieftain Pandarasa or Pandayya by *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhṭṭāraka* Vikramāditya Deva, who may be identified with the Cālukya Vikramāditya IV, father of Taila II, of Kalyāṇī. Pandarasa or Pandayya, an officer in the Kadambaḷige 1000, is the same who is mentioned in another inscription dated in 968 A.D. and who was governing in the same division under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Nityavarṣa.¹⁰

¹ *Ibid.* 1935, p. 121.

² *EC.* Vol. XI, Cd. No. 74.

³ *ARSIE.* 1928-29, No. 117.

⁴ *BISMQ.* Vol. X, p. 93.

⁵ *Bom. Gaz.* (Old Edn.), Vol. I, pt. II, p. 379.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *EC.* Vol. III, Sr. No. 134, Intr. p. 4, fn.3.

⁸ *IA.* Vol. XL, p. 43.

⁹ *EC.* Vol. XI, Cd. No. 25.

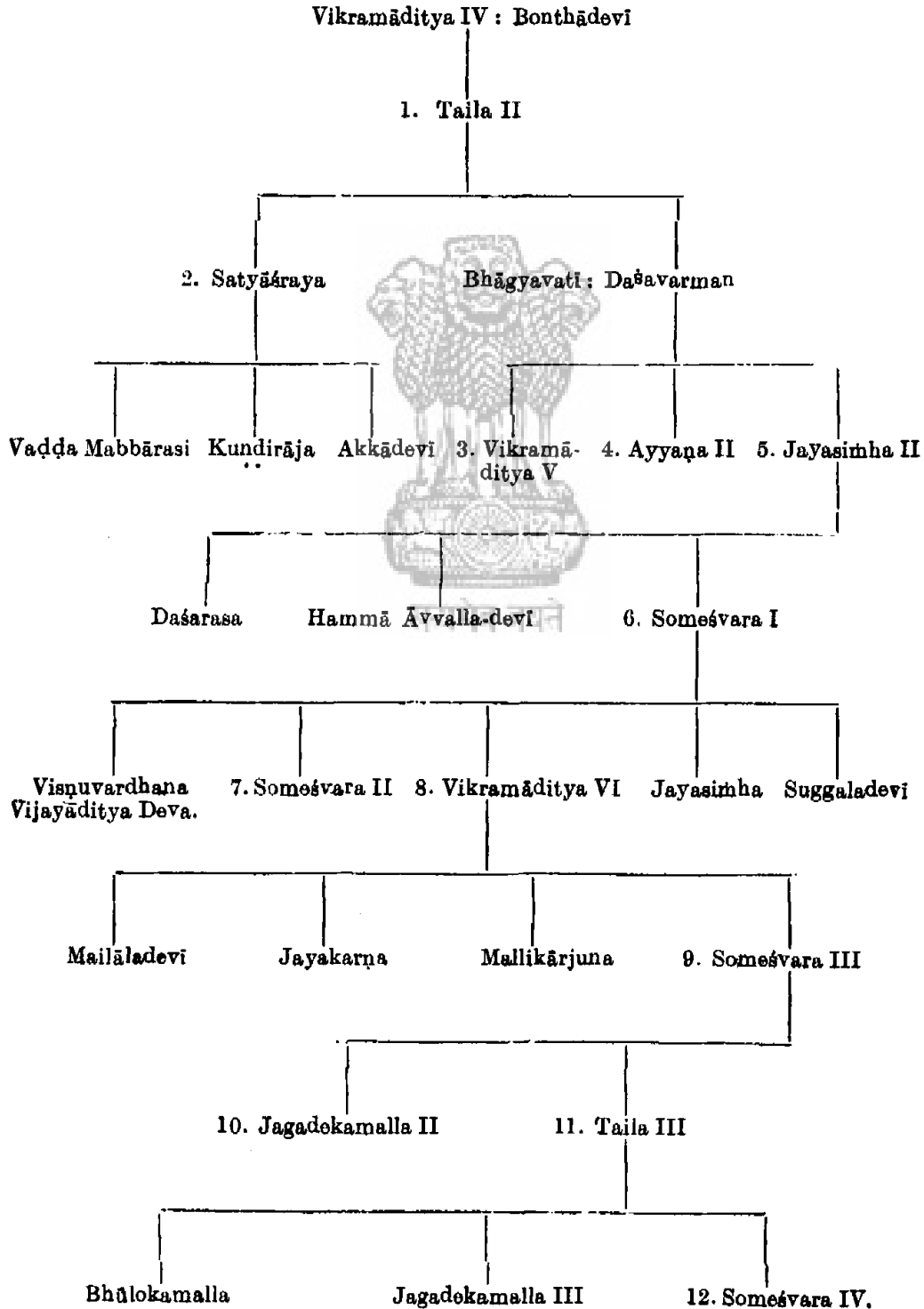
¹⁰ *Ibid.* Cd. No. 50.

This shows that Pandarasa transferred his allegiance from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas to the Cālukya Vikramāditya IV, between 968 and 970 A.D. and the Kadambaḷige 1000 was wrested by Vikramāditya IV, from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

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TABLE I.

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Genealogy.

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Taila II.

Taila II, also called Tailappa, Tailapayya, Tailapa and Nūрмаḍī Taila, was the son of Vikramāditya IV and his wife Bonthādevī, daughter of Kalacuri Lakṣmaṇarāja of Tripurī. He started his career as a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as revealed by a Kārjol inscription (Bijāpūr district), dated in Śaka 879, *Piṅgala Saṁvatsara, Āśvayuja* śu. 5, Thursday = September 11, 956 A.D., when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kannaradeva (Kṛṣṇa III) was ruling at Melapāṭi and Tailapayya was governing the *nāḍu*.¹ The Narasalgi inscription (Bagevāḍī tālukā, Bijāpūr district), dated in Śaka 886, *Raktāksin Saṁvatsara, Phalguna*, solar eclipse (Monday, 6th March, 965 A.D.), refers to the Cālukyā-rāma, *Mahāsāmantādhipati, Āhavamalla* Tailaparasa of the Satyāśraya, family governing Tarddavāḍī 1000 as *anugaḍivita* when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa *Akālavarśa* Kṛṣṇa III was ruling. The name of a subordinate of his, belonging to the Khacara *kula* is lost.² Narasalge was included in Murttage 30. Tarddavāḍī is modern Taddevāḍī on the southern bank of the river Bhīmā in the Indi tālukā of the Bijāpūr district. If Vikramāditya of the inscription dated in 970 A.D. referred to above is Taila's father, this would show that the father and the son were governing Tarddavāḍī 1000 and the Kadambaḷige 1000 divisions as feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

The marriage of Vikramāditya IV with the Kalacuri princess Bonthādevī shows that he had gained some prestige and in view of the growing hostility between the once friendly Kalacuris and Rāṣṭrakūṭas, it may be that Taila II was helped by the former in his struggle against the latter.

In 973 A.D., Taila II suddenly emerged out from the insignificance of a *Mahāsāmanta* to establish an independent sovereign dominion with its capital as Mānyakheta itself. Mānyakheta, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital, was wrested from them by Taila II by defeating the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Karkka II, who was also killed in the battle. Taila II was ruling from Mānyakheta in 993 A.D.³ The records of the Cālukyas and their feudatories describe the victory of Taila over the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karkka II in glowing terms. The Sogaḷ inscription, dated Śaka 902, *Vikrama Saṁvatsara, Āṣāḍha Amāvasyā* = June 8, 978, A.D.⁴ says that Taila II cut off the head of Raṇakarāmbha Kakkala⁵. Raṇakambha may be taken to mean pillar of victory (*raṇastambha*) rather than a king.⁶ The Bhādāna grant of the Śilāhāra Aparāḷita dated in June 997 A.D. describes the defeat and death of Kakkala II 'as a light extinguished by a fierce wind and that of the once flourishing Raṭṭa rule, there remained the memory'.⁷ The Khārepāṭa plates,

¹ *ARSIE*, 1933-34, B. K. No. 178 of 1933-34.

² *SII*, Vol. XI, pt. 1, No. 40, *ARSIE*, 1929-30, B.K. No. 130.

³ *ARASI*, 1930-34, pt. ii, p. 241.

⁴ *EI*, Vol. XVI, p. 2. The date is irregular. I prefer June 8, 978 A.D. to July 14, 980 A.D.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4, v. 20.

⁶ *EI*, Vol. XVI, p. 4. Barnett thinks that Kakkala and Raṇakambha were two different persons. The Nilagunḍa Plates record *lūnau yena sukkena Karkara-raṇastambhau raṇa-praṇḡḡṇe* (*EI*, Vol. XII, p. 152, v. 27). Fleet interprets *karkara-raṇastambhau* as the pillars of Kakkara in war, which were annihilated by Taila, but later on he thought that the two were different kings. This view does not appear to be correct. It may be suggested that Taila cut off the two pillars of victory of Karkkara. It is not unusual since pillars of victory were established by various kings in those times.

⁷ *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 270-73.

dated in Śaka 930 = 1008 A.D. while describing Kakkala at its end speak that "Having defeated this (Kakkala) king in the battle the lion-like and glorious king Tailapa of the Cālukya race became king.¹" The Nīlaguṇḍa plates say that Taila II was easily successful in the struggle with Kakkala² and the Kalige plates record that "Having first uprooted (and) slain some of the Raṭṭas...king Taila, the mighty one, (who inspired) fear by the pride of his arm assumed the asylum sovereignty of the Cālukyas and became free from all troubles, (ruling) alone over the circuit of the earth for twenty-four years beginning with the year Śrīṃukha".³ The date of Taila's victory over the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and his assumption of an independent status may be fixed with the help of the Śravaṇa Belgolā epitaph of the Gaṅga prince Mārasimha and the Melagani inscription which says that the latter was dead in Śaka 896, *Bhava Samvatsara*, *Aṣāḍha* = June-July, 974 A.D.⁴, having renounced sovereignty one year after the anointment of Indra IV, his own son-in-law and the grandson and successor of Kakkala. This fixes the date of the anointment of Indra IV as June-July 974 A.D. The Gundur inscription of Kakkala dated in June 973⁵ A.D. shows that he was alive and ruling on that date. The Malur inscription which speaks of Taila's fight with the Gaṅga Pāñcāladeva is dated in April 973 A.D.,⁶ when he had not assumed full sovereign titles and was merely fighting against his enemies. This fixes the date of Taila's accession to power in June-July 743 A.D. The *Śrīṃukha Samvatsara* itself commenced from March 23, 973, A.D.

The long story of the gradual decline of 'the once flourishing Raṭṭa rule', which disappeared 'as a light extinguished by a fierce wind' and of which 'there remained only the memory', is the subject of the former chapter. In short it was the aggressive policy of Kṛṣṇa III (940-65 A.D.) against the Candellas, the Paramāras and the Kalacuris in the north and the Coḷas and the Ceras in the south which sapped their internal strength and incurred fierce hostility of powerful kings outside. The glories of his victory, both in the north and the south were short-lived. His invasion of the Kalacuri dominions⁷ transformed the close matrimonial alliance between these two powers into one of bitter hostility towards each other. In the marriage of Bonthādevī, daughter of the Kalacuri Lakṣmanarāja, with Vikramāditya, father of Taila II, lay the seed of the rise of Taila II and the cause of the final eclipse of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Paramāras were already their enemies and the Candellas, who had risen to power with their help, having once consolidated their power at the cost of the Pratihāras, could not be friendly inclined towards them and were also not strategically situated to be of any help. The Coḷas in the south were merely watching for an opportunity to pounce upon them and regain the lost ground. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa solidarity

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¹ EI. Vol. III p. 298; JBBRAS Vol. I, p. 221.

² EI. Vol. IV, pp. 204 ff.

³ IA. Vol. XXI, p. 187; Vol. XII, p. 270.

⁴ EI. Vol. X, Mb. No. 84.

⁵ IA. Vol. XII, p. 271.

⁶ MASR. 1942, No. 2, pp. 11-12.

⁷ (This is not supported by evidence See C.I.I. Vol. IV, pp. LXXXII f.—V.V.M.)

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was further broken by internal dissensions, palace revolutions and violent feuds for succession to the throne in which the Cālukyas took an active part.

Khottiga Nityavarṣa Amoghavarṣa, on his accession to the throne after Kṛṣṇa's death in 695 A. D., had to atone for the sins of Kṛṣṇa's wars with the Paramāra Siyaka II, Harṣa, who had revolted against his Rāṣtrakūṭa sovereign sometime before 949 A. D. and, in spite of the claim of the two chieftains of Kṛṣṇa for the title of *Ujjenibhujāṅga*, continued to rule in Mālava as an independent king from 949 A.D. Khottiga also invaded Mālava, but suffered a disastrous defeat at the battle of Kālighaṭṭa on the banks of the river Narmadā on which Cacca, son of Dhanika, of the Vagod branch of the Paramāras and Kankadeva, a prince of another collateral Paramāra family, lost their lives. According to the Arthuna inscription they claim to have defeated near Narmadā, the forces of the ruler of Karṇāṭā and thus destroyed the enemy of the Mālava king Śrī Harṣa. This battle took place before 969 A.D., the date of the Ahmadābād plates¹. Siyaka II very soon retaliated by invading the Rāṣtrakūṭa kingdom and plundered their capital Mānyakheta. Dhanapāla of Dhārā and the author of *Pāṇiyalacchī*, who wrote this work for his sister Sundarī completed it at Dhārā in V. S. 1029 = 972-73 A.D. "when Mānyakheta had been sacked and plundered in an assault by the king of Mālava"². This is corroborated by the Udaipur praśasti³. The Gaṅga prince Mārasimha came to the rescue of the Rāṣtrakūṭa Karkka II and the Śravana Beḷgolā records that he "by the strength of his arm protected the encampment of the Emperor when it was located at the city of Mānyakheta."⁴ Khottiga seems to have died in the battle at Mānyakheta and was succeeded by Karkka II in about 972 A.D.⁵;

The sack of Mānyakheta by the Paramāra forces broke the backbone of the Rāṣtrakūṭas. Karkka II was inefficient and vicious. Revolutions and chaos followed in the wake of the Paramāra invasion and the Rāṣtrakūṭa misfortunes were exploited as an opportunity, as usual in those times by their feudatories to assert their own power, and soon after the Cālukya Taila II, launched an attack on Karkka II and his capital Mānyakheta. Before he dealt the final blow to Karkka II, Taila had to fight against Pāñcāladeva—an officer under Mārasimha. Taila's forces were commanded by Brahma and those of Pāñcāladeva by Salli, according to a Malur inscription, dated April 10, 973, A.D.⁶ Taila was helped by the *Mahāmantrākṣapaṭalādhipati*

¹ EI. Vol. XIX, p. 179.

² Bühler : *Pāṇiyalacchī* Ints. p. 6, v. 276 ; EI. Vol. XIII, p. 180 ; Vol. XVI, p. 178 ; IA. Vol. XXXVI, p. 169.

³ EI. Vol. I, p. 235, v. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. IV, p. 179 ; E.C. Vol. II, No. 59.

⁵ Altekar : *Rāṣtrakūṭas*, p. 125.

⁶ MASR., 1942, No. 12, th 11-12.

Dhalla and a *bhujadaṇḍa*, as he is called, of *Āhavamalla* and in whom Taila had implicit confidence. Later on Dhalla became the chief minister (*Sacivottama*) of Taila and was given the title of *Viveka-bṛhaspati*. This title is given to Dhalla's son Nāgadeva in the *Ajītapurāṇa*. The Gaṅga Mārasimha claims to have broken the pride of the mighty Dhalla, who stood up against Vanagajamalla, who has been identified with Kṛṣṇa III. He also claims to have put to light, and conquered Dhalla 'who was possessed of strength that was too great to be realised'. Dhalla's son Nāgadeva married Attiyabbe, daughter of Mallappaya, at whose instance Raṇṇa wrote his *Ajītapurāṇa*.

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After the death of Karkka II, the Gaṅga Mārasimha tried to revive the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power by placing on the throne Indra IV, grandson of Kṛṣṇa III and his own son-in-law, who had escaped to the western regions of his dominions. Mārasimha was himself governing Gaṅgavāḍī 96,000, Nōḷambavāḍī 32,000 and Banavāsī 12,000, Sāntalige 1,000, Belvolā 300, Puligere 300, Kisukāḍ 70 and Bāgevāḍī 70 divisions. He failed in his bid for a Rāṣṭrakūṭa restoration and as the Śravaṇa Belgolā epitaph records 'having carried out the acts of religion in a most worthy fashion one year later, he laid aside the sovereignty at the town of Baṅkāpur, in the performance of worship in the proximity of the holy feet of the venerable Ajitasena, he observed the vow of fasting for three days and attained rest.'¹ His death took place in about Śaka 896, *Bhava Samvatsara*, *Āṣāḍha* = June-July, 974 A.D., when three Nōḷamba princes, Pallavāditya, Nōḷambādhira and his father Corayya, who were halting at Sūryya-miniyūr, did something on hearing of the death of Mārasimha Permaḍī.² This fixes the date of Mārasimha's death and his anointment of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra IV.

Mārasimha's successor Rācamalla and Cāvuṇḍarāya supported the cause of Indra IV, but realising that all chances of restoring his authority at Mānyakheṭa were lost, Indra also ended his life by performing the *Sallekhanā*, self starvation, and died on March 20, 982 A.D.³

Āhavamalla Taila II assumed the paramount titles of *Mahārājā-dhirāja Parmeśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Samastabhuvanāśraya* and had the *birudas* of *bhujabalavīranārāyaṇa*, *Bhuvanaikamalla*⁴ and *Āhavamalla*.⁵ He married Jākabbe, daughter of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa chieftain Bhammaha, who is not known from any other source. Practically all the feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas transferred their allegiance to Taila II on his assumption of supreme power. Some of the most important of them were the Māturas, the Raṭṭas, the Sindas, the Yādavas, the Kadambas, Śobhanaras and some of the minor Rāṣṭrakūṭa chieftains who probably belonged to some collateral branches. One such Rāṣṭrakūṭa chieftain, called Bhīma or Bhīma-

¹ *EL*. Vol. V, pp. 166 ff; *EC*. Vol. II, No. 59.

² *EC*. Vol. X, Mb. No. 84.

³ *IA*. Vol. XX, p. 35; *EC*. Vol. II, No. 133.

⁴ *IMP*. Vol. I, Cd. No. 580.

⁵ *ARASI* 1930-34, pt. I, p. 241.

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rasa, who may be the same as Bhammaha, father-in-law of Taila, was ruling over Banavāsī 12000, Sāntaḷige 1000 and Kisukāḍu 70.¹ The Śilāhāras and the Nolambas, who tried to resist Taila, were subjugated by force.

Nāgadeva, son of Dhalla, and his son-in-law, Mallapa, defeated the Kumāras at the battle of Lodhra. The Kumāras appear to have been gentlemen troopers of kings as were the *Leṅkas* 1000, who with their chief *Danḍanāyaka* Tikaṇṇa, are mentioned as pillars of the Pallava kingdom, when Trailokyamalla-Nanni-Nolamba-Pallava-Permāṇaḍi was governing certain divisions under the Cālukya Someśvara I in A.D. 1046.² The Nolambas, who appear to have pretended to be independent, after the death of Mārasimha, were defeated by Nāgadeva. In recognition of his gallantry Taila raised Nāgadeva to the rank of a *Senāpati*. The Nolambas finally accepted Taila's suzerainty.³

Taila II had to face bitter opposition from the Gaṅga Pāñcāla-deva, who had started his career as a minor chieftain governing a small division, Sabbi 30, in 971 A.D.⁴ and had risen to the position of the Governor of the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000 in 973 A.D.⁵ and declared independence, on the death of Mārasimha, in 975 A.D., when Mārasimha's two sons, Rājamalla and Rakkasa Gaṅga, were in the Bid-doneregere region. Pāñcāla claims to have been ruling 'without any disorder from the limits of the eastern and the western and the southern oceans with the great river⁶ as the boundary on (on the north)' and calls himself as the *Cālukya-pāñcānana*, "lion to the Cālukyas". His dominions would thus include Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000 Nolambavāḍi 32,000, Puligere 300, Beḷvolā 300 divisions, over which the Gaṅga Mārasimha had also ruled. Taila had defeated Pāñcāla-deva, earlier in a battle at Malur. This time the battle was hotly contested and the Cālukya forces were commanded by Nāgadeva, son of Dhalla, and *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Bhūteyadeva or Bhūtiga. At the initial stage of the battle the Cālukyas seem to have suffered some reverses and their rear had taken to flight, but the day was saved by Bhūtiga who ultimately defeated and killed the enemy.⁷ Nāgadeva is said to have fought bravely and scattered the cavalry and the elephants of Pāñcāla and drove them away from the battlefield like cattle⁸. As a result of their victory the Cālukyas reached the very gates of the Gaṅga capital Talakāḍ. On the request of Attiyabbe, Nāgadeva's wife, Taila constructed a Jain *basadi* at Lokkiguṇḍi, modern Lokkuṇḍi in the Dhārvāḍ district of the present Mysore State, in recognition of Nāgadeva's services in the battle.⁹ The Gadag inscription of Vikramāditya VI, records that 'Taila took the head of Pāñcāla by the terror of the pride of his arm in battle.'¹⁰

¹ *EO*. Vol. II, Intr. p. 45 ; *DKD*., pp. 430-433.

² *SII*. Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 104.

³ *Ibid.*, Nos. 102-104.

⁴ *IA*. Vol. XII, p. 255.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII.

⁶ Meaning the Kṛṣṇā.

⁷ *IA*. Vol. XII, 216.

⁸ *Ajītapurāṇa*, I, V. 44.

⁹ *SII*. Vol. XI, pt. i, No. 52, pp. 39 ff.

¹⁰ *EI*. Vol. XV, p. 356.

The battle was fought between August, 975 A.D., the date in Pāñcāla's Muḡuṇḍa inscription, and 977 A.D., when Rācamalla was placed on the Gaṅga throne by Cāvuṇḍarāja, who had been the minister of Mārasimha.

Taila claims to have defeated another Gaṅga prince, Govindara, who was helped by Cāvuṇḍarāja, to get into the fort of Bāgeyūr after he had defeated a certain Tribhuvanavīra. Tribhuvanavīra may have been a *Mahāsāmanta* whom Taila may have sent against Govindara.¹ Paunamayya lost his life in the battle against Govindara, when he rushed into the battle crying at the pitch of his voice "Long live Taila".² The battle was fought on the banks of Kāverī, where Taila was confronted by a confederacy of feudatories organised by Govindara.

The defeat of Pāñcāla and Govindara broke the power of Taila's bitter rivals and enemies. Taila then turned his arms against those feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who had still held back their allegiance from him. The Bhādāna plates of the Śilāhāra Aparājita does admit the fall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, but does not recognise the Cālukyas as the suzerain. Taila sent an army under the command of his son Satyāśraya to bring Aparājita to book. Aparājita seized with fear fled away from the battlefield, but was pursued and sandwiched between the sea and the Cālukya force and made to surrender. He was taken prisoner and released on tendering his allegiance and twenty-one elephants to Taila. The Cālukyas claim to have burnt Amśunagara during this campaign. Five members of the Vāji family to which Dhalla also belonged also took part in the battle. A Vāji chieftain is called *Koṅkaṇ-bhujāṅga* in an inscription, dated in Śaka 928=1006 A.D.³ He may be Paḍvaḷa Taila, son of the general Nāgadeva.⁴ Madhava and his son Keśavarāja also took part in this Koṅkaṇ campaign and won Taila's admiration.

Several records of Taila speak of his victory over the Coḷas. But the details of the struggle between the two are not known. The Coḷas could not have looked on silently to the destruction of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire and the rise of an insignificant feudatory to the position of imperial power in the Deccan. If they also made a bid to annex as much part of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire as they could, that was but natural. But they did not very much succeed in their venture and appear to have been forced to withdraw to their own dominions by Taila II. The Sogaḷ inscription of Taila describes him as 'an axe to the great mountain, the potent Coḷa'. Another says that the frightened Coḷa king was bewildered because of the fear of Taila's power and could not decide 'what to do and where to go'. Several other records in the Bellāry⁵ and the Cuddapah districts of the Madras State confirm this claim. A record at Goḷlapalle mentions a gift of land by Nūrmaḍi Taila.⁶ The earliest record in the Bellāry district is dated Śaka 897, *Yuva samvatsara, (punna)me,*

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¹ EC. Vol. II, No. 281.

² SII Vol. VI, No. 102.

³ Ibid Vol. XI, pt. i, No. 76.

⁴ Ibid. Vol. XI, pt. i, No. 76, p. 67.

⁵ SII Vol. IX, pt. i, Nos. 73-78.

ARSI E 1937-38, No. 307.

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Śukravāra = A.D. 976, February 18, Friday, records a grant of land by Taila.¹ Another dated April 22, 981 A.D., refers to his chieftain Vīra-Ōḷamba-Pallava Parmāṇaḍiveva, 'Lord of Kāñcī', as he is called, and records confirmation of an earlier *sthānya-mānya* to three temples.² The Kadamba chieftain Āḍityavarman is mentioned in a Kogali record of December 23, 992 A.D.³ when Taila was ruling from Roḍḍa according to this and two other records of July 23, 996⁴ and of January 12, 991 A.D.⁵ The last epigraph is very interesting in as much as it records that the Kadamba Āḍityavarman, Governor of Kogali 500, was terrorising over the people by increasing the rate of tolls and contributions fixed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kannaradeva and that the fifty *mahājanas* of Bālguli (Bagali) and the three leaders of *tāmbulige*, the betel sellers, carried a complaint to Taila II against this enhancement and, that Taila, after hearing the same, rescinded the order of Āḍityavarman and decreed that the old rate fixed by Kannaradeva should not be violated and enhanced. The king while camping at Roḍḍa also obtained one hundred and fifty elephants which had been pleasing to the Coḷas. Whether these elephants were received by Taila as ransom from the Coḷas for his victory over them or were captured by one of his generals in any war with them and then presented to Taila is not known. The Kadambas and the Ōḷambas also recognised Taila as their overlord.

The Coḷas appear to have attacked the Ōḷambas and a battle between the Coḷas and the Ōḷambādhirāja took place at Bijayita-maṅgala in about 980 A.D., (this date is uncertain) in which Ōḷambarasa died.⁶ Another inscription of this time records a fight between Ōḷambarasa's Mallappa and Mannara.⁷ Having defeated the Ōḷambas, the Coḷas marched northward, but could make no headway against the Cālukyas. This was during the reign of Uttama Coḷa (969-985 A.D.). His successor Rājarāja later succeeded in defeating the Ōḷambas and driving them out from these regions. He was recognised as the king in those regions and Gannarasa was governing over there as his feudatory in 997 A.D.⁸

Taila II also claims to have defeated the Pāṇḍya king as the Sogal inscription mentions that the Pāṇḍya king was also frightened because of Taila and could not decide 'where to go and what to do.'. The Pāṇḍya king may be Amarabhujāṅgadeva, who was ultimately defeated and driven away from his principality by Rājarāja the Great in 995 A.D.⁹

Dhalla and Nāgadeva claim victory over Veṅgī.¹⁰ Raṇṇa makes no mention of this. Nāgadeva was dead before 993 A.D., when Raṇṇa completed his *Ajītapurāṇa*. Nāgadeva had married two

¹ *SI*. Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 73.

² *Ibid* No. 74.

³ *Ibid* No. 77.

⁴ *Ibid*. No. 78.

⁵ *Ibid*. No. 76.

⁶ *EC*. Vol. IX, Ht. Do. 47

⁷ *Ibid*. Ht. 48.~

⁸ *Ibid*. Ht. 111.

⁹ *The Coḷas* I, pp. 200, 202.

¹⁰ *SI*. Vol. XI, pt. I, No. 52.

daughters of Mallapa, whose father belonged to Kamme-deśa in Veṅgī *maṇḍala*. Ponnamayya, brother of Mallapa, seems to have taken service with Taila as he claims to have fought Govindara and died on the banks of the river Kāverī.¹ It may be that his death took place at the time of the Cālukya invasion of Veṅgī, which itself was soon after conquered by the Coḷa Rājarāja the Great. Guṇḍamayya, son of Mallapa and brother of Attiyabbe, also claims to have defeated a certain Gonara,² who may be the same as Gannarasa, son of Ayyānadeva, a Coḷa feudatory governing a portion of territory found about modern Hoskote tālukā of Bangalore district in 997 A.D.³

The Paramāras also, like the Coḷas, could not stand indifferently at the defeat of the Rāṣtrakūṭas and the rise of Taila. They were naturally encouraged to pursue aggression against the new power. Siyaka II Harṣa had been succeeded by Vākpati Muñja in V. S. 1031⁴=A.D. 974 or a little earlier and soon after his accession the hostilities between the Paramāras and the Cālukyas began. The Nilguṇḍ inscription says that because of Taila, king Utpala was bewildered and deliberated as to what to do, where to go and where to dwell.⁵ Utpala was another name of Muñja.⁶ Merutuṅga speaks of Muñja defeating Taila six times before his own capture by the latter. The Udaipur *praśasti* claims victory over the Karṇāṭas by Muñja. Dhalla, Taila's general, also claims victory over Mālava. Merutuṅga too records that 'the king of Tiliṅga country named Tailapa Deva harassed Muñja by sending raiders into his country.' To punish Taila of this aggression, in a fit of anger and against the advice of his ailing Prime Minister Rudrāditya, who advised him not to cross the Godāvarī, which should be, as he suggested, the utmost limit of his expedition, 'in overwhelming confidence, Muñja', as Merutuṅga says 'crossed the river (Godāvarī) and pitched his camp on the other side.' When Rudrāditya heard what the king had done, he argued that some misfortune will result from his headstrong conduct and he himself entered the flames of a funeral fire. Then Tailapa by force and fraud cut Muñja's army to pieces and took him prisoner, binding him with a rope of reed. He was put in prison and confined in a cage of wood and was waited upon by Taila's sister, Mṛṇālavatī with whom he formed a marriage union. Muñja's ministers, who came after him, dug a secret tunnel leading to the prison room in which Muñja was confined and intimated to the king, the right hour for his escape, but Mṛṇālavatī's love had blinded Muñja. Before leaving the prison he felt perturbed as he was to be separated from his love. He would not reveal the cause of his sorrow to Mṛṇālavatī. He was so much overpowered by his feelings that he could not distinguish when Mṛṇālavatī gave him food with too much salt or without it. In this state of his mind Mṛṇālavatī asked him the cause of his sorrow and Muñja foolishly revealed the secret of his impending escape from prison and also told her : " If you

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¹ *Ajītapurāṇa*, Canto I, v. 36.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ *EC*. Vol. IX, Ht. No. 111.

⁴ *IA*. Vol. VI, p. 51.

⁵ *EL*. Vol. IV, p. 207.

⁶ *IA*. Vol. XXXVI, p. 168.

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will come there (to Ujjain), I will crown you as my consort and show you the fruits of my favour." Mr̥ṇālavatī had already lost confidence in her fading youth and beauty due to advancing age and once when she was brooding over the same, Muñja had consoled her by saying "Mr̥ṇālavatī! do not reflect over the vanished youth. Sugar candy even though it may be pounded into a thousand pieces will taste sweet." This had failed to make any impression on her and asking him to wait until she fetched a casket of jewels and reflecting that as she was a middle-aged widow, Muñja will cast her away in his home, she went to her brother Taila and revealed the plan of Muñja's escape to him. In order to avenge the faithlessness with which, as she imagined, Muñja might have treated her at Ujjain, Mr̥ṇālavatī had him tied up with chords and made him beg from door to door and then Muñja would utter a warning against the treachery of a woman. Muñja was exposed to all kinds of insults and scorns. When given butter-milk and refused food, Muñja, his pride awakened said to the lady who treated him with this insult,

Foolish fair one, do not show pride, though you see me with a little pot in my hand.

Muñja has lost fifteen hundred and seventy-six elephants.

Muñja was ultimately trampled under an elephant's feet and his head severed from the body, was fixed on a stake in the courtyard of the palace. By keeping it continually covered with thick sour milk, Taila II gratified his anger.

Different versions of this event are given in different Jain *prabandhas*. In one Taila is said to have been ruling at Uraṅgala-paṭṭana and his minister Kamalāditya went to Muñja and pretended that he had been disgraced by his master for advising him to give up his enmity towards Muñja. Rudrāditya's advice of not trusting Kamalāditya was disregarded by Muñja and at Kamalāditya's suggestion he marched with his army to the banks of river Godāvarī to invade the Cālukya kingdom. Kamalāditya revealed his true colours at this stage and taunted Muñja for his folly. The Karṇāṭas, who were waiting for this opportunity, fell upon Muñja's army, cut it to pieces and took Muñja prisoner.

Bhojaprabandha and *Navasāhasāṅkacaria* are silent over this event, but the story is told by several Cālukyan records. The Gadag inscription reveals that the battle was fought on the bank of the Godāvarī and a certain Keśava, son of Mādhava, fought in the battle and won Taila's admiration. Others speak of Muñja being taken prisoner and killed by Taila. The Yādava chieftain Bhillama II fought in the battle from the side of the Cālukyas as his Saṅgamner grant, dated in Śaka 922 = 1000 A.D., claims that he crushed the army of Muñja and 'thereby made the goddess of fortune observe the vow of a chaste woman in the house of illustrious Raṇaraṅgabhīma'. Kielhorn's identification of Raṇaraṅgabhīma with Taila as it is synonymous with *Āhavamalla* is preferable to that of Dr. Barnett. This battle was fought between 994 A.D., when Amitagati finished his *Subhāṣitaratna-sandoha* in which he leaves Muñja's life story incomplete and does not refer to this event, and 997 A.D., the last known date for Taila.

The province of Lāṭa, which had formed part of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions, was also conquered by Taila and placed in charge of his general Bārappa of a Cālukya family. Hemacandra calls Bārappa a king of Lāṭadeśa. Several inscriptions show that a Cālukya family beginning from Bārappa ruled over Lāṭa. Those who followed Bārappa in succession were his son Goggirāja, his son Kirttirāja, his son Vatsarāja, his son Tribhuvanapāla, and his son Trivikramapāladeva. Bārappa's family had matrimonial connections with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and he 'having obtained the country of Lāṭa, verified to the delight of the people, the maxims of the science of politics and winning over his subjects and destroying his enemies always obtained the fruits of the replenishment of his treasury.' Bārappa attacked Mūlarāja of Gujārāt, simultaneously with a king of Sapādalakṣa: Mūlarāja fled to Kanthādurga. He seems to have made a truce with the Cāhamāna Vīgrahapāla II and attacked Bārappa and defeated and killed him. Mūlarāja captured 1,000 horses and eighteen elephants from Bārappa. The *Dvyaśraya* tells a different tale. It says that Bārappa sent an ill-omened elephant to Mūlarāja, who interpreted this as his insult. Mūlarāja with his son Cāmuṇḍarāja, hence, attacked Bārappa and killed him. Raṇṇa in his *Ajītapurāṇa* writes that Taila sent his son Satyāśraya to invade the Gurjara country. Satyāśraya, who led the campaign on an elephant, defeated the Gurjara army and killed the brother of the Gurjara king. To celebrate this victory Taila built a Jain *basadi* at Lokki-guṇḍi at the request of Attiyabbe. The Sogaḷ inscription, dated 980 A.D., speaks of Taila's victory over Lāṭa.²

Taila also claims to have defeated Mallama of Karahād or Karād in the Sātārā district.

Taila II ruled for 24 years. His two last known dates from inscriptions are Saka 919, *Hemalamba Samvatsara*, *Āṣāḍha* 4—5th or 26th June, 997³ A.D., and Sunday, 12th September 997 A.D.⁴

Taila was a patron of poets and the learned. During his reign the famous Kanarese poet Raṇṇa wrote his two important works, *Gadāyuddha* and *Ajītapurāṇa*. He also wrote another work *Paraśurāmacarita* in Sanskrit. Raṇṇa started his career as a bangle seller. He then served as a soldier in the army of Cāmuṇḍarāja, minister of the Gaṅga Mārasīmha. Raṇṇa was a follower of Jainism and was patronised by Attiyabbe, wife of general Nāgadeva. Taila conferred on him the title of *Kavi-cūḍāmaṇi*. Another poet Ponna wrote his *Purāṇacūḍāmaṇi* on the banks of Kāverī. This work is claimed to have been written for the welfare of Taila in the presence of Jinacandra-muni, *Guru* of the king. Taila also appears to have been a follower of the Jain religion and built a number of Jain *basadis*, two at Lokkiguṇḍi. He was a just king as would appear from the Roḍḍa inscription quoted earlier. He was also a good builder and a good general.

¹ In *Kirtikaumudī* Bārappa is called the general of the lord of Lāṭa, and by Arisīmha general of king of Kānyakubja, both of which are not correct.

² *EI*. Vol. XVI, p. 7.

³ *EI*. Vol. III, p. 270.

⁴ *EC*. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 179.

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Taila left an extensive empire to his successor. It included Lāṭa in the north, Bellāry and Anantpur of Karnāṭaka and the Śimogā and a part of Citaldrug district on the south, Dhārvāḍ, Belgāṇv and Bijāpūr districts in the northwest. It also included the whole of the former Hyderābād State in the east and was bounded by the Godāvari river.

Taila had two sons, Satyāśraya and Daśavarman, both born of his queen Jākabbe. Daśavarman was governing some divisions of the kingdom in 996 A.D.¹

Satyāśraya.

Satyāśraya succeeded his father Taila in 997 A.D., his earliest known date being Śaka 922, Vikārī, 999 A.D.² He was also known as Sattiga,³ Sattima⁴ and had the titles of *Iṛivabedaṅga*,⁵ *Ahavamalla* and *Akalāṅkacaritā* and 'the slayer of the Tāmils'.⁶

The hostilities with the Coḷas were resumed during his reign. Uttama Coḷa was succeeded by Rājarāja the Great in 985 A.D. He combined in him aggressive power and statesmanship. Rājarāja had started his campaign against the Nōḷambas during Taila's reign and had gained some success in 997 A.D. The Nōḷambas occupied a strategic position between the Cālukya and Coḷa dominions. Satyāśraya gave his daughter Vṛddhimbbāraśe to Iṛiva-Nōḷambādhirāja, who was made the Governor of Nōḷambavāḍi 32,000, Kogaḷi 500, Ballakuṇḍe 300 and Kakkanūr 30. Nōḷambādhirāja claims to have ruled as far as Kāñcī.⁷ Rājarāja captured Talakāḍ in 1004 A.D. and wiped out the Gaṅga power. He then invaded the Cālukya dominions. The Hottur inscription, dated in 1007 A.D., contains a graphic account of the Coḷa invasion. It says that:—"The cyclic year *Plavaṅga*, the 929th Year of the Śaka era, being current, when Rājarāja Nityavinoda Rājendra Vidyādhara, ornament of the Coḷa race, Nurmmaḍi Coḷa came accompanied by a host of nine hundred thousand (men), halted at Donvūr and was ravaging the whole country, perpetrating murders of women, children, and the Brāhmaṇas, seizing women and overthrowing the order of the castes."

"Hail! the auspicious king of kings, supreme lord, supreme master, Akalāṅkacarita, Iṛivabedaṅga, ornament of the Cālukya race, 'Slayer of the Tāmils,' the auspicious king Satyāśraya drove away the Coḷas, captured his trains of baggage wagons, and made a triumphal progress through the south."

And while being at the *ghaṭṭa* of Tāvaṛe, a grant of one *viśa* for each ox in perpetuity was made by the thousand betel-sellers in assembly in honour of those who died while defending the kine of the betel-sellers when robbers were carrying them off."⁸

¹ *ARSIE*. 1933-34, Bk. No. 179.

² *EC*. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 179.

³ *EI*. Vol. VI, p. 330.

⁴ *BC*. (Old Edn.), Vol. I, pt. i, p.

⁵ *EI*. Vol. XVI, pp. 187-189.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 75.

⁷ *EC*. Vol. IX, Ht. No. 111.

⁸ *EI*. Vol. XVI, p. 75.

The Cālukya victory over the Coḷas is also borne out by an inscription, dated 1008 A.D., at Cebrolu in the Gunṭur district which speaks of Satyāśraya as king. The statement of the Tiruvalāṅganāḍu plates that Satyāśraya 'became the abode of misery himself even though he escaped the misery of fight with Rājarāja' is an exaggeration. Rājarāja also celebrated his victory, as recorded in an inscription, over the Cālukya Satyāśraya by offering flowers of gold to the god. In spite of this claim the Coḷa did fail in the campaign and suffered loss of territory.

Rājarāja was followed by Rājendra. In the third year of his reign again there was a battle between the Cālukyas and the Coḷas when 'Śrutimaṇ Nakkaṇ Chandiraṇ *alias* Rājamāla Muttaraiyaṇ on the occasion when in a fight with Satyāśraya, he was ordered by the king to pierce the (enemy's elephants).¹

At the command of Sattiga (Satyāśraya) in 1006 A.D., a Lenka Keta fell fighting at the battle of Ūṇukallu, probably against the Coḷas.² A Gadag inscription, dated in Śaka 930 (1008 A.D.) of the reign of Satyāśraya refers to the siege of the *agrahāra* Kaḷḍugu in the Beḷvola 300 by Deśiṅga and the destruction of the forces because of the treachery of king Pergaḍe.³

Paḍevaḷa Taila, son of Nāgadeva, continued to serve under Satyāśraya and his mother Attiyabbe made a grant in 1005 A.D. Sobhanarasa, another important feudatory, was governing Halasige 12,000. Huligeṇe 300 and Beḷuvala 300.⁴

Satyāśraya had one son Kuṇḍin or Kuṇḍirāja and two daughters. Vṛadhamabbārasi and Akkādevī. Akkādevī was a good administrator and was governing some one or other division during the time of Satyāśraya and his successors. Kuṇḍirāja was placed in charge of Banavāsī 12,000 and Sāntalige 1,000 divisions.

The last known date of Satyāśraya is Monday, November 15, 1008 A.D.

Vikramāditya, son of Daśavarman and Bhāgyavatī, succeeded his uncle Satyāśraya on the throne sometime after November 15, 1008 A.D. and before April 12, 1009 A.D. (Śaka 930, *Saumya*, *Saṁvatsara*, lunar eclipse). Daśavarman, probably, died during Satyāśraya's reign. Why Kuṇḍirāja, the other son of Satyāśraya, who continued to govern certain provinces during the reign of Vikramāditya, Ayyaṇa II and Jayasimha II, did not succeed his father is not known.

Vikramāditya adopted the titles of *Tribhuvanamalla* and *Vallabhanarendra*. A later inscription of the time of Jayasimha II, records that a certain Keśava Jiya, probably the Keśavarāja of the inscriptions and a subordinate of Vikramāditya, conquered the Kosala country which was ruled by the Somavaṁśī Mahābhava-gupta, who also claims to have worsted king of Kaṁṇāṭa. Akkādevī and Kuṇḍin,

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Vikramāditya.

¹ *ARASIE*. 1912-13, App. B. No. 515.

² *SII*. Vol. XI, pt. i, No. 51.

³ *ARASIE*. 1932-33, Bk. No. 179.

⁴ *SII* Vol. XI, pt. i, No. 51.

CHAPTER 9. daughter and son, respectively, of Satyāśraya, continued to govern some provinces of the Cālukya Empire during the reign of Vikramāditya.

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THE CHALUKYAS. The last known date for Vikramāditya is October 8, 1013 A.D.¹

Ayyaṇa II. Vikramāditya was followed on the throne by his brother Ayyaṇa II. Many Cālukya records and Bilhaṇa omit his name and state that Vikramāditya was succeeded by Jayasimha II, while others² record that he did rule. No records of his time have been found. The earliest known date of Jayasimha falls in 1015 A.D.,³ which leaves a gap of two years for the rule of Ayyaṇa. Ayyaṇa is called "self-willed and haughty."⁴

Jayasimha II. Jayasimha, brother of Ayyaṇa, came to the throne probably after violently overthrowing the latter. He is called 'impetuous' in one of the inscriptions.⁵ His earliest known date is February 20, 1015 A.D.⁶ He adopted the title *Trailokyamalla*, *Vikramasimha*, *Mallikāmoḍa* and *Jagadekamalla*. His three queens known are Suggaladevī⁷ or Suggalā⁸ whose daughter was Hammā, also called *Satī Āvvaladevī*, who was married to the Yādava chief Bhīllama III;⁹ Devaladevī, a Nolamba princess, whose bones on her death were immersed in the Gaṅgā in 1036 A.D.;¹⁰ and Lakṣmīdevī. Kalyāṇi is for the first time referred to as his capital in 1033 A.D.¹¹ Inscriptions, dated 1036 A.D.¹² and 1040 A.D.¹³ also refer to the city as the capital. Jayasimha was residing at Hotṭalakere¹⁴ or Pottalakere in A.D. 1033, 1040 and 1041; Koḷlipāke in 1033-34, at Etagiri Kampili in 1018 A.D., at Tagarila in 1032 A.D., at Vijayapura in 1036 A.D. and at Ghaṭṭadakere in 1038 A.D.

Rājendra Coḷa invaded the Cālukya kingdom and claims to have defeated Jayasimha II at Muśaṅgi and to have captured Iḍaituraī-nāḍu or Ededore 2000, between the Kṛṣṇā and Tuṅgabhadra rivers and corresponding roughly to the modern Raicur district; Vana-vāsī (Banavāsī) and Koḷlippākkai, modern Kulpak, about 45 miles from Hyderābād and Maṇṇaikkadagam, Mānyakheta, the Rāṣṭra-kūta capital.¹⁵ The Coḷa success did not last long and in a short time Jayasimha recovered all lost territories after defeating the Coḷa king.¹⁶ This Coḷa invasion took place in about 1017-18 A.D. After

¹ *EC*. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 471 (an inscription gives *Saka* 93(6), *Sravana* but the year not certain, *SII*. Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 79).

² *IA*. Vol. IV, p. 208; *EC*. Vol. VII, Sk. Nos. 110, 130, 123 and 197; Sb. Nos. 233, 228; Vol. XI, Dg. Nos. 35 and 41; *ARSIE*, 1924-25, p. 75; *HAS*. No. 8, pp. 8, 9; *IA*. Vol. XLVII, p. 287.

³ *EC*. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 76.

⁴ *IA*. Vol. IV, p. 108.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *ARSIE*. 1937-38, No. 59; *EC*. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 16.

⁷ *B.G.* (Old Edn.) Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 435.

⁸ *IA*. Vol. XII, p. 119.

⁹ *SII*. Vol. IX, pt. i, Nos. 91-92.

¹⁰ *ARSIE*. 1932-3, No. 122.

¹¹ *SII*. Vol. XI, pt. i, No. 69.

¹² *ARSIE*. 1929-30, App. E, No. 8; 1917, No. 34.

¹³ *EC*. Vol. XII, Si. No. 37 and 40.

¹⁴ *SII*. Vol. XI, pt. i, No. 68.

¹⁵ *SII*. Vol. II, p. 92; Vol. III, p. 27; *ASIS*. p. 65.

¹⁶ *EC*. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 125; *MASR*. 1929, p. 135; *EI*. Vol. XVIII, p. 24.

a brief period of peace the hostilities were resumed in about 1024 A.D., as an inscription records that Jayasimha was camping at Kolhāpūr after warring against the mighty Coḷa. As a result of this campaign the Cālukyas gained possession of the Gaṅgavāḍī 96,000, which the Coḷas had earlier captured.

The Bānsvārā plates, dated January 3, 1020 A.D., reveal that the Paramāra Bhoja, successor of Muñja, granted a village on the anniversary of the conquest of Koṅkaṇ.¹ Koṅkaṇ appears to have been annexed to his dominions by Bhoja in September 1019 A.D.² The Kalyāṇ inscription of Yaśovarman, a feudatory of Bhoja, confirms occupation of Koṅkaṇ by Bhoja after defeating the kings of Kaṇṇāṭa and Koṅkaṇ.³ Jayasimha also claims to have 'searched out and beset and pursued and ground down and put to flight the confederacy of Mālava'⁴ in 1019 A.D. But this claim is not correct. The Miraj plates, dated 1024 A.D., reveal that Jayasimha issued the grant, when he was in his victorious camp near Kolhāpūr, having returned from the southern campaign after taking the property of the seven Koṅkaṇas and ready to conquer the north (i.e., north Koṅkaṇ). Jayasimha appears to have dislodged the Paramāras from the Koṅkaṇ as no trace of their occupying it is found after this date.

Merutuṅga records the story that when the Paramāra Bhoja thought of invading Gujarāt, Dāmara, minister of the Cālukya Bhīma, diverted his mind towards the Tiliṅga country by showing him a drama, depicting the indignities Muñja had to suffer at Taila's hands. Incensed by the drama, when Bhoja was marching southward, he heard that the king of Tiliṅga was also advancing against him. He was frightened at this and he found himself between the devil and the deep sea when Dāmara told him, a mere bluff, that the Cālukya Bhīma had already reached Bhojapuram for invading his dominions. Bhoja then sent Dāmara back to persuade the Cālukyas to go back. What happened to the Cālukya force advancing against him from the south is not known. Bhoja also appears to have returned without pursuing his southern adventure.

If Merutuṅga is to be relied on, Bhoja appears to have made another attempt to invade the Cālukya dominions and avenge the insult they had done to Muñja. This time, in order to safeguard his rear and his own dominions during his absence in the south as well as to reinforce his own force by an ally, he made a compact with the Cālukya Bhīma and the Kalacuri Gaṅgeyadeva of Tripurī. The combined forces of these three then invaded the Cālukya kingdom. What success they gained, cannot be measured as both the sides are equally eloquent in claiming victory for themselves. The battle appears to have been fought on the highlands of the southern bank of the river Godāvarī. The invaders were defeated by the Cālukyas and driven

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THE CHALUKYAS.

Jayasimha II.

¹ *EI*. Vol. XI, p. 181.

² *Ibid.* Vol. XVIII, p. 320.

³ *ARASI*, 1921-22, pp. 118-119.

⁴ *IA*. Vol. VIII, p. 19.

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Jayasimha II.

back to the other side of the river¹ and the Kadamba Chattiga, a Cālukya feudatory, was awarded the title of the 'Guardian of Highlands' by Jayasimha for the gallant services rendered to his sovereign during the battle. The Kalavan plates² and the Udaipur praśasti³ give Bhopa credit for the conquest of Karnāṭa and the Khairah plates record that Gaṅgeyadeva inflicted a crushing defeat on the king of Kuntala but later on restored him to his throne. On the Cālukya side the Kulenur inscription records that 'O Kuṇḍarāja, when they name thee in respect of courage, what further praise can others give? Is it not what is said of the troops of elephants of the Coḷas, the Gaṅgeya and king Bhoja with open mouth as they flee away in terror through which they gallop off without waiting at all to charge with their tusks.'⁴ Kuṇḍin's father-in-law Bachi claims to have put the Mālavas to shame.⁵ This Paramāra invasion and the battle of the Godāvarī took place in about 1028 A.D., the date of the Kulenur inscription cited above.

The conquest of Gaṅgavāḍī 96,000 and Nōḷambavāḍī 32,000 divisions and the two Koṅkaṇs, north and south, were the landmarks of the reign of Jayasimha II. The annexation of Gaṅgavāḍī 96,000 is confirmed by the fact that *Jagadekamalla Nōḷamba-pallava* Permānaḍi *alias* Udayādityadeva, a feudatory of Jayasimha was ruling over Gaṅgavāḍī 96,000 along with Kadambaḷige 1,000, Kogaḷi 500, five villages of Māsiyavāḍī 140, Ballakunde 300 and Kuḍihāra 70 in Eḍadore 2,000 in 1018 A.D.⁶ He was governing Nōḷambavāḍī 32,000, Kadambaḷige 1,000, Kogaḷi 500, Ballakurḍe 300, Kaṇḍiparavī 70 and Kariviḍi 30 in 1032 A.D. and 1034 A.D.⁷ This does not include Gaṅgavāḍī which appears to have been taken away from his charge as was Nōḷambavāḍī 32,000, which is also not mentioned in the list of the divisions under his charge after 1034 A.D. Gaṅgavāḍī 96,000 was put under the charge of Mallideva Coḷa *mahārāja*⁸ and Barmma-deva Coḷa *mahārāja*, the latter of whom was ruling from there in 1040 A.D.⁹ Gaṅgavāḍī has been identified with the regions between the rivers Tuṅgabhadra and Kṛṣṇā. It had its capital at Kuvalāḷa. Under the Gaṅgas it was of Talakāḍ. The Coḷa Rājarāja, the Great, had conquered some portion of it in about 998 A.D. His son Rājendra I had reduced the whole of it under his subjection and had captured Talakāḍ by driving out the Gaṅga king Rācamalla. To commemorate this achievement Rājendra assumed the title of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa¹⁰ Coḷa, the Coḷa who took Gaṅgi, i.e., Gaṅgavāḍī 96,000. The Cālukyas conquered this division from the Coḷas before 1018 A.D.

Koṅkaṇ, which Satyāśraya had subjugated, had reasserted its independence probably during the reign of Vikramāditya or Ayyaṇa. It was conquered by the Paramāras but was reconquered for the

¹ *El.* Vol. XVI, p. 359; Vol. XIX, pp. 71-72.

² *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 235.

³ *Ibid.* Vol. XII, pp. 205 ff.

⁴ *El.* Vol. XV, p. 333.

⁵ *HAS.* No. 8.

⁶ *SII.* Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 80.

⁷ *Ibid.* Nos. 85, 87, 82, 88, 90, etc.

⁸ *EC.* Vol. XII, Si. No. 37.

⁹ *Ibid.* Si. No. 40.

¹⁰ (Gaṅgaikoṇḍa has reference to Rājendra's expedition to the Gaṅgā—V.V.M.).

Cālukyas by Jayasimha II in 1024 A.D. North and south Konkan, and Sātārā, Ratnāgirī and Kolhāpūr districts of the modern Mahārāstra State, were ruled by two branches of the Śilāhāras, the northern by *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Chittarājadeva and the southern by the Śilāhāra Gaṇḍarāditya, whose known dates are 1010 A.D. and 1035 A.D.

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THE CHALUKYAS.

Jayasimha II.

Akkādevī, sister of Jayasimha II, was governing Banavāsī 12,000 jointly with Kadamba Mayūravarma, her husband, in 1037 A.D. Her son Toyimadeva had the title of 'the lion of Harikanta', like his father¹. Cāvaṇarasa, another subordinate of Mayūravarma was administering the two divisions of Beḷvola 300 and Puligere 300. He was also a minister of peace and war. A Hottur inscription, dated in 1037 A.D.², records that Cāvaṇarasa led an expedition against the forts of Pannāḷa (Panhālā) and Dvārasamudra. The fort of Panhālā was defended by Jattuṅga, predecessor of Goṅkā, whom Fleet assigned the dates 1035 A.D. to 1055 A.D. A fierce battle took place between the Śilāhāras and the Cālukyas. The Cālukyas besieged the fort, stormed it and conquered it. The famous fort of Panhālā where in later times Śivājī had baffled the Moghal forces, is situated on a hill 12 miles from Kolhāpūr. Dvārasamudra, the other place conquered by Cāvaṇarasa, and called Dora in the inscription³ was governed by the Hoysaḷas, who were rising to power in the Deccan during this period⁴ to play a prominent role in its history after the Cālukyas had disappeared from the scene. Sala Nṛpakāma who had founded the city of Dvārasamudra ruled from 1006 to c. 1040 A.D.⁵ Cāvaṇarasa also claims to have captured the forts of Bijavāḍī, which may be identified with Bigevāḍī in the Bijāpūr district, and Baḷevaṭṭana, identified with Ballipattana in the Malabār district of the Keraḷa State. He is called the lord of Vanavāsī, best of cities and a "comet to the Konkan, an uprooter of Panhālā, a grindstone to Baḷeyavattana, a shatterer of the pride of the fortress of Bijavāḍī and *diśa-paṭa* (scatterer) of Dora."⁶

The Brāhmaṇas seem to have been dissatisfied with Jayasimha II. The cause of this dissatisfaction is not known. Some of them hatched a plot to kill the king, but Kālidāsa, styled as *Sangrāma Kaṇṭhūrava*, one of the Brāhmaṇas himself, remained faithful to the king, and was successful in dissuading the conspirators from their plans. Kālidāsa is praised as a great politician in the inscription.⁷

Jayasimha II had a daughter Hammā of Āvalladevī, who was married to the Yādava chieftain Bhillama II,⁸ and a son called Someśvara, who succeeded him. His last known date is April 25, 1042

¹ *EI*. Vol. XVI, p. 76.

² *Ibid.* p. 80.

³ *EI*. Vol. XVI, p. 80.

⁴ Derrett : *The Hoysalavansas*.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *EI*. Vol. XVI, p. 80.

⁷ *HAS*. No. 8, pp. 7, 19, 20.

⁸ *IA*. Vol. XII, p. 119.

CHAPTER 9. A.D.¹ The earliest known date of his son Someśvara is January 23, 1043 A.D.²

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THE CHALUKYAS.

Two learned men flourished during his reign, Dayāpāla and Vādirāja. Vādirāja who was the author of *Pārśvanāthacarita*, lived in Jayasimha's court and is described as a very learned man. Dayāpāla was the author of *Rūpasiddhi* which he wrote in Śaka 947.³

Someśvara I.

Someśvara I, son of Jayasimha II, ascended the throne between April 25, 1042 A.D.⁴ and January 23, 1043 A.D.⁵ He bore the titles of *Trailokyamalla*, *Āhavamalla* and *Rāyanārāyaṇa*. Six queens of his are known: Ketalaadevī,⁶ Hoysaladevī,⁷ Mailadevī; or Mailaladevī, called *priyarasī* or chief queen;⁸ Bācalaadevī;⁹ Candrikādevī,¹⁰ also called *priyarasī* or chief queen; and Līlādevī.¹¹ Ketalaadevī was placed in charge of the administration of Poṇṇavāḍa *agrahāra*, modern Honvād in the Kolhāpūr District. Bācalaadevī was the mother of Someśvara's two sons Someśvara II and Vikramāditya.

The Cālukya capital had been shifted from Mānyakheṭa to Kalyāṇi in the reign of Jayasimha II. But it was probably Someśvara I who made it a permanent central seat of the Government. A number of places are mentioned in the inscriptions as places of royal camps where he stayed temporarily for short periods.¹²

India at this time was in a state of utter political turmoil, the lust of territory and ambitious dynasticism dominated by the will to win a glory for the family by large scale ravages of others' dominions, as it were, guided the state policy. All this led to continuous wars and battles between the large number of states that had then come into existence. Its consequence was chaos. Someśvara himself pursued aggression with greater vigour than his predecessors.

The defensive policy of Jayasimha II towards the Paramāras was changed into that of offensive by Someśvara I. Mālava was invaded and the Cālukya forces crossed the rivers Godāvarī and Narmadā and attacked Māṇḍava, modern Māṇḍū, 22 miles from Dhārā, in the district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. Ujjain and Dhārā were also stormed. Bhoja fled away from his capital to Ujjain. Dhārā was burnt by the invaders. Ujjain was noted for its ramparts but here also Bhoja did not find safety. The Cālukyas captured Ujjain also. The generals, who participated in the campaign, were Nāgadeva, Jemarasa, Guṇḍamayya and Madhuva. The Cālukya records contain a graphic account of this victory. The Nagai inscription says that Someśvara 'entered and burnt (the city of) Dhārā',

¹ EC. Vol. VIII, Ek. Nos. 108 (b) and 109 (b).

² Ibid. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 323; Kielhorn List No. 159.

³ IA. 1914, p. 212; EC. Vol. II (rev. edn. No. 67), pp. 29 ff; Vol. VIII, Nr. No. 37.

⁴ EC. Vol. VIII, Sb. Nos. 108 (bis) and 109 (bis).

⁵ Ibid. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 323; Kielhorn's List No. 159.

⁶ IA. Vol. IX.

⁷ EC. Vol. VII, H1. No. 1; ARSIE. 1930, F. No. 179.

⁸ Bom. Gaz. (Old Edn.), Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 438; ARSIE. 1923, p. 101.

⁹ EI. Vol. XV, 357.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ ARSIE. 1928, E. No. 244.

¹² EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 170; ARSIE. 1930 F. No. 79; HAS. No. 8.

'had (previously) captured Māṇḍava' and 'having raided on and burnt (the city of) Ujjayinī (noted for its) rampart (aḷurkke), (he) there bore the silver ball with pride, by the strength of his arm.'¹ General Guṇḍamayya is similarly described "as a royal swan strolling on both the banks of the river Narmadā, an evil comet to the Mālava people, a capturer of the fort, namely Māṇḍava, and held in honour in the city of Dhārā."² Nāgadeva is called a *Garuḍa* to the serpent Bhoja.³ Madhuva claims to have 'driven out (from his capital) the lord of Dhārā.'⁴ Jemarasa is described as a flame of doom to king Bhoja.⁵ Bilhaṇa confirms that Someśvara attacked Dhārā and it fell into the invader's hands.⁶

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Someśvara I.

In spite of all the loud claims in their records, the Cālukyas gained no permanent advantages from this campaign except probably plunder, loot and prestige. They withdrew as quickly as they had ravaged it, because of the threat of a Coḷa invasion of their own kingdom. The Paramāras returned to their capital but were soon after overwhelmed by the Caulukyas of Gujarāt from the north and the Kalacuris from the east. Bhīma, the Caulukya king of Gujarāt and Karṇa, the Kalacuri king, defeated Bhoja and stormed his capital Dhārā. Bhoja appears to have died fighting in defence of his capital and Mālava lay at the mercy of the invaders. But Bhīma and Karṇa quarrelled over the division of Mālava between themselves. In fact, Karṇa wanted to pocket the full loaf. The diplomatic Dāmara, who had once led Bhoja to disgrace came to his master's help, a second time and made Karṇa agree to share the spoils.⁷ It was not until Karṇa had been taken prisoner by Bhīma when the former was sleeping that he yielded, and ultimately having lost all, retired to his own kingdom leaving Bhīma as the final arbitrator of Mālava's fate. The Cālukyas appear to have hunted out from Mālava, the Paramāra claimants to the throne. Jayasīṃha, son of Bhoja, then appealed to the Cālukya Someśvara for help. In spite of the fact that there was a traditional hostility between the two, Someśvara agreed to help him, for the political advantages from subservient Mālava against the hostile and powerful Kalacuris, the Caulukyas and the Coḷas were tremendous. The Cālukya force sent for the help of Jayasīṃha, drove out the Caulukya Bhīma from Mālava. Jayasīṃha was restored to the throne⁸ before 1055 A.D. the date of his Māṇdhātā plates.⁹

A Belagāmi inscription¹⁰ speaks of the Lāṭa king making submission to Someśvara and paying him tribute. It appears that Trilocanapāla of Lāṭa, when threatened by Vappulaka,¹¹ general of the Kalacuri

¹ HAS. No. 8, p. 18.

² MASR. 1929, pp. 68-69.

³ EI. Vol. XV, p. 87.

⁴ HAS. No. 8, p. 21.

⁵ EI. Vol. XVI, p. 86.

⁶ Vikramāṅkadevacarita. I, vs. 91-96.

⁷ Deṇḍāśhraya, IX, v. 57.

⁸ Vikramāṅkadevacarita. III, v. 67.

⁹ EI. Vol. III, p. 46.

¹⁰ EC. Vol. VII.

¹¹ IA., Vol. XII, pp. 196f, Mem. ASS. No. 23, p. 123.

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THE CHALUKYAS.

Someśvara I.

Karṇa, who claims a victory over Trilocanapāla in the Rewah inscription preferred to seek the shelter of Someśvara and pay him tribute. Trilocanapāla belonged to the house of Bārappa, who had been placed in Lāṭa by Taila II.¹

The Coḷa Rājādhirāja I, successor of Rājendra the great, made a bold bid during the reign of Someśvara to recover the territories lost by his predecessor to Jayasimha II. Having reconciled the rebellious feudatory chieftains he invaded the Cālukya kingdom with a view to recover Gaṅgavādī 96,000.² At this time Someśvara was leading a campaign in Mālava and the small Cālukya force that was left behind at home suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Coḷa king when it faced him under the command of Someśvara's sons, Vikramāditya and Vijayāditya. The battle was fought at Koḷlippākkai, modern Kulpak, 45 miles east of Hyderābād, in Āndhra. The Cālukya force had to retreat. It was pursued by the invaders who burnt Koḷlippākkai. A second Coḷa invasion, which took place about 1046 A.D., is described in the same, *Maṇimaṅgalam* inscription³, dated in the 29th year of Rājādhirāja's reign, (1046 A.D.). It says that "When even Āhavamallaṇ became afraid; when Gaṇḍappayaṇ and Gaṅgādharaṇ (who belonged) to his army, fell along with (their) elephants (whose temples) swarmed with bees, (in a battle) with the irresistible army of Kevudaṇ; (and) when the (two) warriors of great courage—Vikki and Vijayādityaṇ, Saṅgamayaṇ of great strength, and others retreated like cowards,—(the Coḷa king) seized (them) along with gold of great splendour and with horses, elephants and steeds, achieved victory in his garments, and caused the centre of Koḷlippākkai, (a city) of the enemies to be consumed by fire".

During the second expedition the Coḷa king led his force upto Tuṅgabhadra and burnt the city of Kampili, a place of royal residence.⁴ Both these expeditions were led before 1046 A.D. The Coḷas then claim to have attacked Pūṇḍūr on the bank of the river Kṛṣṇā, called a cantonment city, where another great battle with the Cālukyas was fought. The Coḷas claim to have captured a large number of Cālukyan feudatory princes with their women and sacked and burnt the city. They also claim to have burnt Maṇṇandippai and erected a pillar of victory there.⁵ The Cālukya reverses are admitted in a Sūdi inscription, dated in 1050 A.D., of the reign of Someśvara. It says that 'the seven ministers granted the settis renewal of their corporate constitution, which had partly broken down in the stress of the war with the Coḷas.'⁶

In spite of all their resounding victories the Coḷas claim over the Cālukyas in their records, they did not make any territorial gains and the Cālukya records dated in 1047 A.D. show that they remained in possession of the regions where the battles between them and the Coḷas had been fought.⁷ The Coḷas returned to the field against

¹ [Trilocanapāla, defeated by Vappulla was a Pratihāra King. *CII*, IV, p. 280.-V.V.M.]

² *HIS*, p. 70.

³ *SII*, Vol. III, p. 50.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 57.

⁵ *ARSIE*, 1890, No. 6; 1894, No. 221; 1895, No. 18, *Cus*, Vol. I, p. 304.

⁶ *EI*, Vol. XV, pp. 77 ff.

⁷ *ARSIE*, 1914 No. 484.

the Cālukyas once again, probably with stronger forces. The date of the battle that was fought this time between the two is certain since the details of it are recorded in another Maṇimaṅgalam inscription of the 4th year of the reign of Rājendradeva II corresponding to 1056 A.D.¹ This inscription clearly states that Rājendra II was crowned on the battlefield. This shows that the battle was fought in 1052 A.D.

The inscription contains a detailed description of the Coḷa invasion. The Coḷas attacked Raṭṭamaṇḍalam and destroyed many towns and districts. It made the Śālukki king (Cālukya Someśvara I) furious and he is said to have sprung up and said, "It is a disgrace to me" (his) eyes burning (with rage). He met the Coḷa force at Koppam. The Tiruvallam inscription speaks of the Coḷas erecting a pillar of victory at Kolhāpūr before the battle of Koppam, near Khidrāpūr, at the confluence of the rivers, Pañca Gaṅgā and Kṛṣṇā, where stands the temple of *Koppeśvara* in the Belgānvi district of the Mysore State. The Coḷas arranged their forces in two rows, the front and the rear; Rājādhirāja commanding the former and Rājendra the rear. Both the armies were commanded by veteran generals of the two sides and their names recorded.

The Cālukyas launched the attack first and the front line of the Coḷas commanded by the Coḷa king himself, who like his opponent the Cālukya king was riding an elephant, was pierced and the Coḷa Rājādhirāja was killed with many of his warriors. There was great confusion in the Coḷa army because of the death of the king and the elephants frightened by the fury of the battle and riderless ran about in confusion. Even the elephant of the king without him ran about and was stopped only by the Coḷa king's brother Rājendradeva who had been so far waiting behind. When he saw the Coḷa army, without its commander, on the verge of a total collapse, he threw all his forces in the battle shouting "Fear not". The Cālukyas once again attacked the elephants from which Rājendra was fighting and 'the shower of Āhavamalla's straight arrows pierced the forehead of his elephant, his royal thigh and his shoulders which resembled hillocks.' But soon after the tide of the battle turned against the Cālukyas, as the Coḷa record claims that Jayasīma, brother of Someśvara, was slain (?) along with a number of his feudatories named Pulekeśin, Daśapaṇamaṇi, Aśokaiyaṇ, Āraiyaṇ, Naṇṇi, Noḷamba. The Coḷas claim complete victory over the Cālukyas. The Śālukki king Āhavamalla, the armies of Kuṇḍamayaṇ and Tuttaṇ and Vanniya-Revaṇ were completely routed. Someśvara 'fled, trembling vehemently, with dishevelled hair, turning (his) back, looking around, and tiring (his) legs, and was forced to plunge into the Western ocean.' The Coḷas claim to have captured many elephants, horses, camels, 'the victorious banner of boar and the insignia of royalty', two queens, Sattiyavvai and Śāṅgappai and many women who were left on the field by the Cālukya king.² Rājendradeva was crowned king on the field. The Cālukya records also claim victory over the Coḷas. A Belagāmi inscription, dated

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¹ *SII*. Vol. III, p. 58.

² *SII*. Vol. III, p. 63.

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1054 A.D.¹ calls Someśvara 'a lion to the tusky elephant, the Coḷa' and records further that 'in the middle of the battle the Coḷa king exhausted his valour and died.' The Nagai inscription, dated 1058 A.D. refers to Rāyanārāyaṇa or Someśvara I as having captured Kāñcī and killed the Coḷa king and to have brought his decapitated head by the strength of his arm which had captured Māṇḍava. It further adds "King Trailokyamalla having on that (i.e., the farther, viz., the northern) side entered and burnt (the city of) Dhārā with determination, having on the (near, viz., the southern) side penetrated and set on fire (the city of) Kāñcī, by the strength of his arm which had (previously) captured Māṇḍava and having killed the Coḷa king in anger, brought his fresh decapitated head". Bilhaṇa says that Someśvara killed the Coḷa king and burnt the Coḷa capital Kāñcī.

There is considerable difference of opinion among scholars regarding the final results of the battle. Some relying on the Cālukya records are of the opinion that the Cālukyas were the victors while others accept the version of the Coḷa records. In fact the truth lies in between the two. The Coḷa king was killed at Koppam, but the Cālukyas were also pushed back from there by Rājendra. Soon after the Cālukyas raided Kāñcī, the Coḷa capital, burnt the city and defeated the Coḷas once again. A Sūdi inscription dated Thursday, January 20, 1060 A.D., records that king Trailokyamalla was halting at his camp Puli, a town within Sindavāḍī division after 'having made a victorious expedition to the southern region and conquered the Coḷa.'²

All these bloody battles between the two sides led to no final results, but peace between them was preserved for a few years. The Tiruveṅganadu inscription of Vīra Rājendra, dated in the 2nd year of his reign (1064-65 A.D.) claims three victories for the Coḷas over the Cālukyas. In the first, Vikramāditya (VI), son of Someśvara I, was driven away from Gaṅgapāṭi and had to retire to the other side of the Tuṅgabhadra river along with his *Mahāsāmantas* whose strong hands (wielded) cruel bows.³ The Coḷas, too, retired without any gains. Vikramāditya then led an expedition into the Veṅgī country in alliance with the Paramāra Jayasīṃha, who had been placed on the throne by the Cālukyas. Jayasīṃha sent his brother to attack Veṅgī from the north when the Cālukyas came from the west. But the invaders were driven away by Vīra Rājendra and the Karuvūr inscription,⁴ dated in the 5th year of his reign claims that he defeated and destroyed the powerful army which was sent by Vikkalaṇ, i.e., Vikramāditya, to attack Veṅgināḍu. One of the Cālukyan generals, Cāmuṇḍarāja was killed in the battle and Vīra Rājendra severed his head from the dead body and cut off the nose of the only daughter of Cāmuṇḍa, named Nāgalai, who was beautiful like a peacock and was married to Irugayaṇ, whose identity is not known. It is claimed

¹ EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 118.

² EI. Vol. XV, p. 92.

³ SII. Vol. III, p. 69.

⁴ Ibid. p. 37.

further that Vīra Rājendra killed the brother of Jayasīma, *Jananātha* of Dhārā. Cāmuṇḍa is not mentioned in any record after 1060 A.D. and this appears to be the date of the invasion. Bilhaṇa also says that Vikramāditya invaded the Veṅgī country and repeatedly defeated the Coḷas.

The Coḷas and the Cālukyas made preparations for the final battle that was fought at Kūḍalasāṅgamam on the banks of the turbid river in 1064 A.D. Kūḍalasāṅgamam is not far away from Koppam in the Belggāṇv district. The Coḷa army was commanded by the 'Allied Kings', as the inscription says, but their identity is not known. The Cālukya army was also very large and included a large number of elephants and horses. It was commanded in person by Someśvara himself. He was assisted by Vikkalaṇ (Vikramāditya) and Siṅgaṇ, who is sometimes called brother of the Cālukya king and sometimes king of Kosala.

The battle began with the Coḷa vanguard attacking the Cālukya army, and it was pierced and repulsed. Siṅgaṇ, the Kosala king, who opposed the Coḷas, suffered defeat. The elephants who defended the front line of the Cālukyas were also pushed back. The battle was very bloody and if the Coḷa records are to be believed the Cālukyas suffered a disastrous defeat and severe losses and fled away from the battlefield. The Karuvūr inscription's description of the battle may be quoted here : It reads :

"The enemy, full of hatred, met and fought against (him i.e., the Coḷa Vīra Rājendra) yet a third time, hoping that (his former) defeats would be revenged. (The king) defeated countless *Sāmantas*, together with these (two) sons of Āhavamalla, who were Vikkalaṇ and Siṅgaṇ, at Kūḍalasāṅgamam on the turbid river. Having sent the brave vanguard in advance, and having himself remained close behind with the kings allied to him, (he) agitated by means of a single mast elephant that army (of the enemy), which was arrayed (for battle), (and which) resembled the northern ocean. In front of the banner troop, (he) cut to pieces Siṅgaṇ, (the king) of warlike Kośal[ai], along with the furious elephant of (his) vanguard. While Keśava Daṇḍanāyaka, Ketṭaraśaṇ, Mārayan of great strength, the strong Potta[ra]yaṇ (and) (Irechchayaṇ) were fighting, (he) shouted :— "(Follow) Mūvendi, (king), (who wears) a garland of gold"! and cut to pieces many *Sāmantas*, who were deprived of weapons of war. Then Madhuvanaṇ, who was in command, fled ; Vikkalaṇ fled with dishevelled hair ; Siṅgaṇ fled, (his) pride (and) courage having forsaken (him) ; Aṇṇalaṇ and all others descended from the male elephants on which they were fighting in battle, and fled ; Āhavamalla too, to whom (they were) allied, fled before them. (The king) stopped his fast furious elephant, put on the garland of victory, seized his (viz., Āhavamalla's) wives, his family treasures, conches, parasols, trumpets, drums, canopies, white *cāmaras*, the boar banner, the ornamental arch (*maṅgarca-toraṇa*), the female elephant, (called) *Puṣpaka*, and a herd of war elephants, along with a troop of prancing horses, and, amidst (general) applause, put on the crown of victory, (set with) jewels of red splendour."¹

¹ *SI.*, Vol. III, p. 37.

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In spite of the crushing defeat the Cālukyas suffered, the permanent gains the Coḷas made are not known. The Cālukya records are silent about this conflict. Only Bilhaṇa states that Someśvara's son Vikramāditya led an expedition to the south sometime towards the close of his father's reign and is said to have burnt Kāñcī, a second time and also conquered a certain place called Gāṅgakuṇḍa (Colapuram)¹ Bilhaṇa states further that Vikramāditya heard the news of the death of his father on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇā when he was camping there after his return from his southern expedition.

Even the battle of Kūḍalasaṅgamam did not bring an end to the Coḷa-Cālukya war. The Maṇimaṅgalam inscription of Vīra Rājendra dated in the 5th year of his reign, 1067-68 A.D.,² records that after his victory at Kūḍalasaṅgamam the Coḷa king started for his conquests in the south, against Keraḷa and the Pāṇḍya king and others. He then turned towards the north and killed a number of feudatories of the Cālukyas. This infuriated Someśvara and he challenged the Coḷa king to meet him again at the battle of Kūḍal, (i.e., Kūḍalasaṅgamam). The Coḷa king came with his force to the battlefield, but the Cālukyas were not there. He waited at Kāndai for a month for the challenger and carried fire and sword through the Cālukyan territory and erected a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tungabhadra river. He then went to Veṅgī which had been attacked by the Jananātha of Dhārā in alliance with the Cālukyas, a second time.

The Maṇimaṅgalam inscription records that "Having moved (his camp), he declared :—“(We) shall not return without regaining the good country of Veṅgai, which (we had formerly), subdued. You (who are strong), come and defend (it) if (you) are able!”. That army which was chosen (for this expedition) drove into the jungle that big army, which resisted (its enemies) on the great river close to Viśaiyavāḍai (and) which had for its chief Jananātha, the *Daṇḍanāyaka* Rājamayan, whose mast elephants trumpeted in herds, and Mupparaśan.”³ Veṅgī was conquered by the Coḷa king and restored to Vijayāditya and thus the Cālukya-Paramāra invasion of the country proved a failure.

A number of records speak of Someśvara's victory over the king of Kānyakubja, who, though uncontrolled from the beginning, hastily took possession 'of a cave in the Hima mountains', and give him credit for the conquest of Pāñcāla. The history of Kanauj of this period is a record of foreign invasions and consequent chaos. The Pratihāra Rājyapāla of Kanauj had been killed by the Candella Vidyādhara in 1019 A.D., for the fault of his ignominious surrender to Mahmūd of Ghaznī.⁴ His successors, Trilocanapāla and Yaśaḥpāla, are known from two records, dated 1027 A.D. and 1037 A.D.,⁵ respectively. Kanauj then fell into the hands of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa family and Gopāla was king of Gādhipura (Kanauj), according to the Sahet-Maheth inscrip-

¹ *Vikramāñkadevacharita*. IV, 21.

² *SI*. Vol. III, pp. 69-70.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *IA*. Vol. XVIII, pp. 33 ff.

⁵ *JRAS*. 1927, pp. 692-95.

tion, dated in 1118 A.D.¹ The Cālukya invasion took place during the reign of Gopāla's father Bhuvanapāla or grandfather Vīgrahapāla. The Cālukyas appear to have secured the allegiance of the Kacchapaghātas of Gwālīor before they invaded Kanauj. This seems probable from the fact that the two Kacchapaghāta kings, Mūladeva (c. 1035-1055 A.D.) and Mahīpāla (c. 1080 A.D., 1090 A.D.), had respectively the *birudas* of *Trailokyamalla* and *Bhuvanaikamalla* which were also the *birudas* respectively of the Cālukya kings Someśvara I and Someśvara II. The Kacchapaghātas were ruling over Gwālīor under the Candellas. It appears that when there was a temporary eclipse of the Candella power after the death of Vidyādhara, they transferred their allegiance to the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī, to escape extinction at the hands of the Paramāras or the Kalacuris, their powerful neighbours. The two Cālukya *birudas* borne by the two Kacchapaghāta kings, who were also probably the contemporaries of the two Cālukya kings named above suggest an alliance between the two houses.

Any Cālukya penetration of the Doāb of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā inevitably led to a conflict with the Kalacuris, who themselves had been seeking hegemony over those regions and their king Karṇa had already established his hold over Prayāga and Kāśī. He also claims to have defeated the Candella Kīrtivarman and his predecessor Devavarman. Bilhana speaks of Someśvara defeating and deposing Karṇa.² It is supported by a Belagāmi inscription which says that because of the attack of Jayasinha, brother of Someśvara, 'Dāhala is still smouldering'.³ Karṇa also claims to have conquered the Marāṭhā country and to have defeated Bikkam, i.e., Vikramāditya⁴. Since Someśvara I died in 1068 A.D.,⁵ Karṇa's invasion of the Deccan must have preceded the Cālukyan invasion of the Kalacuri kingdom. And it could have been possible for the Cālukyas to invade the north only between the battle of Koppam and that of Kūḍalasaṅgamam, as after the latter, their power appears to have been so badly crippled that they could not have thought of such distant and hazardous campaigns. This is clear from the fact that their attempt to raid Veṅgī did not succeed.

The Cālukya inscriptions speak of Someśvara's victory over the kings of Lāṭa, Kalinga, Gaṅga, Karahāṭa, Turuṣka, Varāla, Coḷa, Karnāṭa, Saurāṣṭra, Mālava, Daśārṇa, Keraḷa, Magadha, Āndhra, Avanti, Vaṅga, Draviḷa, Khaśa, Ābhīra, Pāñcāla, Koṅkaṇ, Malaya, Poṇṇata, Śaka, Nepāḷa, Pāṇḍya, Cera, Gurjara and Aṅga. Bilhana also states that he gained victory over Kāmarūpa, Keraḷa, Coḷa, Mālava, Gauda, Draviḷa, Veṅgī and Kosala.

The above countries cover practically the whole of India. What is interesting is that even Karnāṭa, Koṅkaṇ and Karahāṭa which were included in the Cālukya dominions are also listed. The Cālukyas are generally referred to as the Karnnāṭas in the inscriptions. As such the claim of victory over the Karnnāṭas is highly intriguing, unless it refers to the people of a particular region and not the Cālukya king.

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¹ IA., Vol. XVII, pp. 61f.

² *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, Ed. Bühler, I, vo. 102-63.

³ MASR. 1929, p. 137.

⁴ *Prākṛitapiṅgalam* Ed. by Ghosh, pp. 296 and 448.

⁵ EC, Vol. VIII, Sr. No. 169.

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This is not unlikely but the evidence available on this is so meagre that no conclusion can be reached. Karahāṭa and Koṅkaṇ were ruled by the Kadambas and the Silāhāras respectively and it is quite possible that they had to be forced into submission as they might have tried to break away from the Cālukyas because of the stress of the Coḷa war. His victories over Lāṭa, Mālava, Saurāṣṭra, Gurjara, Coḷa, Daśārṇa, Āndhra, Avanti, Veṅgī, Draviḷa are covered by the accounts given above. The Ābhīras may have been defeated in one of the northern campaigns. The Gaṅgas and the Pāṇḍyas were in the south, the former remnants of the Imperial Gaṅgas and the latter a feudatory house, after changing allegiance from the Coḷas to the Cālukyas and *vice versa*.

If at all his claims of victory over Kāmarūpa, Nepāl, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Gauḍa, Magadha, Kosala and Kaliṅga have any truth, it means that he sent an expedition to northern and north-eastern India and on the authority of Bilhaṇa, it may be suggested that this force was commanded by the king's son Vikramāditya¹.

The Thākuri king Baladeva of Nepāl, was contemporary of Someśvara. He ruled for 24 years. His known date is 1059 A.D.² An attempt has been made to connect the foundation of the Karnnāṭa dynasty of Nānyadeva of Mithilā with the Cālukyan invasion. Nānyadeva is called a *Mahāsāmantāchūpati*, *Dharmāvaloka*, *Mithileśvara*, *Karnnāṭa-kula-bhūṣaṇa*. He had the titles of *Rājanārāyaṇa* and *Nṛpamalla*, which reflect his southern origin. Nānya was a variation of Nānniya and Nanni, a title commonly adopted by the Gaṅga and the Nolamba princes. *Rājanārāyaṇa* was a title adopted by the Cālukya Someśvara and *Nṛpamalla* is a synonym of *Āhavamalla* and *Buvanaikamalla*, the common Cālukya *birudas*. It has been suggested that Nānya came to Mithilā with a Cālukya force and founded a kingdom there³. *सत्यमेव जयते*

Magadha, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Gauḍa comprise modern south Bihār (Magadha), Muṅger and Bhāgalpur districts (Aṅga), Rājmahendry and Mursidābād districts (Gauḍa) and eastern Bengal (Vaṅga). The Pāla contemporary of Someśvara, who ruled over these regions, was Vighrahpāla III. A manuscript of *Caṇḍakauśika* speaks of Karnnāṭa invasion of the Pāla empire during the reign of Mahīpāla I. As Mahīpāla closed his reign earlier than 1042 A.D., which is the date of Someśvara's accession to the throne, the Cālukya invasion could not have taken place during his reign⁴. Mahīpāla was followed by Naya-pāla and he by Vighrahpāla III, who came to the throne in c. 1055 A.D. As a Belagāmi inscription, dated in A.D. 1054 A.D., is the first record that makes mention of the Cālukya conquest of these regions, it may be suggested that the Cālukyas invaded the Pāla kingdom, during the reign of the Pāla Naya-pāla.

¹ *EC*. Vol. VII, Sk. Nos. 118, 169; *HAS* No. 8; *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, III; *EI*. Vol. XV, p. 91.

² *DHNI*. Vol. I, p. 201.

³ *JAHRS*. 1926, pp. 55 ff; *IHQ*. 1931, p. 680; *HAS*. No. 8; *JBBRAS*. Vol. IX, p. 306; *EI*. Vol. III, p. 183; *Levi-Le Nepal*, Vol. II, p. 201.

⁴ [The reference is rather to the invasion of the Pratihāra capital Kānauj by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III. *Studies in Indology* Vol. I, p. 58. V,V,M]

The Karnnāṭa origin of the Senas of Bengal may lend support to the above view. Sāmantasena is called a *Kula-śiromaṇi* among the *Karnnāṭa Kṣatriyas*. Virasena and others are similarly called as southern rulers and belonged to the *Brahmakṣatriya* stock. He is said to have slaughtered the wicked robbers of the wealth of the Karnnāṭas. A connection between the Senas of Dhārvāḍ and Bengal is not unlikely. Sāmantasena probably came with the Cālukya Vikramāditya and founded a kingdom in Bengal. The Deopara inscription records that Sāmantasena carried on near the border of the dam (*Setu-bandha*) his victorious arms exterminating hundreds of opposing forces. Such a claim could be made only if Sāmantasena was a feudatory of a southern power and it could be no other than the Cālukyas, if the Senas were Karnnāṭas.¹

Kāmarūpa was ruled by Ratnapāla. He claims to have had superiority in conflict with the kings of Gurjara, Gauḍ, Keraḷa and the masters of the Deccan country, the last of whom may be identified with the Cālukyas. He also claims to have caused 'pulmonary consumption to the masters of the Deccan.'²

Bhāṣkara Ravi was ruling over Keraḷa from 982 to 1040 A.D. Nothing is known of Kerala after this until the Karuvayur inscription, dated in 1064-65 A.D., which shows that the Coḷas were the rulers of these regions. If at all the Cālukyas raided this country, it could be between 1040 and 1064 A.D.³

Vikramāditya who led an expedition into northern and north-eastern India, returned through Kaliṅga and Kosala. A Belagāmi inscription, dated 1068 A.D., says that the king of Kosala paid tribute to the Cālukya king. Kosala (i.e., south Kosala) comprising modern Chattisgaḍ and the adjoining regions, was ruled during this period by Mahāśivagupta, who claims to have conquered the lords of Karnnāṭa, Lāṭa, Gurjara and Draviḷa, and denuded Kāñci of its glory.⁴ Siṅgaṇ is called king of Kosala in one of the Coḷa inscriptions, but he is also called as the son of Someśvara.⁵ His identity remains uncertain. The Kaliṅga king may be the Gaṅga Vajrahasta V, who was ruling in 1050 A.D.

The Ābhīras are very rarely mentioned in the records of this period. They were holding a precarious sway, if at all, near about Karahāṭa. Madhuva, a general of Someśvara, claims to have defeated the Ābhīra king and Koṅkaṇ.⁶ The Śilāhāras were ruling over Koṅkaṇ and the Śilāhāra contemporary of Someśvara was Chittarāja. Ponnāla fort is no other than the famous Panhālā. The Nagai inscription refers to a battle at Kālūru where Someśvara had to fight against a confederacy

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¹JASB. 1901, Vol. I, p. 471, v. 4; EI. Vol. XV, p. 282, vs. 3 and 4; EC. Vol. VIII 8b. No. 477; JL. Vol. XVI, pp. 6-7; Gaṇḍarājamaṇā, p. 47; DHNI. Vol. I, pp. 331, 357; EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 83.

²JASB. 1898, p. 105; Ray: DHNI. Vol. I, p. 251;

³HISI. p. 360; SII. Vol. III, p. 68.

⁴JBRAS. Vol. II, pp. 45 ff.

⁵SII. Vol. III, p. 37.

⁶HAS. No. 8, p. 21.

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of feudatories formed against him.¹ The identity of the confederates is not known. Kālūru is near Nagai on the banks of the Bhīmā river.

The Cālukya claim of victory over Siṃhala (Ceylon) cannot be verified. The king of Siṃhala, Vijayabāhu, was constantly harassed by the Coḷa raids. It may be that the Siṃhala king who appears to have led an expedition against the Coḷas also fought against the Cālukyas. Karahāṭa, modern Karhād, was ruled by the Śilāhāra Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Mārasimha II².

Vikramāditya also attacked Cakrakoṭa,³ Sakkara-kōṭṭam of the Coḷa inscriptions, identified with the modern Cakrakoṭa in the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh. The Nāga Jagadekabhūṣaṇa was followed by Dhārāvarṣa sometime before 1060 A.D. Dhārāvarṣa is the same as Tārāvarṣa of the Tirmullai inscription. He paid tribute to the Coḷa Vīra Rājendra. The Jainād inscription of the Paramāra Jagadeva speaks of a Paramāra raid on this fort, probably in alliance with the Cālukyas. The Coḷas also claim to have raided this fort. The Maṇimaṅgalam inscription says that Vīra Rājendra having defeated the army headed by Jananātham crossed Kālīṅga and sent his army as far as the farther end of Sakkara-Kōṭṭam. Kulottuṅgacōḷadeva claims to have wedded, when he was heir apparent, the brilliant goddess of victory at Sakkara-Kōṭṭam. Rājendra Coḷa claims to have defeated Vikrama Vīra of Sakkara-Kōṭṭam and received⁴ tribute from Tārā (Dhārāvarṣa) at Sakkara-Kōṭṭam. Vikramavīra may be Cālukya Vikramāditya.

Some inscriptions of his time also claim victory for Someśvara over the Turuṣkas.⁵ If these Turuṣkas are the Turks the claims can be regarded as substantial in that Someśvara I sent a contingent of his army to fight against the Turks along with other Indian powers, a reference to which has been made by Ferishta. Ferishta says that the Raja of Delhi with others retook Hanoy, Thaneśvar and other dependencies from the governors to whom Mahmud had entrusted them. The Hindus from thence marched towards the fort of Nagarakoṭe, which they besieged for four months." "...The success of the Rājā of Delhi gave such confidence to the Indian chiefs of the Puñjāb and other places that though before this time, like foxes, they durst hardly creep from the holes, for fear of the Mussalmān arms, yet now they put on the aspect of the lion, and openly set their masters at defiance."⁶ This supports the view that a confederacy of the Hindu kings of the time was organised to oppose the Muslims. Paramāra Bhoja⁷ and Cāhamāna Aṇahilla⁸ also claim victory over the Turks. This shows that the confederacy was joined by all these kings,⁹ Cālukya Someśvara I, Paramāra Bhoja, and the Cāhamāna Aṇahilla, beside others.

¹ HAS., p. 18.

² EI, Vol. III, p. 231; Above (Old Edn), Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 547.

³ Vikramāṅkacarita. canto IV, v. 30.

⁴ SII, Vol. III, pp. 69-71, pp. 234, 225; Vol. I, p. 99; EI, Vol. XXII, p. 60; IHQ, Vol. IX, p. 92; EI, Vol. IX, pp. 98 ff.

⁵ EC, Vol. VII, Sk. No. 136; EI, Vol. XV, p. 91.

⁶ Briggs's Ferishta Vol. I, p. 118.

⁷ EI, Vol. I, p. 235.

⁸ EI, Vol. IX, p. 72.

⁹ IHQ, Vol. IX, p. 955.

Someśvara died by performing the *Kuruvartti*, the rite of the sacrifice of supreme Yoga, and entered the waters of the river Tuṅgabhadra in *Kilaka Samvatsara*, *Śaka* 990, 8th day of the dark half of *Caitra*-Sunday, March 28, 1068 A.D. Bilhana says that when Vikramāditya was returning from his southern expedition and was camping on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇā, his mind was perturbed by some ill-omens. He was then informed by some messengers that the king Someśvara had entered the river Tuṅgabhadra and died when he found no chance of recovery from the malignant fever from which he was afflicted.

The reign of Someśvara I was very eventful. If Taila II was the founder of the Cālukya Empire, Someśvara consolidated it and extended its frontiers. Not only that the Coḷas were curbed and kept back within their own frontiers but brilliant successes were gained in the north as well. He had three sons and a daughter, named Suggaladevī, who was administering Niḷuguṇḍi in Kisukāḍ 70.¹

Someśvara I was succeeded by his son Someśvara II on April 11, 1068 A.D. (*Śaka* 990, *Kilaka Samvatsara*, *Vaiśākha śudi* 7, Friday).² He was eldest of the three sons of Someśvara; the other two being Vikramāditya and Jayasinha. He was appointed heir-apparent when Vikramāditya declined that office in favour of his brother Someśvara according to Bilhana.³ Someśvara II was a Governor of Belvola 300 and Puligere 300 in 1049 and 1053 A.D., with the title of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*.⁴ He was also called 'lord of Veṅgi'.

Someśvara II ascended the throne after the thirteenth day ceremony of the death of his father Someśvara I. These ceremonies were performed in the presence of the army. Vikramāditya was not in the capital at this time. On his return to Kalyāṇi he learnt of the coronation of his brother Someśvara II. He accepted him as king, paid him allegiance and presented all the spoils of the southern war that he had brought with him. Vikramāditya was certainly more able than Someśvara. He had fought in all the battles during the reign of his father and had commanded the Cālukyan force sent to invade north and north-eastern India. While Someśvara is not heard of, Vikki or Vikkalan or Bikkam is mentioned in the Coḷa, Parāmāra and Kalacuri records. He was also put in charge of far bigger and more important administrative divisions like the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000, Nalambavāḍi 32,000, Banavāsī 12,000 and Santalige 1,000 than his brother.⁵ If his presence in the capital aroused suspicions and fear in the mind of his elder brother, the king, as Bilhana says, this need not be considered as unusual. Ere long there were differences between the two brothers and Vikramāditya's life became unsafe. 'Of noble qualities as he was, he left the capital with his men', who could be no other than his armed men. He was pursued by a force sent by his brother, but Vikramāditya reached Tuṅga-

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¹ARSIE. 1926-27, Bk. No. 202.

²EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 136, Tr. p. 102.

³*Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, Bühler's Edn. pp. 30-31.

⁴EI. Vol. XVI, pp. 53 ff; ARSIE. 1926-27, Bk. No. 144.

⁵EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 136; IA. Vol. VIII, p. 20.

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bhadrā and rested there with his army for sometime. He had taken away with him his brother Jayasimha also. On the banks of the river he heard that the Coḷa king was marching to attack the Cālukya kingdom. He moved forward to oppose him. He was joined by a number of Cālukya feudatories, kings of Malayadeśa, Jayakeśin, the Kadambas and the Ālūpas who also paid him homage. This shows that a number of Cālukyan feudatories transferred their allegiance to their old comrade and Commander in the many battles of the reign of Someśvara I. He is said to have visited Banavāsī also. The Coḷa king, as Bilhana says, got frightened from the big force that Vikramāditya had collected, sued for peace and agreed to give his daughter in marriage to him. Both Vikramāditya and the Coḷa king met on the banks of the Tūṅabhadra and the marriage between the Coḷa princess and Vikramāditya was performed after the peace between the two had been signed. The Coḷa king then retired to his capital where soon after he died. His death was a signal for anarchy which had been for sometime past brewing in his kingdom. When Vikramāditya heard this, he rushed post haste to the Coḷa capital to help his brother-in-law and succeeded in quelling the rebellion against the latter by defeating the rebels at the battle of Gāṅgakuṇḍa and placed his brother-in-law on the throne and returned to his headquarters. He was waiting there for the opportunity to overthrow his brother and capture the throne.

Someśvara II bore the *biruda* of *Bhuvanaikamalla*.. His two queens Revaladevī and Mailaladevī¹ are known. The Coḷa king invaded the Cālukyan kingdom shortly after the accession of Someśvara II. A Bel-gāmi inscription dated 1068 A.D. records that the Coḷa king was advancing with his army declaring "a new reign ; (a kingdom) fit for a hero ; this is the time to invade : I will surround Guṭṭi and besiege it".¹ The Coḷas burnt Kampili on the banks of the Tūṅabhadra and erected a pillar of victory at Karāḍikaḷ. At this Someśvara sent his cavalry against the Coḷa who fled away from the field.² This was probably before Vikramāditya left the capital as a rebel and made peace with the Coḷas on the banks of the Tūṅabhadra.

When Vikramāditya made peace with the Coḷas and accepted the hand of the Coḷa princess this could be only with a political motive. And when the Coḷa king tied a glittering necklace, the insignia of royalty, round the neck of Vikramāditya, this signified without any doubt that he had accepted him as the heir to the Cālukya throne. This further meant that the breach between the two brothers could not be reconciled. Someśvara too could not have failed to understand the real significance of the compact. But at the same time he could not think of taking any military action against him as Vikramāditya certainly was a much better general and enjoyed the support of not only a number of Cālukyan feudatories but also of the Coḷa king. Vikramāditya also made no secret of his rebellion and assumption of an independent status. The Huleguḍi³ inscription, dated December

¹ARSIE. 1927-28, App. B. No. 9.

²EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 136.

³Ibid. Vol. XI, Cd. No. 82.

23, 1073 A.D., records that *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhattachāraka Tribhuvanamalladeva* was ruling as supreme king and that under him Trailokyamalla Nolamba Pallava Permādī Jayasimha-deva was governing some divisions. Another inscription, dated February 25, 1071 A.D.,¹ gives the same titles to him and records that he granted a village in the Kogali 500 'pleased with the victory he had attained over *Danḍanāyaka* Ciddayya, when encamping in Govindavāḍi and when the Kadamba *Mahāsāmanta* Ghattiয়ারসা was governing Kogali 500.' Kogali is a village in the Bellary district of Madras State. This shows that Vikramāditya became independent before February 1071 A.D. and established his power over the southern part of the Cālukya dominions. Someśvara did nothing to suppress his rebellion.

Someśvara II seems to have made an alliance with Karṇa, who may be identified with the Cālukya Karṇa and not with the Kalacuri as proposed by some,² and invaded Mālava. The Nāgpūr *Praśasti*³ records the death of the Paramāra king during an invasion by the combined forces of Karṇa and the Karṇāṭas after which Udayāditya became king and recovered the kingdom. *Danḍanāyaka* Udayāditya and Hoysala Eṛeyaṅga participated in this campaign. A Belagāmi inscription, dated in 1071 A.D. states that Udayāditya completely defeated the Mālava king who had raised his enmity and all those who had secretly conspired against the throne and against the master and seizing their property and women laden with jewels, he handed them over to his emperor."⁴ He is also called a right hand of the king. The Emperor referred to is the Cālukya king Someśvara II. The Mālava king killed in the battle was Jayasimha. Jayasimha had been an intimate friend and ally of Vikramāditya and the secret conspiracy that he is said to have formed against the throne refers obviously to his alliance with Vikramāditya, now a rebel, formed to overthrow Someśvara II. Vikramāditya had made a compact with the Coḷas. The Paramāra Jayasimha was already his friend. When Someśvara invaded Mālava with a view to punish one of the two allies of his rebel brother, it is not possible to explain why Vikramāditya did not make any attempt to help his ally in distress. Probably he was not in a position to do so as from his camp on the banks of the Tungabhadra, he could not have marched through the long stretch of the Cālukyan territories to reach Mālava, without his own force being annihilated by the enemy. The Hoysala, records claim credit for the success of this expedition for Eṛeyaṅga.⁵ A record of 1112 A.D., says that Eṛeyaṅga, who was a powerful right hand of the Cālukya king, trampling down the Mālava army, did not spare Dhārā, and burnt and scattered it.⁶ He is said to have seized the city of Udhapuram (?),⁷ which may be Udayapur in the Sehore district of Madhya Pradesh.

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¹IMP. Vol. I, By. No. 182; SII. Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 135.

²HPD. pp. 127-128. [See, however, C. I. I. IV XCIV—V. V. M.]

³EI. Vol. II, p. 185.

⁴HPD. p. 128.

⁵EC. Vol. V, Ak. No. 102 (b); Sk. No. 117; Hn. No. 53, Vol. II, No. 349; EI. Vol. XI, p. 94, etc.

⁶EC. Vol. VII, Sh. No. 64.

⁷EC. Vol. V, Ak. No. 102 (b); HPD. p. 129.

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When Jayasimha, the Paramāra king, died in the battle, a scion of his house Udayāditya appealed to the Cāhamāna Durlabha III and drove the invaders out of Mālava with his help. The *Prthivīrāja-vijaya* bears testimony to the fact that Udayāditya regained Mālava with the help of Durlabha III.²

The restoration of the Coḷa Adhirājendra by Vikramāditya, after the battle of Gāṅgakuṇḍa did not last long. The rebels raised their head shortly after Vikramāditya's withdrawal from the Coḷa capital. At the instigation of Rājiga (Rājendra), they overthrew and killed Adhirājendra. Rājendra himself captured Kāñcī, the Coḷa capital and declared himself a king. Vikramāditya did intervene on behalf of his brother-in-law, Adhirājendra, and when he was facing the army of Rājendra on the battlefield he heard that his brother Someśvara II was also planning to attack him. He was deeply distressed by the news as he found himself sandwiched between two hostile forces. He tried to dissuade his brother, as Bilhaṇa says, from this treachery. Someśvara II pretended to have accepted the proposal. But Vikramāditya came to know that his brother was not sincere in the promise that he had made. In spite of this breach of faith on the part of his brother, Vikramāditya was unwilling to fight, until he was prompted by Śiva in a dream to do so. In any case Vikramāditya seems to have taken courage in both his hands and pounced upon both the forces and, as Bilhaṇa says, he gained victory over both. Rājiga fled away from the battlefield and Someśvara was taken prisoner. Vikramāditya then returned to Tuṅga-bhadra and thought of releasing his brother and restoring him to the throne when he was once again dissuaded in a dream from this action by Śiva who also angrily commanded him to assume sovereignty. Vikramāditya then proclaimed himself as the Emperor.³ It is not correct that Vikramāditya in assuming sovereignty was a mere victim of Destiny as Bilhaṇa tried to depict him; in fact it was an unscrupulous fulfilment of a long cherished ambition.

As Rājiga or Kulottuṅga ascended the throne in 1070 A.D. and Someśvara was deposed in 1076 A.D., the rebellion in the Coḷa capital during which Adhirājendra was killed, could not have directly inspired the deposition of Someśvara in 1076 A.D. A number of inscriptions⁴ tell the tale of the transfer of power from Someśvara II to Vikramāditya VI. One speaking of the exploits of Teja Rāya Pāṇḍya says that 'turning back *Bhuvanaikamalla*, so that the earth was terrified, he with great rejoicing seized his kingdom and his own body and gave it to Tribhuvanamalla.'⁵ Another records that '*Bhuvanaikamalla* occupied the kingdom bestowed upon him by his father (Someśvara I), (holding to) that course which inspired dread in hostile kings and gave delight to his own adherents.'⁶ It adds further that 'when he had enjoyed the kingdom for some time

¹[He was Bhoja's brother. *EL.*, XXVI, pp. 177 b.—V. V. M.]

²*Sarga V*, v. 78; *HPD.* p. 131.

³*Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, Intr. p. 36-37.

⁴*EC.* Vol. V, Ak. No. 102 (a).

⁵*EC.* Vol. V, Ak. No. 102(a).

⁶*EL.* Vol. XV, p. 357.

and become neglectful of his subjects' burden because of his being infatuated with pride, his younger brother, who was righteous of soul, putting him under restraints making all hostile monarchs entirely bow down, because of his mighty prowess *Tribhuvanamalla*, the Cālukya Vikramāditya, became a darling of the earth."

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The last known date of Someśvara II is Śaka 998, *Rākṣasa Saṃvatsara*, *Phālguna śuddha* 14 = February 21, 1076 A.D.¹ and the first year of Cālukya Vikrama Era falling in *Nala Saṃvatsara*, *Caitra śuddha* 5, corresponds to March 2, 1077 A.D.² Supposing that *Caitra* fell towards the close of the first year of the reign of Vikramāditya, the beginning of his reign cannot be placed earlier than March, 1076 A.D.

Someśvara seems to have mostly resided at Baṅkāpur in the Dhārvāḍ district of Mysore, about 200 miles south of Kalyāṇi. Baṅkāpur is called the royal city. Someśvara was ruling from there in 1072 A.D., 1073 A.D. and 1075 A.D.³ He appears to have stayed at Baṅkāpur to deal with his brother's rebellion, but ultimately himself lost the crown. What happened to Someśvara after his overthrow by his brother is not known.

Vikramāditya VI, second son of Someśvara I, ascended the throne in 1076 A.D. He is called Vikki, Vikrama and Vikkalaṇ, Kali Vikrama and Permāḍi in the inscriptions.

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Vikramāditya had several queens. *Priya arasi* or *agramahiṣi*, Candaladevī or Candralekhā,⁴ a Śilāhāra princess of Karahāta, is said to have selected Vikramāditya as her spouse, according to Bilhaṇa,⁵ in a *svayamvara* from amongst the kings of Ayodhyā, Cedi, Kānyakubja, Kālāṇjara, Mālava, Coḷa, etc. Candralekhā was probably a daughter of the Śilāhāra prince Mārasimha of Karhād. Kalhaṇa⁶, in his *Rājataranginī*, also speaks of her exquisite beauty. The Kāśmīr king Harṣa was enamoured of her beauty on seeing her portrait. This was after her marriage with Vikramāditya as she is called the wife of king Parmāṇḍi by Kalhaṇa. To obtain her, Harṣa thought of destroying Vikramāditya. In an inscription of 1102-03, she is spoken of as the mother of Jayakarna and in the year following made certain grants to the god Keśavadeva of the *agrahāra* Ruḍḍavāḍi.⁷ Ketalladevī or *Priya* Ketalladevī is called *Abhinava-sarasvatī* as she knew many languages. She is highly praised in inscriptions and was governing some villages in the Ballakunḍe 300 division.⁸ Sāvaladevī, daughter of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Jogamarasa, was governing the *agrahāra* of Nareyaṅgal given to her by the king as pin money.⁹ *Priya arasi* Lakṣmīdevī is said to have been governing at the capital

¹EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 30.

²Ibid. Hl. No. 14.

³Ibid. Sk. Nos. 129 and 221 ; Vol. VIII, Sk. No. 299.

⁴ARSIE. 1928-29, No. 150.

⁵Bühler's Edn. of *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* Intr. pp. 38-42.

⁶*Rājataranginī*, Stein Tr., Vol. I, p. 355.

⁷Bom. Gaz. (Old Edn.), Vol. I, pt. ii p. 449.

⁸ARSIE. 1923, App. B., No. 672 ; 1927-28, No. 9.

⁹Bom. Gaz. Loc. Cit. IA., Vol. X, p. 169, EI., Vol. XV, p. 100.

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at various times and also the 18 *agrahāras* and the city of Dharmapuri, (Dharmavolal or Dambal).¹ Jakkaladevī, another queen, was the daughter of Kadamba Ṭikka.² Malleyamadevī, Malayavatidevī or Mālikā³ was the daughter of a village accountant, Rāyaṇa, and his wife Olajikabbe. Her daughter Maiḷaladevī was given in marriage to the Kadamba Jayakeśin II of Goa,⁴ a friend and ally of Vikramāditya VI and who had helped the latter in obtaining the throne.

In his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* Bilhaṇa has given a very highly embellished account of the life of Vikramāditya, who was his patron. Bilhaṇa lived in his court.

For some time after his victory over Someśvara II, Vikramāditya stayed at Etagiri,⁵ modern Itagi in the Bellāry district or Ittagi in the former Hyderābād State. He moved to Kalyāṇi, the capital, in the 3rd year of his reign.⁶

Vikramāditya founded an era known as the *Cālukya Vikrama Era* after his own name and that of his family. This is described by a stone tablet as follows : "Emperor Vikramāditya, possessed of the beauty of *Cakradhara*, having said 'Why should the glories of the kings Vikramāditya and Nanda be a hindrance any longer?'¹ he, with a loudly uttered command, abolished that (era) which has the name of the *Śaka* and made that (era) which has *Cālukya* figures."⁷ Another inscription says that "Having rubbed out the brilliant *Śaka-varṣa*, he, the impetuous one, the most liberal man in the world, who delighted in religion, published his own name throughout the world, under the form of *Vikrama-varṣa*."⁸ The inscriptions of his reign are invariably dated in the era founded by him, but it fell into disuse after his death and served as an instrument of merely a personal glory, lasting for his life time. Its initial date it is difficult to determine, probably it commenced from 5th March, 1076 A.D., which was also the day of the king's coronation. March 5, 1076, was the most auspicious day during the gap of twenty days between the last known date of Someśvara II and the first known date of Vikramāditya VI. One inscription shows that the first year of this era was current on *Caitra śu. 5, Anala Samvatsara* corresponding to March 10, 1076 A.D.,⁹ while the last known date of Someśvara II is *Śaka 998, Rākṣasa S. Phālguna śuddha 14=February 21, 1076 A.D.*¹⁰

Jayasimha, younger brother of Vikramāditya VI, had been governing some districts, during the life time of his father. He had been in charge of the Nolambavādī 32,000 division also. When Vikramāditya revolted against his brother Someśvara II and left Kalyāṇi, Jayasimha also had accompanied him and when he became king, he

¹IA. Vol. X, pp. 185 ff. ²II. Vol. XI, pt. ii, Nos. 131, 126, 140.

³II. Vol. XI, pt. ii, No. 136.

⁴Bom. Gaz. opt. cit. p. 449.

⁵Ibid. No. 199.

⁶EC. Vol. VII, Sk. Nos. 124, 135. He was also camping at Nadavi, Yuppayana-vidu, near modern Wadgeri in the former Hyderabad State, for a few days. Bom. Gaz. (old Edition), p. 446.

⁷Ibid. Vol. VIII, Sa. No. 109.

⁸IA. Vol. VIII, p. 187.

⁹Bom. Gaz. (old Edn.) Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 447.

¹⁰EC. Vol. VII, Ht. No. 14.

¹¹Ibid. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 315.

placed Jayasimha in charge of the Banavāsī 12,000 and made him the *Yuvarāja*, heir apparent. Śāntalige 1000, the two six hundreds Belvola 300 and Puligere 300,¹—Kuṇḍūr 1000 and the *agrahāra* were also added to his charge of Banavāsī 12000.² He is said to have gained victory over Dāhala, Lāha (Lāṭa?) and Koṅkaṇ.³ Koṅkaṇ was ruled by the Śilāhāra prince Mummuni or Māmvani, who had been defeated several times. Lāha or Lāṭa may be Lāṭa, but it is better to search for a division of this name in the Deccan itself. Dāhala is *Dāhalamaṇḍala* ruled over by the Kalacuris. Jayasimha probably took part in the northern campaign of Vikramāditya during the reign of Someśvara I. Jayasimha remained in charge of the divisions named above upto 1081 A.D. He was governing some division covering the modern Bellāry district in 1085 A.D.⁴ He is not heard of again after this date. Bilhaṇa⁵ speaks of Jayasimha revolting against his brother. Jayasimha is said to have increased his power by oppression and strengthened himself by inducing the royal troops to join his ranks and the Draviḍa king to help him. When informed of the evil intentions of his brother, Vikramāditya first refused to believe the news, but the horror of the civil war and the spectacle of his own usurpation of authority from his brother Someśvara made him send spies to find the truth and they confirmed the news.

When persuasion failed to desist his brother from the course of rebellion and when he marched with his forces against Vikramāditya and pitched his camp on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇā, Vikramāditya was also compelled to take up arms against him. Before the battle began Vikramāditya made another unsuccessful attempt to persuade his brother. Jayasimha fought brilliantly and at one time it appeared that he might succeed, but ultimately the personal bravery of Vikramāditya, who had the experience of several battles, turned the scales in his own favour. Jayasimha was routed and fled away from the field. He was pursued and captured, but later raised.⁶ He is heard of no more.

An inscription dated December 1077 A.D., refers to a conflict between Vikramāditya and the Coḷas. It states that 'the feudatories of both the Emperors', viz., the Coḷa and the Cālukya, i.e., Someśvara II, 'who fell upon him, mounting his elephant, he chased them away, and became the lord of the shining *Lakṣmī* of the Cālukya kingdom, praised by the three worlds, Vikramādityadeva.'⁷ This was obviously before Vikramāditya's accession to the throne. In spite of the victory, the Coḷa menace loomed large and Vikramāditya had to fight a second time with them as Bilhaṇa records and it was only then that he could enter his capital Kalyāṇi.⁸ It has

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¹EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 293.

²Ibid. Vol. VIII, Sa. 109.

³Ibid. Sk. No. 297.

⁴HIST. p. 89.

⁵Vikramāṇkadevacarita : Bühler's Edn. pp. 42 ff.

⁶Ibid., Canto XV., V, 87.

⁷EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 124.

⁸Vikramāṇkadevacarita, XVII, 68.

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been already stated that Vikramāditya had to stay on at Etágiri for about three years of his reign. This fixes the date of the war with the Coḷas in about 1078-79 A.D. An inscription dated 1083 A.D. praises *Tribhuvanamalla* Pāṇḍyadeva, governor of Nōḷambavāḍi 32000, as the defeater of the designs of Rājiga Coḷa.¹ Another inscription states that the Coḷa lost his boundaries² and that the Coḷa held his ears and shook. The Perumer inscription, dated in the 11th year of the reign of Kulottuṅga Coḷa and corresponding to 1081 A.D., records that "Not only did the speech (of Vikkalaṇ) :—" "After this day a permanent blemish (will attach to Kulottuṅga), as (to) the crescent (which is the origin) of (his) family,"—turn out wrong, but the bow (in) the hand of Vikkalaṇ was not (even) bent against (the enemy)."

Everywhere from Naṅgili of rocky roads—with Maṇalūr in the middle—to the Tuṅgabhadra, there were lying low the dead (bodies of his) furious elephants, his lost pride and (his) boasted valour."...

(The Coḷa king) seized simultaneously the two countries called Gāṅgamaṇḍalam and Singaṇam, troops of furious elephants which had been irretrievably abandoned (by the enemy), crowds of women, (the angles of) whose beautiful eyes were as pointed as daggers, the goddess of Fame, who gladly brought disgrace (on Vikkalaṇ), and the great goddess of Victory, who changed to the opposite (side) and caused (Vikkalaṇ) himself, who was desirous of the rule over the Western region, and (his) army to turn their backs again and again on many days."³ Another Coḷa inscription⁴ of a later date records the same thing. The conclusions of some scholars⁵ on the basis of these Coḷa inscriptions that the Coḷas gained victory over the Cālukyas is not correct; for a number of inscriptions of the Cālukya Vikramāditya have been found in the Anantpur district which had been earlier always included in the Coḷa dominion.⁶ The Cālukya claim in one of their inscriptions that the Coḷa lost his boundaries is correct. This means that the Coḷas suffered a defeat in this battle and they lost a portion of their territories to the victors.

According to the *Mahāvaṃśa*, the king of Kaṛṇāṭa, who may be identified with the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI, sent an embassy to the king of Ceylon. The Coḷa king also had done the same. The purpose for which the embassy was sent is not known. The Ceylonese king received the Kaṛṇāṭa embassy before that of the Coḷa. When the Ceylonese king returned the embassy to the Coḷa king, the latter cut off the nose of the messengers to retrieve the insult done by the Ceylonese when they received the Coḷa embassy after the Cālukya.

¹EC. Vol. VII, Ci. No. 33.

²Ibid. Sk. No. 137.

³SII, Vol. III, p. 176.

⁴Ibid. p. 147.

⁵Ancient India, pp. 136-37.

⁶EC. Vol. IV, Hg. No. 80; HSI. p. 88; IMP. Vol. I, App. No. 26, 27, 189.

The relations between the Caulukyas of Gujarāt and Vikramāditya were by no means friendly, but the nature of the conflict is not known. Both sides claim victory over each other. Jinamaṇḍana in his *Kumārapāla-prabandha* relates the story that Jayasīṃha in order to display his valour before two *Yoginīs* who had come from the Himālayas to test his valour, devoured that blade of sword which was made of sugar and had the hilt of iron. This sword was got from Paramardi of Kalyāṇakāṭaka.¹ According to *Kumārapālacarita*² Jayasīṃha conquered Kārṇāṭa and other countries. The Talwada inscription³ records that Jayasīṃha crushed Paramardi in battle. The identification of Parmardi by some with the Candella Paramardi-deva cannot be accepted on chronological grounds.⁴ A number of Cālukyan records also claim victory over the Caulukyas. Of these a Hūli inscription⁵ while describing the conquests of Bijjala, a feudatory of Vikramāditya, mentions the name of Jayasīṃha, but the context in which the reference was made is lost in the damaged portion of the record. As Jayasīṃha is mentioned along with others over whom victory is claimed by Bijjala, it may be reasonably concluded that victory was claimed over him also. This conflict if at all could not have taken place very much before 1115 A.D., almost at the same time as Jayasīṃha's war with the Paramāras as Jayasīṃha was only three years of age when he ascended the throne in 1095 A.D., and could have assumed reins of government from his mother Māyaṇalladevī only about 1110 A.D.

The Hoysalas, who had risen from insignificance into prominence under the Cālukya patronage, rose into revolt against the patrons when they had acquired power and prestige as a result of their victories in Mālava and in the neighbourhood of their territories and their appointment by the Cālukyas as the administrators of the Gaṅgavāḍī 96,000 division.⁶ Vikramāditya appears to have taken help from the Paramāra Jagaddeva who had been at that time campaigning in those regions, against the fort of Cakrakotya and the Kākatīyas. The Paramāra Jagaddeva claims to have inflicted a defeat on the Hoysalas in his Jainād inscription,⁷ but the Hoysalas also claim to have defeated Jagaddeva⁸, who was sent by the Emperor i.e. the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI. Jagaddeva was an ally of Vikramāditya and he appears to have readily joined his ally against the Hoysalas, who had invaded Dhārā with Someśvara II. Since the last known date of Jagaddeva is 1094 A.D., the Hoysala rebellion took place before this date.⁹ If the Hoysalas were defeated, they could not be curbed for a long time. Vikramāditya was advancing in age and the Hoysalas were increasing their power and

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¹*Kāshī Nagari Pracharini Patrikā*, Vol. IX, p. 289.

²*Sarga 1, varga 2, v. 38.*

³*Rajputana Museum Report* 194-15, p. 2.

⁴*Kāshī Nagari Pracharini Patrikā*, Vol. IX, p. 289.

⁵*EL*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 202-03.

⁶*EC*, Vol. V, Ak. No. 186 ; Bl. No. 208 ; Vol. XII, Tp. No. 105.

⁷*EL*, Vol. XXII, p. 62.

⁸*EC*, Vol. V, Bl. Nos. 193, 58, 116, Vol. VI, Tk. No. 45. Vol. V, Ak. No. 34 ; Vol. II, No. 349.

⁹[A Later date viz. Śaka 1034 (A.D. 1112) for Jagaddeva is now known from the Doṅgargāṇv inscription *EL*, XXVI, pp. 177 f.—V.V.M.]

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territories. The Hoysala Vinayāditya, who ruled from c. 1050 to c. 1100 A.D. was followed by his son Ballāḷa I, elder to the other two sons Bittideva or Viṣṇuvardhana and Udayāditya. The earliest known date of Ballāḷa I is 1101 A.D. He was succeeded by his brother Viṣṇuvardhana in about 1106 A.D.¹ The Hoysalas had considerably enlarged the extent of their territories and Ballāḷa claims to have been a governor of Gaṅgavāḍī 96000 division, Nolambavāḍī 32000, and Hānuṅgal 500 divisions. Viṣṇuvardhana led expeditions far and wide into the Cālukya dominions and defeated a large number of smaller chieftains. He claims to have conquered Talakāḍ and assumed the title of *Bhujabala Gaṅga*. His victories and conquests make a long list and include lord of Gaṇḍagiri, Pāṇḍya, Tuḷuva, Jagaddeva, Nāgavaṁśī king Someśvara, Adiyama, Narasimhabrahma, Kalapāla, Ceṅgiri, Iruṅḡola, Mala-rāja, Ceṅgiri-Perumāla, Paṭṭi-Perumāla, Talakāḍ, Nolambavāḍī, Nīla-parvata, Kolālapura, Kovatūr, Teriyūr, Vallūr, Naṅgalipura, the ghāṭs, Kāñcipura, Kāveri,² Uccaṅgi, Dumme, Pombuchha, Andhāsura-Caṅka, Bāleya-paṭṭana, Pānuṅgal, Toṇḍa, Heṅjuru, Savimāle, Roḍḍa, Rāyarayan-pura, Lakki-guṇḍi, Male Kisukāl, Madurā, Palāsige 12000, Aṅga, Jayakeśi, Indra, Masaṇa, Lāṭa, Coḷa, Kadamba, Keraḷa, Āndhra, Koṅgu, Siṅgalika, Narasiṅga, Koṅgālva, Pallava, Narasimhavarman, Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kālīṅga, Cera and Siṃhala.³

These imposing conquests of the Hoysala Governor combine both actual achievements and traditional hyperbolical panegyric. At any rate this shows the power and prestige they had gained. Hence, the defeat they had suffered at the hands of the Paramāra Jagaddeva could not keep them restrained for a long time. When Vikramāditya had summoned help from his ally Jagaddeva to suppress the Hoysala rebellion earlier that exposed his weakness. The Hoysalas were waiting for the opportune time and finding one they once again raised the standard of revolt. The army that was sent by Vikramāditya against the rebels was defeated by Gaṅgarāja, minister of Viṣṇuvardhana, at Kaṇṇegal and a Hoysala inscription claims that "When the army of the Cālukya Emperor *Tribhuvanamalla* Perimāḍideva including twelve *sāmantas* was encamped at Kaṇṇegal, this Gaṅgarāja, saying, "Away with the desire to mount a horse; this will be a right battle for me," attacked and defeated with ease all the *sāmantas*, so that people said that the sword in the arm of *Gaṅga-devādhīpa* caused the men of the army who were entering the camp to enter mire, carried off the collection of their stores and vehicles and presented them to his own lord."⁴ But the glory of victory did not remain long with Viṣṇuvardhana and he suffered a defeat at the hand of the Sinda Āchugi II,⁵ a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI. In any case the Hoysalas recognised the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI as their overlord in 1122 A.D.⁶

¹EC. Vol. V Intr. p. XII.

²Ibid. Vol. V, Bl. No. 58.

³Ibid. Vol. IX, Ht. No. 18 ; VI. II, No. 132 ; 143 ; Vol. V, Bl. Nos. 124, 17 ; Vol. VI, Cm. Nos. 160 and 137.

⁴Ibid. Vol. II, No. 73, Tr. p. 39.

⁵JBRAS. Vol. XI, No. 174, p. 244.

EC. Vol. VI, Cm. No. 151.

The rise of the Hoysalas in Gaṅgavāḍī 96,000 served as a check to Coḷa penetrations in those regions and as such the theatre of conflict between the two powers shifted to Veṅgī. The details of the conflict between them there cannot be precisely fixed. The inscriptions of the Cālukyas and the Coḷas found in the regions of Veṅgī suggest that certain areas changed hands several times. A Drākṣārāma inscription¹ dated in *Cālukya* Vikrama era 17=1093 A.D. records a gift of land during the reign of Vikramāditya VI. This shows that the Cālukyas had occupied this region. But a Bhīmāvaram² inscription speaks of a minister of Vikramāditya making a gift of two lamps in the reign of *Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja* Kulottuṅga Coḷa II in his 31st year of the reign, *Śaka* 1019=1097 A.D. This shows the Coḷa suzerainty restored over this area and friendly relationship between the Coḷas and the Cālukyas, for in that case only it could be possible for a Cālukya feudatory to make a grant in Coḷa territory unless it is presumed that religious gifts could be made in the enemy's territories. Two records, one undated³ while the other dated *Śaka* 1021=1099 A.D.⁴ in the Rāmcandrapuram taluka show that Vikramāditya was ruling over the region. But two records of 1101⁵ and 1118⁶ A.D., speak of the Coḷas as the sovereign. Once again in 1118 A.D. the Cālukyas captured a large part of the territory in the Veṅgī region. The Cālukya records found in this region are dated in 1021 A.D., *Ch. V. 46*, *Śaka* 1043⁷ (1121-22 A.D.), *Ch. V. 47*⁸ (1122-23 A.D.), *Ch. V. 48*⁹ in Rāmcandrapuram tālukā, Cocanada tālukā and Godāvarī tālukā. Inscriptions, dated in 1116 (?) A.D., *Ch. V. 47* (1122 A.D.) and *Ch. V. 51*¹⁰ (1126-27 A.D.) show that Vikramāditya had wrested a portion of the Guntur district also from the Coḷas. One Govindarā, nephew of the famous chieftain Anantapāla, was placed in charge of the Koṇḍapaḷli 300. He claims to have burnt Beṅgipura, defeated a prince at Jananāthapura and conquered Goṅka,¹¹ later the Velanāḍ chief Goṅka II, son of Rājendra Coḷa I (1115–1130 A.D.). Govindara was subordinate to Anantapāladeva and was in charge of Banavāsī 12000, Sāntaḷige 1000 and the two six hundreds in 1114 A.D.¹² The Cālukyas had also taken possession of what is now called the Cuddapah district.

The Cālukya conquest of Veṅgī was made possible because of unsettled conditions in the Coḷa Empire. Kulottuṅga Coḷa I died or retired from the throne in A.D. 1118 and his son Vikrama Coḷa, who had been staying there probably to protect the Velanāḍu chief Goṅka, who was governing *Veṅgīmaṇḍala*, succeeded to the throne. When Vikrama Coḷa left Veṅgī none appears to have been appointed as its

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¹ *J.M.P.* Vol. II, Gd. No. 161.

² *Ibid.* Vol. II, Gd. No. 35.

³ *Ibid.* No. 43.

⁴ *Ibid.* No. 100.

⁵ *J.M.P.* Vol. II, Gd. No. 100, p. 725.

⁶ *Ibid.* No. 99, p. 725.

⁷ *Ibid.* No. 238.

⁸ *Ibid.* Nos. 33 and 334.

⁹ *Ibid.* No. 265.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* No. Kl. No. 351.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *EC.* Vol. VII, Sk. Nos. 137, 294, 149, 131, 98.

- CHAPTER 9. Governor. The Piṭhāpuram inscription records that when Vikrama Coḷa, also called *Tyāgasamudra*, after Kulottuṅga was dead, had gone to protect Coḷa-*maṇḍala* which had been beset with difficulties, Veṅgi was deprived of its ruler.¹
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- THE CHALUKYAS. Another inscription refers to some kind of troubles in the Coḷa dominions during which Kulottuṅga appears to have died. This had necessitated the sudden departure of Vikrama Coḷa, who having defeated the trouble makers acquired the sovereignty of the Coḷa country and did not return to Veṅgi..
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Vikramāditya VI had three sons : Someśvara III, Jayakarna and Mallikārjuna. He was succeeded by Someśvara. Jayakarna, begotten on his queen Candaladevī,² had the title of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and was governing Kuṇḍi division in 1121 A.D.³ Mallikārjuna, who was also the crown prince in the beginning, was in charge of the Taravāḍi 1000 division in Ch. V. 20=1096 A.D.⁴ He was probably the eldest, but died before his father. The only known daughter of Vikramāditya was married to the Kadamba Jayakeśin of Goa.⁵

The reign of Vikramāditya was comparatively peaceful, except that the Hoysaḷas frequently raised rebellion in the southern part of his dominions and the war against the Coḷas had to be fought for conquests in the Veṅgi country. Except these, Vikramāditya did not launch any aggressive wars nor had he to defend his Empire against any outside aggression. He appears to have remained in the capital throughout his reign and the task of suppressing the Hoysaḷas and the conquest of Veṅgi was left to his commanders and feudatories.

The great Kāśmīrian poet Bilhaṇa lived in his court and wrote *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* in appreciation of his patron. Bilhaṇa was born in the *Kauśika* Brāhmaṇa family in Khoṇamukha near Pravara-pura in Kāśmīr. His father's name was Jyeṣṭha Kalaśa, who wrote a commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*. Bilhaṇa had two brothers, Iṣṭarāma and Ānanda. He visited Mathurā, Kānyakubja, Prayāga and Vārāṇasī and met the Kalacuri Karṇa. Having visited Ayodhyā he went to the court of the Ḍāhala king. Bilhaṇa then paid a visit to Somanāth and the court of the Cālukya king Karṇa and then reached Kalyāṇi. Vikramāditya conferred on him the title of Chief *Paṇḍita* and extended his patronage to him. Besides *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* which is a poetical biography of Vikramāditya VI, Bilhaṇa is said to have written another work *Karṇasundarī* in honour of the Cālukya king Karṇa of Gujarāt. His authorship of *Bilhaṇacarita-kāvya* is doubted by scholars.

Another author who flourished in his court was Vijñāneśvara, who wrote the celebrated commentary, the *Mitākṣarā*, on *Yājñavalkya smṛti*.

¹ *EL*. Vol. IV, p. 241 ; *SII*. Vol. III, p. 129, pp. 308ff.

² *Bom. Gaz.* (old Edn.) Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 455.

³ *JBOBRAS*. Vol. X, pp. 294-9.

⁴ *ARSIE*. 1929-30, App. F, No. 35.

⁵ *JBOBRAS*. Vol. IX, pp. 245, 267, 273.

Vikramāditya encouraged works of art. He is said to have built palaces and temples, constructed big tanks and planted gardens. He also founded the city of Vikramapura after his own name.

The Cālukya Empire attained widest frontiers during the reign of Vikramāditya VI. On the north it extended up to Nāgpūr and reached the river Tāpi. On the east it covered the regions between the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Godāvarī and included the Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā, Kurnool, Guntur, Cuḍapah, Anantapūr and Bellāry districts. On the south it stretched upto the Kolā and the Mysore districts. On the west it was bounded by the Koṅkaṇ and the Western Ghāts and included Dhārvāḍ, Bijāpūr, Belgāṇv, Ahmadnagar, Poonā, Sātārā and Kolhāpūr districts.

Vikramāditya VI was succeeded by his son Someśvara III. His date of accession is not certain, because of certain records having overlapping dates for him and his father. The earliest known date for Someśvara is *Ch. V. 52, Prabhava S. Phālguna śuddha 14, Somavāra*=Monday, February 28, 1127 A.D.¹ But an inscription dated in *Ch. V. 53, Kīlaka S.* = March 1128 A.D.² mentions Vikramāditya VI as king. Another inscription³ of Vikramāditya is dated in *Ch. V. 52, Samvatsara Vaiśākha śudha 15*=April 28, 1127 A.D. and a third⁴ in *Plavaṅga Samvatsara, Kārtika vadya, Sukravāra*=Friday, October 28, 1127 A.D. From these overlapping dates it appears that Vikramāditya abdicated in favour of his son due to advancing age and lived a few months more during which some of the records were dated in his reign and which mentioned him as king.

Someśvara adopted the *biruda* of *Bhūlokamalla*, 'wrestler of the terrestrial world' and the usual titles of *Prthivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhaṭṭaraka Cālukyakulabhūṣaṇa*, etc. He was also called *Sarvajñacakravartin*, the 'omniscient Emperor' and was praised for his wisdom by the learned.

The accession of Someśvara III added to the confusion that had marked the last years of the reign of his father and the *māṇḍalikas* and the *sāmantas*, the hereditary chieftains, were not quite confident that the new king will be in position to give the necessary protection against external aggression and hence began to find security in committing aggression themselves against not only their former foe, but also one another. The common bond of unity among the feudatories of the Cālukyas was their allegiance to the Emperor and his weakness as such became the cause of conflict between them.

Someśvara had to go to the southern part of his dominions in the early part of 1129 A.D. to restore order in those regions which were agitated because of the Hoysala aggression. 'With the intention of making a victorious expedition to all parts' he went to the south and fixed his camp at *Hulluni-tirtha*.⁵ This was while leading an expedition against the Hoysalas, who appear, to have made another bold

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¹EC. Vol. III, Sb. No. 141.

²Ibid., Vol. XI, Dg. No. 90.

³Ibid. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 99.

⁴Ibid. No. 280.

⁵Ibid. No. 100.

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bid for expansion of their territories as also to gain independence. The Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana was a bold, brave and ambitious chieftain who could not be easily held in restraint by his sovereign. His attempts to gain independence during the reign of Vikramāditya VI had proved abortive. This time, during the reign of Someśvara, he did gain some success, though not full independence, at least in extending the frontiers of his territories and in subjugating some of the neighbouring Cālukya chieftains and feudatory princes. The details of the Hoysala marauding activities against the loyal Cālukya feudatories form a complicated and twisted tale and cannot be precisely fixed in a chronological frame in the short space here. In their broad outlines it appears that the Sāntara chieftain Permāḍi who was also hostile to the Cālukyas had been fighting against the Kadambas and had suffered a defeat in A.D. 1127 at the hands of Masaṇayya, a Kadamba general, at Iśāpur according to the Udri inscription.¹ The Kadambas remained in possession of the Śāntaḷige 1000.² In spite of the Hoysala support, the Sāntaras appear to have gained no ground and no success. Someśvara had to go to the south to Hulluni-tirtha very probably to curb the rebellious activities of the Hoysalas and the Sāntaras and to support the Kadambas against the former two.

As soon as Viṣṇuvardhana had withdrawn to his own seat of government, Someśvara also returned to his own capital. Viṣṇuvardhana did not keep peace for a long time. He invaded the Kadamba and the Pāṇḍya territories. The Kadambas of Hāṅgal and the Pāṇḍyas of Ucchaṅgi were allied together matrimonially as the Kadamba Tailapa had married Bācaladevī, a Pāṇḍyan princess.³ Before his adversaries could make any preparations Viṣṇuvardhana fell upon the Pāṇḍyas. His general Cāmadeva stormed the fort of Ucchaṅgi⁴ and captured it and claimed the title of 'The Putter to flight of Pāṇḍya' in a Śravaṇa Beḷgolā inscription of 1131 A.D.⁵ and others.⁶ Ucchaṅgi became one of the capitals of Viṣṇuvardhana as revealed by another inscription of 1137 A.D.⁷ The Kadambas were his next target. Having 'attacked the lofty elephant Ucchaṅgi' and having also captured it, Viṣṇuvardhana claims to have 'calmly marched by Banavāsī, with daring seized Beḷvola and sprang forward with joy to the Perddore unshaken, planting his foot on Hānuṅgal'.⁸ The Kadambas fought bitterly against the Hoysalas and inflicted heavy losses on the invaders. Two inscriptions record the death of two Hoysala warriors, Deva⁹ and Madhuvarman.¹⁰ Masaṇa or Masaṇayya, a general of the Kadamba Taila, opposed the Hoysalas and was killed¹¹ Tailanāga,

¹EC. Vol. VIII, Sb No. 141.

²Ibid. Vol. VII, Hl. 47.

³IA. Vol. X, p. 25; EC. Vol. XI, Dg. Nos. 39, 151 and 159; Kadambakula p. 127.

⁴EC. Vol. XII, Ci. Nos. 29 and 30.

⁵Ibid. Vol. II, No. 143.

⁶Ibid. Vol. II, No. 384; Vol. IV, Kp. No. 78.

⁷Ibid. Vol. XII, Tp. No. 14.

⁸Ibid. Vol. VI, Kd. Nos. 69 and 96.

⁹MASR. 1916, p. 53.

¹⁰Ibid. p. 52.

¹¹EC. Vol. V, Bl. No. 17.

brother-in-law of the Kadamba king, also tried to stop the Hoysāḷa advance on the banks of the Dharmā river, but he too lost the battle.¹ Viṣṇuvardhana claims to have killed Kadamba Taila II in a battle at Virāṭanagara, modern Hāṅgal. Taila probably died on Monday, October 6, 1130 A.D. and Bopanna, brother of Masaṇa, committed suicide to honour his vow to live as long as his king and Mayūrarman, son and successor of the Kadamba Taila, raised monuments to commemorate them.² The Hoysāḷas then claimed that they killed Taila in battle. The Kadambas seem to have surrendered Hāṅgal to the Hoysāḷas.

Kadamba Taila II was succeeded by his brother Hemmā Mayūrarman, who was very young at that time and as such is called a boy king. During his time Masaṇa had to defend him from an attack by a certain Malla³ whose identity is not known. Mayūrarman died soon after and was followed by his brother Mallikārjuna in about 1132 A.D.⁴ The only achievement of Mayūrarman was that he regained Hāṅgal from the Hoysāḷas. The Kadambas suffered another reverse during his reign in that they lost Baṅkāpur to the Hoysāḷas in 1133 A.D.,⁵ after Masaṇa⁶ and his son Sovana⁷ had been defeated and slain, the latter while defending the fort of Baṅkāpur itself. Viṣṇuvardhana, thus, "destroying root and branch Masaṇa, who was ferment to the country he (Viṣṇuvardhana) wrote down the Banavāsī 12000 in his *kaḍita* (account books) according to an inscription dated 1136 A.D."⁸ The Hoysāḷas attacked Hāṅgal also and captured it⁹ in 1138 A.D., but lost it too soon after. A number of inscriptions record the details of this battle. They are dated 1138 A.D.,¹⁰ 1139 A.D.,¹¹ 1140 A.D.¹² The Hoysāḷas also claim to have captured Palāsige 12000 and a number of other minor divisions which formed part of the Cālukya dominions and defeated Jayakeśin of Goa according to an inscription dated 1136 A.D.¹³ Viṣṇuvardhana further claims to have conquered Talakāḍu, Koṅgu, Naṅgaḷi, Gaṅgavāḍi, Noḷambavāḍi, Banavāsī and Hānuṅgaḷ¹⁴ and Māsavāḍi, Huligeṛe and Halāsige. All these divisions were included in the Cālukya empire. The claims of these conquests are not correct and should be taken to indicate that the Hoysāḷas were disturbing the Cālukya empire and enlarging their principalities at the cost of other feudatories and in utter disregard of their Sovereign. Someśvara III failed to suppress them.

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¹Kadambakula, p. 128, App. III, No. 11, p. 445.

²EC. Vol. VII, Hl. No. 47.

³Kadambakula, App. III, No. 12; EC. Vol. VII, Hl. No. 47.

⁴Above (Old Edn.) Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 562.

⁵EC. Vol. V, Bl. No. 124.

⁶MASR. 1926, p. 45.

⁷EC. Vol. V, Bl. No. 17.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid. Bl. No. 202.

¹⁰Ibid. Cn. 199.

¹¹Ibid. Vol. XII, Gb. No. 13.

¹²Ibid. Vol. V, Bl. 17, Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 414.

¹³Ibid. Vol. V, Cn. No. 199.

¹⁴Ibid. Bl. No. 124.

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The claim that Someśvara placed the lotuses in the form of his feet on the heads of the kings of the Āndhra, Draviḷa, Magadha and Nupāḷa¹ are merely hyperbolical with no truth at all. If the *Prākṛta Piṅgalam* is to be believed the Ghaḍavāla Govindacandra,² who may be identified with the king of Kāśī of the *Prākṛta Piṅgalam* fought with the king of Mahārāṣṭra and Tilinga countries who himself has been identified with the Cālukya Someśvara III.³

Like his father Vikramāditya VI, Someśvara also started an era known after his name and called the *Cālukya-Bhūlokamalla-varṣa*, but it faded into obscurity during his own life time. Someśvara was more of a scholar than a soldier. He won no military glories and led no expeditions outside his own kingdom. He even failed to maintain peace within his own dominions. His own feudatories were the source of his trouble. The Hoysaḷas under Viṣṇuvardhana launched a policy of systematic extirpation of their neighbouring Cālukya feudatories and undermined the authority of their overlord.

Someśvara was more interested in the profession of the pen than that of the sword and the inscriptions of his time speak highly of his knowledge and wisdom. He was called '*Sarvajña Cakravartin*' and as the one praised by all the learned men.⁴ At one time we find him 'making a speech on the subject of Dharma', and after its conclusion donating land to the temple⁵ of *Nagareśvara* in Ballige. In the 4th year of his reign he wrote a big treatise in Sanskrit called *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*, which was a compendium on State and polity, poetry, music, painting, astronomy, etc.

The last date of Someśvara cannot be determined with certainty. From an inscription, it is *Siddhārtha Saṁvatsara, Pusya, śuddha 13*, Ādityavāra=January 4, 1140 A.D.⁶ Another inscription is dated in *Kālayukta Saṁvatsara, Phālguna śuddha 5*, Ādityavāra=Sunday, 5 February, 1139 A.D.⁷ Two other inscriptions are dated December, 1137 A.D.⁸ and that dated *Kālayukta Saṁvatsara, Māgha śuddha 10*, Thursday=12, January, 1137 A.D.⁹ speaks of Jagadekamalla II, as king and refers to *Bhūlokamalla* Someśvara III as the king, ruling before Jagadekamalla. It records that 'by his glory piercing the hearts of the hostile armies was *Bhūlokamalla*'. Yet another inscription, dated four days earlier than this record, i.e., Sunday, January 8, 1139 A.D., makes no mention of a king and gives the year in the 13th year of the reign of *Bhūlokamalla* era.¹⁰ This suggests that from 1137 A.D., Jagadekamalla was associated with the administration and discharged some of the duties of the king. Therefore, the last

¹JBOBRAS. Vol. XI, p. 268.

²IHQ. Vol. XI, p. 566.

³Bibliotheca Indica, Sanskrit Series, Ed. C. M. Ghosh, 1900; IHQ. Vol. XI, p. 364.

⁴JBBRAS. Vol. XI, p. 268.

⁵EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 100.

⁶Ibid. Sk. No. 112.

⁷EC. Vol. VIII, Sk. Nos. 415-16.

⁸Kielhorn's List of Inscriptions in Southern India, No. 237.

⁹EC. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 233.

¹⁰Ibid. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 266.

date of Someśvara III may be January 4, 1140 A.D., shortly after which his son Jagadekamalla ascended the throne.

The name Jagadekamalla appears more like a *biruda*. Jagadekamalla adopted the usual Cālukya titles in addition to *Pratāpa-cakravartin*,¹ 'the valorous Emperor.' He was also called *Perma*.²

The imbecile policy of Someśvara III, threatened to claim its retribution during the reign of his successor. The loyal Cālukyan feudatories, particularly the Kadambas, who had been left to their own fate to defend themselves against the rapidly growing might and intransigence of the Hoysaḷa general Viṣṇuvardhana faced almost total extermination at his hands. In spite of a determined bid by the Hoysaḷas to overwhelm them, they continued to fight tenaciously against the aggressors and held a precarious existence. Viṣṇuvardhana had also pitched his camp at Baṅkāpūr, which he had already captured from the Kadambas in a final bid to wipe them out.

The Hoysaḷas appear to have recaptured Hāṅgal sometime in 1140 A.D., as an inscription of that year records that 'king Viṣṇu reduced to dust the famous fortress of the Virāṭa king with the help of his peerless army.'³ And he was in residence at that place with his queen Bammalādevī⁴ and had appointed his officers to collect the revenue of Banavāsi in defiance of the Cālukya authority.⁵

Jagadekamalla was built of better metal than his father and determined not to allow the Hoysaḷa chieftain Viṣṇuvardhana to carry on his war of extirpation against his feudatories in the southern part of his dominions and deputed the Sinda Chieftain Permāḍi to bring Viṣṇuvardhana to book. Permāḍi not only defeated and deprived Viṣṇuvardhana of most of his conquests, but also killed him. Vira Pāṇḍya, who had lost their territories to the Hoysaḷas, and the Kadambas, joined hands with the Sinda chieftain to launch a concerted attack against the common foe. They did gain victory over Viṣṇuvardhana as an inscription says: 'He (i.e., Sinda Permāḍi) seized upon the royal power of Hoysaḷa, who were the foremost of the fierce rulers of the earth and acquired the reputation of being himself proof against all reverses. Going to the mountain passes of the marauder Bittiga, plundering, besieging Dvārasamudra and pursuing him till he arrived at, and took the city of Balipura, king Perma of great glory driving him before him with the help of his sword, arriving at the mountain pass of Vāhaḍi, and overcoming all obstacles, acquired celebrity in the worlds. Pursuing and seizing in were the friends, (mighty) (as elephants though they were of the king), who joined king Bittiga in the work of slaughter, (Permāḍi) unequalled in his great impetuosity brought them (back as captives), with derisive cheers.'⁶ All this took place before October

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¹ *JA*. Vol. VI, p. 140.

² *EC*. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 41.

³ *Ibid*. Vol. V, Cn. No. 199.

⁴ *Ibid*. Vol. XII, Gb. No. 13.

⁵ *Ibid*. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 298.

⁶ *JBBRAS*. Vol. XI, pp. 244-45.

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24, 1143 A.D., the date of an inscription which claims victory over the Hoysaḷas by Jagadekamalla.¹

The Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana had died before his capital was besieged by Permāḍi. His death actually took place at Baṅkāpūr in about 1141-42 A.D. His armies had been shattered by the Sinda chieftain, to such an extent, that his funeral procession was not allowed to pass out from Baṅkāpūr peacefully; it was plundered. The Hoysaḷas naturally withdrew from Baṅkāpūr. A pathetic story of the last journey of Viṣṇuvardhana is told by a mute stone record of the time. It says that in the year Śaka 1063, *Durmati S.* "When the senior king Biṭṭi-deva having died in Baṅkāpūr, Boppa-deva daṇṇāyaka, taking the body (*kanṭhavam*), came behind in the battle of Mudugere,—Binna-Gauḍa of Miriyavālpalli in Taligenāḍ, having secured the possession of the elephant and treasury, fought and fell. On this the chiefs and farmers of the nine *mandes* of the Talige-nāḍ thousand land, having made petition to Narasiṃha-deva, obtained one *hana* of land, gave it to Bute-Gauḍa, the son of that Binna Gauḍa, and set up this stone."²

A Hoysaḷa attack in about 1143 A.D., against Māhaḷige, was beaten back when the Kadamba Mallikārjuna 'was ruling the kingdom of Haive 500, Māhaḷige, Koṇḍaraḍe, Kabhunāḷige, the four *bāḍa* and Mogal-nāḍ in peace and wisdom.'³ The Cālukya authority was once again restored in these regions and Mallikārjuna was ruling under the Cālukya Jagadekamalla II in 1145 A.D. according to an inscription.⁴ Keśimayya was ruling over Beḷvola 300, Puligere 300, Halāsige 12000 and Hānuṅgal 500 in 1147 A.D.⁵ Vīra Pāṇḍya was ruling over Noḷambavāḍi 32,000 in 1145 A.D. and 1148 A.D. and had his residence at Ucchaṅgi.⁶ Banavāsī was governed by *Daṇḍanāyaka* Bammadevarasa.⁷

Once Viṣṇuvardhana was defeated and killed and peace established in the southern provinces of the Cālukya dominions, Jagadekamalla II turned his attention in the direction of the north where Mālava was in turmoil. The Cālukya Siddharāja of Gujarāt, having defeated Yaśovarman, the Paramāra king, annexed Mālava to his kingdom in about 1134 A.D. Jayavarman, son and successor of Yaśovarman, did regain it in 1138 A.D., but could not rule in peace for a long time for, the Cālukya Jagadekamalla invaded Mālava. Jayavarman was probably killed during the invasion. The Cālukya general Keśirāja⁸ and Vīra Pāṇḍya took an active part in the expedition and the Cālukya records claim that king of Mālava was destroyed,⁹ and that Mālava was left without possession¹⁰ and that

¹EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 85.

²Ibid. Vol. VI, Cm. No. 96.

³Ibid. Sa. 58.

⁴DKD. p. 562.

⁵EI. Vol. XVI, pp. 44 ff.

⁶EC. Vol. VII, Ci. No. 38; Vol. XI, Dg. No. 41.

⁷Ibid. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 267.

⁸EI. Vol. XVI, p.

⁹EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 43.

¹⁰Ibid. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 123.

every great and small king of Mālava was seized.¹ In the light of the events described above the view of Dr. Ganguly that the Hoysaḷa Narasiṃha accompanied the Cālukya army sent against Mālava is not tenable.² Narasiṃha's claim of the conquest of Mālava is not true. The invasion of Mālava took place before 1143 A.D. (V. S. 1200), which was the earliest known date of the Paramāra Lakṣmīvarman, brother and successor of Jayavarman.³ Ballāḷa,⁴ who ruled over Mālava between V. S. 1199 (1143 A.D.) and V. S. 1208 (1151 A.D.), and who was ultimately killed by the Cālukya Kumārapāla of Gujārāt in V. S. 1208, even though he may have been a southerner as it appears from his name, could not have had anything to do with the Cālukya invasion of Mālava as suggested by some scholars, for the reason that if he was a Hoysaḷa prince he could not have been left behind by the Cālukyas to rule over Mālava on their behalf.

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An inscription dated in 1143 A.D. records that Jagadekamalla 'frightening and driving away in alarm the Coḷa king proud of his arm and his power in battle, made the Coḷa *naḷa* (Coḷa country) as if an *al naḷa* (slave or servant country)⁵'. Keśirāja also claims to have shattered the power of the Coḷas.⁶ These claims were a direct consequence of the attempt of Jagadekamalla to restore the Cālukya authority over the Veṅgī country which had been for a time captured by Vikramāditya and had been lost during the reign of Someśvara III. But the success that he gained was nothing remarkable; for Kulottuṅga Coḷa, who had succeeded Vikrama Coḷa in 1135 A.D.,⁷ remained, according to the Coḷa records, in undisputed possession of the country.

Several Cālukya records claim victory for Jagadekamalla over the Gurjaras and of having captured his 'herd of elephants, wealth and troops of horses'.⁸ Keśirāja is also given credit for having shattered the Gurjaras.⁹ The Cālukya Siddharāja Jayasiṃha (1094–1143 A.D.)¹⁰ and Kumārapāla (1143–1172 A.D.)¹¹ were the Gurjara contemporaries of Jagadekamalla. It may be that when the Cālukyas invaded Mālava they had to fight against the Cālukyas also who had been in possession of the whole of it for some time¹² and some portion at another¹³ and who must have naturally opposed

¹EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 55.

²HPD. p. 172.

³DHNI. Vol. II, pp. 899 ff; *Journal of M. P. Itihasa Parishad* No. 3.

⁴Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 989 ff; *EI*. Vol. VIII, p. 207; *IA*. Vol. LXI, p. 192.

⁵EC. Vol. VII, Dg. No. 84.

⁶EI. Vol. XVI, pp. 44 ff.

⁷HISI. p. 101.

⁸Rice *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*; *Ec*. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 277; Vol. VII, Sk. No. 108.

⁹EI. Vol. XVI, pp. 44 ff.

¹⁰*Prabandhacintāmaṇi* pp. 80 and 115; *JBBRAS*. Vol. IX, p. 155; *DHNI*. Vol. II, p. 96°.

¹¹*Prabandhacintāmaṇi* p. 151; *JBBRAS*. Vol. IX, p. 155, 157; *Miral-i-Ahmadi* Tr. p. 143; *DHNI*. Vol. II, p. 985.

¹²ARASWC. 1912–13, p. 55.

¹³EI. Vol. I, p. 302; *DHNI*. Vol. II, p. 887.

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any attempt by a third power to establish itself in the regions which they considered within their sphere of ambition.

The Cālukyas appear to have fought with Madhu-Kāmārṇava *alias* Annatavarmadeva (1147–1165 A.D.) of Kalinga. This was probably over Veṅgī, which was a bone of contention during this period between the Cālukyas, the Coḷas and the later Gaṅga kings of Kalinga. Inscriptions dated 1159, 1160, and 1164 A.D. say that Jagadekamalla 'filled up the troubles of Kalinga',¹ that he made "Kalinga marked with tears on account of unmitigated calamities"² and that he changed 'the appearance of the multitude of Kalinga'³ respectively.

If Śaka 1174, *Prajāpati Samvatsara Puṣya Śuddha 10*, *Somavāra*⁴ is taken to correspond to December 20, 1151 A.D., this is the last known date of Jagadekamalla II. Another earlier date⁵ is Cālukya Vikrama 72, *Pramoda Samvatsara, Caitra Vadya 11, Śukravāra* = Friday, April 12, 1151 A.D. This date is more certain because it is regular.

Taila III.

Jagadekamalla was followed by his brother Taila III. His earliest known date from an inscription is *Ch. V.* (a mistake for Śaka) 1074, *Prajāpati Samvatsara, Caitra Śuddha 13* = March 20, 1152 A.D.⁶ Taila assumed the titles of *Trailokyamalla Pratāpa-Cakravartī*⁷ and *Cālukya-Cakravartī*.⁸ He was also called Nūrmaḍi Taila or Tailapa.⁹

The decline of the Cālukya Empire had set in after the reign of Vikramāditya VI. During the reign of Someśvara the Hoysaḷas under Viṣṇuvardhana, made a bold bid to wipe it out, but the southern feudatories, the Kadāmbas, the Sindas and the Pāṇḍyas served as shock absorbers of the Hoysaḷa onslaughts and ultimately the Hoysaḷa attempts were wrecked on the rocks of the Kadamba opposition. Jagadekamalla did make a determined effort to revive the glory and greatness of the Cālukyas of the time of Someśvara I and Vikramāditya VI and did gain some success in Mālava, Veṅgī and Kalinga. He also succeeded in crushing the rebellions of the Hoysaḷas with the help of the Sindas and the Kadāmbas. But his successes were only a temporary respite to the process of decline of the Empire which had been tottering from its very foundations.

Taila III did not have the capacity to hold the Empire together. The Cālukya Kumārapāla seems to have invaded Koṅkaṇ. After some initial reverses while attempting to cross the river Kalvani the Cālukya general Ambāḍ returned with reinforcements and defeated and killed the Śilāhāra Mallikārjuna, ruler of Koṅkaṇ, and a feudatory of the Cālukyas. Even though the Cālukyan campaign did not leave any lasting results over Koṅkaṇ, it did

¹EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 123.

²Ibid. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 355.

³Ibid. Dg. No. 43.

⁴Ibid. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 132.

⁵Ibid. Sb. No. 86.

⁶Ibid. Vol. VIII : Sb. No. 464.

⁷EL. Vol. V, p. 235.

⁸Ibid.

⁹EC. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 175.

give a rude blow to the Cālukyas whose prestige had already fallen very low in the Deccan. The Hoysala opposition had lost its sting after the death of Viṣṇuvardhana. His son and successor Narasiṃha was not of the same fibre as his father and the Kadambas and the Sindas could keep him within bounds. Another feudatory chieftain, the Kalacurya Bijjala, was forging weapons under the patronage of Taila himself, with the help of which he was to pull down the patron from the throne.

The defeat of the Silāhāras of Koṅkaṇ at the hands of the Gurjaras appears to have been followed by a worst disaster which sapped the strength and undermined whatever prestige had been left of the Cālukya authority. This was the defeat and disgrace of Taila III at the hands of the Kākatiyas. The Kākatiya Prolarāja invaded the Cālukya Empire and inflicted a crushing defeat on Taila III and took him prisoner. The Anamkoṇḍa inscription of Rudradeva, successor of Prolarāja dated in Śaka 1084=1162 A.D. gives the following account of the fight between the Prolarāja and Taila III. 'He (i.e., Prolarāja) made captive in war the glorious Tailapadeva, the ornament of the Cālukyas who was skilful in the practice of riding upon elephants, whose inmost thoughts were even intent upon war, and who was mounted upon an elephant which was like a cloud; and then at once he, who was renowned in the practice of severing the throats of his (captive) enemies, let him go from goodwill (produced) by (his) devotion."¹

Though Taila had secured his release from his captor, the last straw on the camel's back had been snapped. The final blow to the Cālukya sovereignty came from within the Empire, from one of its own feudatories in whom Taila III appears to have reposed his confidence. This was the Kalacuri Bijjala. Bijjala started his career as a subordinate chieftain of the Cālukya Someśvara III and was in charge of the administration of the Karahāḍa 4000 in 1142 A.D.² and his great-grandmother *Abhinava* Candaladevī was administering Valasaṅga in Kalambaḍe 300 division. She is also called *Abhinava Śāradādevī* and was the wife of *Tribhuvanamalla* Vikramāditya VI. Bijjala or Bijjaṇa had the title of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*. An inscription dated in the 10th year of the reign of Jagadekamalla, *Prabhava Samvatsara, Āsvayuja Amāvasyā*, Sunday, *solar eclipse* = Sunday, October 26, 214 A.D.³ refers to Bijjala's brother Mailugi. It makes mention of Karahāṭa and its sub-division Kalambaḍe, called a *kampana* and the village of Telasaṅgava. Bijjala's father, Permāḍi, a subordinate of Someśvara III, had been governing Taravāḍi⁴ according to an inscription dated April 20, 1129 A.D.⁵ Bijjala himself was governing as a feudatory of Taila III in 1151 A.D.

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¹IA. Vol. XI, pp. 12-13.

²ARSIE. BK. No. 128 of 1940-41.

³Karnataka Inscriptions Vol. II, No. 21, pp. 79 ff.

⁴J. K. Aiyangar : *Ancient India* p. 264.

⁵ARSIE. 1938-39, B. K. No. 66. The date is not regular as the solar eclipse fell on Saturday and not Monday. When this record speaks of the Emperor it could be no other than the Cālukya Someśvara. Hence the view that Permāḍi did not acknowledge the fact is not tenable. (EI. Vol. XXVIII, p. 25, fn. 5.)

CHAPTER 9. and had *Mahāpradhāna Senādhipati Daṇḍanāyaka* Mailārāya as his subordinate in charge of Taravāḍi 1000.¹

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Bijjaṇa or Bijjala secured his appointment as the Commander-in-Chief of the Cālukyan army and in the Harihara inscription he claims to have been protecting the whole Cālukyan army.² His influence began to increase in obverse proportion to the decrease of Taila's and the Cālukyan records give him great importance using almost as high sounding titles as his overlord. Some of the inscriptions in which he is mentioned are even dated in his regnal years, as if he had assumed full royal powers. These records do show that he had become the *de facto* sovereign and that Taila was reduced to a shadow of a king. The titles given to Bijjala and Taila III in a Belgāmi inscription dated *Cālukya Trailokyamalla varṣa 6, Yuva Samvatsara, Māgha, Amāvasyā, Somavāra*=Monday, January 24, 1156 A.D.³ explains the position very clearly.

Inscriptions, dated in the 2nd year of the reign of the Kalacuri *Bhujabala-cakravartī* Bijjala-deva correspond to Saturday, February 1, 1158 A.D.⁴ and Wednesday, December 26, 1157 A.D.⁵ and in the 4th year to Sunday, December 6, 1159 A.D.⁶ They show that Bijjala had gained enormous powers and that inscriptions were dated in his regnal years though Taila III was yet the sovereign. An inscription, dated September 24, 1158 A.D. (the date is not regular) speaks of Bijjala ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom.⁷ Another of Monday, March 2, 1159 A.D., gives the Cālukyan pedigree upto Taila III and then speaks of Bijjala as king (*kṣaṇīpāla*).⁸ A third of 1159 A.D. does the same.⁹ These inscriptions show that in spite of the fact that Bijjala had the title of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, he was supreme in the affairs of the State and that the authority of Taila was reduced to a mere shadow. The Cālukya feudatories, the Gaṅgas¹⁰ and the Pāṇḍyas,¹¹ acknowledged his authority. The Kadāmbas who tried to resist him were ultimately subdued by force of arms. In 1159 A.D., Bijjala launched an attack against them and the fort of Gutṭi was besieged.¹² Another attempt by the Kadāmbas to oppose Bijjala was crushed in 1163 A.D., when Bijjala Deva's Minister, Sovayamarasa, attacked Gutṭi¹³ again. The Kadāmbas too then acknowledged the *fait accompli* of Bijjala.¹⁴ The Sāntaras too in spite of their attempt to become independent,¹⁵ acknowledged Bijjala as their overlord.¹⁶

¹ *Bom. Gaz.* (Old Edn.), Vol. I, pt. ii p. 460.

² *J.R.A.S.* Vol. IV, p. 16.

³ *EC.* Vol. VII, Sk. No. 104.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 255.

⁵ *A.R.S.I.E.* App. E, No. 201.

⁶ *EC.* Vol. VIII, Sb. 131.

⁷ *Ibid.* Vol. VII, Sk. No. 18.

⁸ *Ibid.* Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 328.

⁹ *Ibid.* Vol. VII, Sk. No. 173.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Vol. VII, Sk. No. 18.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Vol. XI, Dg. No. 43.

¹² *Ibid.* Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 416.

¹³ *Ibid.* Sk. No. 568.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Sb. No. 177.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Sb. No. 177, 567, Sa. No. 114.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Sa. No. 66.

Taila appears to have left Kalyāṇi sometime after 1157 A.D. and fled to Jayantīpura in Banavāsī¹ and later took refuge at Annigere,² to which place he was followed by Bijjala. Bijjala assumed full royal title at Annigere in about 1162 A.D.³ In an inscription, dated January 17, 1162 A.D., he had the title of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* only. He was on this date at Balligāve while leading an expedition to the southern regions. Taila III is not mentioned in this inscription.

Taila III appears to have died before January 19, 1163 A.D., the date of the Anamkoṇḍa inscription which records his death in the following words: 'Though king Tailapa went to sky, his delicate body being wasted by violent diarrhoea through fear of this most valourous king, *Śrī Rudradeva*.'⁴

The fall of the Cālukyas created an utter political chaos in the Deccan. The Cālukyan feudatories, the Kadambas, the Sindas, the Pāṇdyas, the Hoysaḷas and others could not reconcile themselves with the usurpation of Bijjala and if at all they acknowledged his authority, it was only as a measure of expediency. They continued to wage wars against him, whenever they had a favourable opportunity. The story of the Kalacuri rule lasting for about two decades and described in detail below, was one of constant feud between him and the other feudatories of the Cālukyas. Some of them made no secret of their allegiance to the Cālukyas, whenever they had a favourable occasion to do so. Inscriptions dated 1165 A.D.⁵ and 1182 A.D.⁶ show that Vijaya Pāṇḍya, recognised a certain Cālukya Jagadekamalla, probably a brother of Taila III, as his sovereign. The Niḍugal chief Mallideva Coḷa *Mahārāja* did the same in 1169 A.D.⁷

सत्यमेव जयते

Having captured the fort of Gutti from the Kadambas the Hoysaḷas began their raids into the Kalacurya possessions. In 1164 A.D. a Hoysaḷa general raided the Kerivakāśive *Agrahāra*.⁸ In the same year Bijjala ordered his subordinate chieftain Televūr Hāraḍi Sovavarma (?) and others to attack Gutti.⁹ The fort of Guṇṇalaguṇḍi where in 1161 A.D., the Hoysaḷas had been besieged by the Kadambas, was besieged by Bammarasa and Vira-rasa in 1166 A.D., without any success.¹⁰ The Pāṇdyas were defeated and their big and strong fort of Ucchaṅgi was captured by Ballāḷa II, who had usurped the Hoysaḷa throne from his father Narasiṁha I. Ballāḷa then turned against the Kadambas to whose rescue Kalacuri Saṅkamadeva first sent his general Kavaṇayya and later took the field

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¹DKD. p. 469.

²JRAS. Vol. IV, p. 16, fn. 2.

³IA. Vol. XI, p. 18.

⁴EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 77.

⁵Ibid. Vol. XI, Cd. No. 13.

⁶ARSIE. 1917, No. 733; HISI. p. 116.

⁷MASR. 1928, No. 81.

⁸EC. Vol. VIII, Sb. 372.

⁹Ibid. Sb. 287.

¹⁰MASR. 1928, No. 81.

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himself, when the battle of Bettaur did not end in his favour in 1179 A.D.¹ The battles at Madavalli and Hadadeyakuppa also were lost by the Kalacuris, even though Ballāḷa did not gain any material advantage from them either.² The Kalacuryas appear to have patched up peace with the Hoysaḷas to save themselves from total disaster. But the Kadambas carried on the fight and besieged the fort of Uddhare which they had lost to the Hoysaḷas earlier³ and captured it in 1181 A.D. This defeat was avenged in that very year by Ballāḷa.⁴

The Cālukya Someśvara IV, who had been in hiding with the Pāṇḍyas or the Kadambas, probably at Annigere in the Dhār-vāḍ district, hearing of the defeat of the Kalacuryas by the Hoysaḷas, emerged from his exile and recovered the kingdom by driving out the usurpers. The date 1181 A.D. in which Someśvara IV was ruling at Kalyāṇi, according to the Kuṛagoḍa inscription⁵, is not reliable as it is irregular.

The Korvar inscription in the Bijāpūr district, dated *Vikārī Samvatsara, Vaiśākha, Amāvasyā*, = Tuesday, May 8, 1179 A.D., also speaks of Someśvara IV, but it is very much damaged and if at all this date for him is genuine, it belongs to a period when Someśvara was just a refugee. However, it gives a clue to his hideout. The details of dates in the 2nd year of his reign correspond to November 5, 1184 A.D.⁶ and December 24 (?), 1184 A.D.⁷ and those in the 4th year correspond to April 5, 1182 A.D.⁸

With these irregular dates, it may be said that Someśvara's restoration of the Cālukya sovereignty took place in the middle of 1183 A.D. 'Someśvara uprooted that race of the Kalacuryas as if it were but a *billa* tree.' The same record adds that 'a very close connection between the earth and himself being formed at that time when the dense darkness that was the Kalacuryas dispersed before his brilliance,—the Cālukya king Soma became famous.'⁹ Someśvara was helped by his feudatory Brahma or Bammarasa or Bamayya in securing the throne. Brahma is called 'the establisher of the Cālukya sovereignty,'¹⁰ and 'the chief of all the leaders of the army.' Other inscriptions also extol him for this achievement.¹¹ Brahma's (Brāhmaṇa's) father, Kāma or Kāvaṇa, who was alive at the time of his son's battle with the Kalacuryas,¹² was a *Danḍanāyaka* of the Kalacurya Saṅkama according to a Harihara inscription. He was also their commander-in-chief in 1179 A.D.¹³ and a *Danḍanāyaka* of Āhavamalla in 1181 A.D.¹⁴

¹ *Kadambakula*, pp. 138, 444-45, Ec. Vol. VII Sk. No. 171.

² *EC*. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 44.

³ *Ibid.* Vol. VI, Hd. No. 33.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. II, No. 327; *Kadambakula*, p. 14-.

⁵ *EI*. Vol. XIV, pp. 265 ff.

⁶ *ARSIE*. 1928-29, App. E, No. 207.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1940-41, B.K. No. 46.

⁸ *Ibid.* 1936-37, B.K. No. 37.

⁹ *EI*. Vol. V, p. 259.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Vol. V, p. 250.

¹¹ *JRAS*. Vol. IV, pp. 16-17; *Bom. Gaz.* (Old Edn.), Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 464.

¹² *EI*. Vol. VI, p. 92 ff.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 92.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 192.

Brāhmaṇa himself was a *Mahāpradhāna Senādhipati* and *Danḍa-nāyaka* of the Kalacurya Sovideva in 1175 A.D.¹ He turned a rebel against his master on account of an insult done to his father and took service under the Cālukya Someśvara IV to seek vengeance upon him.²

The revival of the Cālukya sovereignty at Kalyāṇi was a passing phase of the tangled history of the Deccan, during this period. The Kadambas, the Pāṇdyas, the feudatory Coḷas and other feudatories were happy at the restoration, for this meant the success of their efforts to drive out their relentless enemy, the Kalacuryas. The Cālukyas had always defended them from the Hoysaḷas.

The Cālukya restoration did not last long. The Yādavas from the north and the Hoysaḷas from the south were desperately fighting their way to Kalyāṇi in a bid to wipe them out and win the sovereignty of Karnāṭa. Someśvara did not have the strength to oppose them.

One attempt of Ballāḷa in 1183 A.D.³ to drive out Someśvara IV had been beaten back by Brāhmaṇa.⁴ But Ballāḷa returned to the scene four years later and defeated the Cālukyas and drove Someśvara IV out of Kalyāṇi. Someśvara fled away to Jayantipura.⁵ The Gadag inscription of Ballāḷa recounts his victory in the following words: 'And by force, he, the strong one, defeated with cavalry only, and deprived of his sovereignty, the general Brāhmaṇa whose army was strengthened by an array of elephants and who acquired sixty tusked elephants with a single tuskless elephant, when, on account of an insult, he was tearing the royal fortune from the family of the Kalacuryas.'⁶

Ballāḷa could not feast upon his conquest of Kalyāṇi for a long time. The Yādava Bhīllama with equally unbounded ambitions as the Hoysaḷa proved more powerful than the latter. He swooped down upon Kalyāṇi from the north, defeated Ballāḷa and drove him out from there, and as an inscription dated in 1189 A.D. at Annigeri records, he had become the beloved of the goddess of the sovereignty of the Karnāṭa country and was rejoicing over the whole kingdom.⁷ Hemdāri confirms this, but he is not correct when he says that Ballāḷa was killed by Bhīllama.⁸ Bhīllama in pursuit of Ballāḷa reached as far south as Alur in the Hassan district where a fierce battle between the two was fought. Who was the victor in this battle is not known. Very soon Ballāḷa returned with reinforcements and another fierce battle was fought between the two at Sorrāṭur before December 30, 1190 A.D., the date of a record which says that "Ballāḷa put them (the Yādavas) to flight and slaughtered them from Sorrāṭur to the banks of the

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Someśvara IV.

¹ *EI*. Vol. VI, p. 92.

² *Ibid* p. 92.

³ *EC*. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 419.

⁴ *ARSIE*. 1915, App. B, No. 458.

⁵ *EC*. Vol. XI, Cd. No. 33.

⁶ *EI*. Vol. VI, p. 92.

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.*, (Old Edn.) Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 518-19.

⁸ *EHD*. (R), App. C, vs. 38-39.

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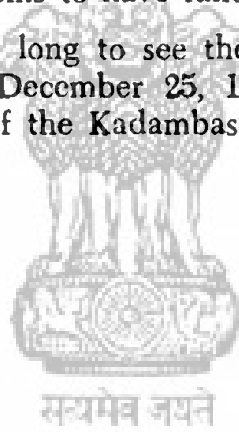
The Cālukyas and
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THE CHALUKYAS.

Someśvara IV.

Kṛṣṇavēṇī.”¹ The Yādavas were driven away and a large part of the region fell into the hands of Ballāḷa.² But Bhillama too after sometime returned to the scene and was at his victorious camp at Heṇūru, 30 miles north-east of Gadag, on June 23, 1191 A.D.³ This was just on the eve of the final battle between the two which is described in the Gadag inscription dated 21 November, 1192 A.D.⁴ of Ballāḷa II. Ballāḷa won this battle and Bhillama lost his life. The Yādavas with Jaitugi as the leader of the force made Lokkiguṇḍi their base of operations, but Jaitugi, also called a minister of Bhillama, was defeated and Lokkiguṇḍi was captured by Ballāḷa who pitched his victorious camp at Lokkiguṇḍi itself according to the Gadag inscription of 1191 A.D. A later inscription records that “The king Ballāḷa moistening his valiant sword with the blood of his enemy the Pāṇḍya king, whets it on the grindstone of the head of Bhillama and sheathes it in the lotus mouth of Jaitugi”⁵ And the Gadag inscription says “And cutting off Jaitrasimha who was as it were the right arm of that Bhillama, he, the hero, acquired also the sovereignty over the country of Kuntala.”⁶ In spite of all these victories, Ballāḷa seems to have failed to capture Kalyāṇi.

Someśvara did not live long to see the spoliation of his Empire. His last known date is December 25, 1189 A.D.⁷ when he was ruling with the support of the Kadambas and was their host.



¹MASR. 1926, No. 9.

²EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 25 ; IHQ. Vol. IV, pp. 123-23.

³Ibid. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 25 ; Cn. No. 179.

⁴EI. Vol. III, p. 219.

⁵EC. Vol. V, Bl. 77.

⁶EI. Vol. VI, p. 92.

⁷EC. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 129.

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The Cālukyās and the Kalacuryās of Kalyāṇī.

THE KALACHURYAS.

TABLE II.
THE KALACURYAS OF KALYANI.
Genealogy.

सत्यमेव जयते

Rāja I	
Uc̥ta	
Asaga	
Kannama	
(Name lost)	
Bijjala	
Rāja II	
Annugi	
Saṅkama (Saṅkhavarma)	Jogama : Tāradevi
Savaladevi : Vikramāditya VI Calukya	Permādi
Bijjala II	
Immādi Bijjala	Saṅkama
Vajradeva	Mallugi
Sovideva	Ahavamalla
D : Bamarasa	Singha
Kaṇḍadeva	
Vīra Bijjala Mallikārjuna	
Rāja Murāri Jannugideva. ¹	

¹²The relationship of Rāyamurāri Janugideva and Mallikārjuna with other Kalacuri princes cannot be determined.

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THE KALACURYAS OF KALYĀNĪ

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THE KALACHURYAS.
Origin.

The Kalacurya usurpation of Cālukya sovereignty had a precarious existence for nearly two decades. The Kalacuryas trace their descent from the Haihayas. Haihaya, the progenitor of the Haihayas, was a grandson of Sahasrajit, who himself was a descendent of Yadu. The Haihayas had their seat of power at Māhiṣmatī, modern Māndhātā, in the Nimar district of Madhya Pradesh.¹ From Māhiṣmatī they expanded their hold to Kāśī.² One of their kings, Arjuna, recovered Māhiṣmatī which had been in the meantime lost to the Karkoṭa king.³ The Haihayas, later known as Kalacuris, suffered a set back at the hands of Sagara, but retained Kāśī.⁴ In more recent times, the Kalacuris established their hold over Mālava and the central regions of the present Madhya Pradesh. Saṅkaragaṇa's son Buddharāja had his capital in Vidiśā.⁵ He was defeated by the Cālukya Maṅgaleśa⁶ of Badāmi.⁷ Other branches of the family established their dominion in the U. P., Saryūpārār, Dāhala and Ratanpur. Some members of the family who claim to have belonged to Kālāñjara in M. P. migrated to the south and took up service under the Cālukyas of Kalyānī.⁸

The epigraphical version of their origin reads as follows : " A certain Brāhmaṇa girl was adoring with devotion *Hara*, the chosen of *Girījā*. In order to bestow on her the desire of her heart, he appeared to her in a dream, and from that union she miraculously conceived a portion of *Iśvara* in her womb. When she had thus completed nine months, there was born Kṛṣṇa, beautiful in form, matchless in valour, distinguished by all auspicious marks, acquainted with all learning, a burning heat to hostile kings. Being born he slew in Kālāñjara an evil-minded king who was a cannibal and followed the calling of a barber, thus gaining in advance the applause of the world. Did he not ? Forcing him between the teeth of *Yama*, he seized by might of his arm, the wealth of the Kalacuri-*kula*. The king Kṛṣṇa ruled in peace. Among those born in his line, after many kings had passed away, there was renowned in the earth king Kannama Deva, skilled in the art of captivating the coyest women by his beauty, the cause of destruction to the proud, his fame being like a spotless moon. To that celebrated one like two extra arms were two dear sons named, Rājā and Bijjala, of good learning, beloved of the goddess of victory.⁹ The Kalacuryas claim to be *Kṣatriyas*.¹⁰ A different version with different genealogical details is given in another record.¹¹ The family had the royal insignia of a *svaṛṇa vṛṣabha*, distinguished by a *Damaru*.

¹IA. Vol. XIV, p. 68 ; DHNI. Vol. II, p. 738 ; EHD. (R), p. 160 ; ASWI. No. 10 ; Pargiter: *Indian Historical Traditions*, IHT. pp. 148, 41, 102, 143, 153, 263, 87, 88 and 150

²IHT. pp. 153-56.

³Ibid. pp. 265-66.

⁴Ibid. p. 263.

⁵[Vidiśa was only the site of his camp. See CII. IV, p. 49.—V. V. M.]

⁶IA. Vol. XIX ; p. 7.

⁷Bom. Gaz. Old. Edn. Vol. I, Pt. i, pp. 740-41.

⁸EI. Vol. XX, p. 269 ; Vol. XII, p. 291 ; IA. Vol. I, p. 191.

⁹EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 42.

¹⁰IA. Vol. IV, p. 275.

¹¹EC. Vol. VII, SR. No. 256.

The genealogical details of the family remain somewhat obscure. The inscriptions do not give a consolidated or a complete list. With the help of several of them¹ the genealogy of the family given in the Table is reconstructed.²

Nothing is known of the early kings Ucita and Rājā I³ and Asaga, Kannama, his unknown son, and his sons Bijjala and Rājā II⁴. Of the four sons of Rājā II only Ammugi and Jogama appear to have ruled and the latter had the title of Talikāḍa.⁵ The title was obviously assumed on the basis of the intimate connection of the family with Tarikāḍunāḍu, which is mentioned in a number of inscriptions and was situated in the Kuntala country.⁶

Jogama was a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*⁷ of the Cālukyas. He was governing Karahāḍa 4000 division in A.D. 1087-88 and 1093 as a feudatory of the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI.⁸ He had a daughter named Sāvaladevī from his wife Tārādevī.⁹ Sāvaladevī was given in marriage to Vikramāditya VI.¹⁰ This was significant as this helped the insignificant Kalacuryas to gain some prominence. Jogama's son was Permāḍi, who is known from two records,¹¹ one of which is dated in 1129 A.D.,¹² which was the 12th year of his rule. The Emperor referred to in this record means the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI. He also had the title of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and the *biruda* of *Tarikāḍa*. He was governing Tarḍḍavāḍi 1000 division in 1128-29 A.D.¹³ An inscription dated in 1142 A.D.¹⁴ reveals that *Abhinava* Candaladevī, also called *Abhinava* Śāradādevī, wife of the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI, was also a great-grandmother of the Kalacurya Bijjala, son of Permāḍi. This can be explained only by the fact that *Abhinava* Candaladevī was the grandmother of the mother of Bijjala. This would mean that the daughter of Vikramāditya VI and Candaladevī was given in marriage to Jogama. This gave further impetus to the rise of the Kalacuryas to power.

The Kalacuryas had their headquarters at Maṅgalavāḍ or Maṅgaliveḍa, modern Maṅgalveḍhe near Paṇḍharpur, which was the chief town of Tarikāḍu-nāḍu.¹⁵

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THE
KALACHURYAS.
Origin.

Jogama.

Permāḍi

¹EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 42; Vol. VII, Sk. No. 236; EI. Vol. XV, p. 324; Vol. XIX p. 234. Bom. Gaz. (Old. Edn.), Vol. I; pt. (ii), p. 468; SIE. AR. 1940-41, Bk. No. 128; EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 197; ARSIE. 1937-38, BK. No. 81; 1936-37, BK. Nos. 63 and 91; 1938-39, No. 50; EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 44; Vol. VII, HL. No. 50; KI. Vol. XXVIII, pp. 24 ff.

²EI. Vol. XXVIII, p. 38.

³Ibid., p. 24.

⁴EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 42.

⁵Ibid.

⁶ARSIE. 1940-41, BK. No. 171; EI. Vol. XV, p. 324.

⁷Ibid., 1940-41, BK. No. 103, 124 and 130.

⁸Ibid. 124, 131, 103.

⁹Bom. Gaz. (Old. Edn.) Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 448.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹ARSIE. 1940-41, BK. No. 102; 1936-37, BK. No. 95.

¹²Ibid. No. 128.

¹³Ibid. 1936-37, Bk. No. 95.

¹⁴Ibid. 1940-41, Bk. No. 128.

¹⁵EI. Vol. XV, p. 324; EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 44.

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 Bijjala II.

Bijjala II followed his father Permādi. He was a feudatory of the Cālukya Jagadekamalla II and Taila III, both his cousins. He is known from an inscription, dated in 1142 A.D., as governing Kara-hāḍa 4000 division, when his great-grandmother *Abhinava*-Candala-devī, also called *Abhinava*-Śārādādevī and wife of Vikramāditya VI was governing Vaḷasaṅga in Kalambaḍe 300 division.¹ This shows that this queen of Vikramāditya VI, was alive in 1142 A.D., and was associated with Bijjala in the administration of a division. *Mahā-maṇḍaleśvara* Bijjala or Bijjaṇa is mentioned with his brother Mailugi in another inscription, dated 1147 A.D., as a subordinate to Jagadekamalla II. The inscription registers a gift of certain incomes in kind and coins by the trade guild for the *sattrā* of *Mahāgrahāra* Telasaṅgava² in Kalambaḍa *kampana* in Karahāṭa *viṣaya* in Kuntala-*deśa*. Nothing is then known about Bijjala for about ten years as no record of this period so far known mentions his name. However, from 1157 A.D., Bijjaṇa suddenly emerges with great prestige and importance, first as a Cālukya feudatory and then as a usurper of the Cālukya throne and an independent king. More than seventy-five records of his reign have been found, mostly in the Śimoga, Citaldūrg, Dhārvāḍ, Bijāpūr and Belgānv districts of Mysore State.

Though a number of inscriptions of his time are dated in his regnal years, the chronology of his rise to power cannot be precisely determined as the details of most of these dates are not regular. According to some inscriptions, his first regnal year falls in 1152 A.D.,³ while according to others it would fall in 1155 or 1156 A.D.⁴ But the actual usurpation of the Cālukya throne by him took place in 1162 A.D., when he assumed full paramount titles of *samastabhuvanāśraya Śrīprthivivallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Parama-bhaṭṭāraka* besides a number of *birūdas* which include *Tribhuvana-malladeva Tribhuvanaikavīradeva* and *Bhuvanaikamalla*. He is also praised as *Kālaṅjarapuravarādhīśvara*, *Giridurgamalla* and *Sanivāra-siddhi*. He was ruling from Kalyāṇi⁵ in May 6, 1162 A.D.⁶ while according to another, from Maṅgalivāḍa in January 17, 1162, A.D.⁷ This might show that he usurped power between January 17, 1162 A.D. and May 6, 1162 A.D.

The story of his rise to power has been told earlier. Of the two inscriptions, dated January 17, 1162 A.D., one says that he was governing from Maṅgalivāḍa⁸ and makes no mention of the Cālukya sovereign, while the other says that he was at that time encamped at Baligāve having gone there to subdue the southern region.⁹

¹ *ASIE*. 1940-41, BK. No. 128.

² *Karṇāṭaka Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 21, pp. 79 ff.

³ *ASIE*. 1938-39, BK. No. 20 ; 1936-37, BK. No. 57.

⁴ *Ibid*, 1943-43, BK. No. 20 ; 1940-41, BK. No. 111, 45 ; 1937-38, BK. No. 14 ; 1936-37, Bk. No. 45, 57, 63.

⁵ *EC*. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 346.

⁶ *ASIE*. 1937-38, No. 14.

⁷ *Ibid*, 1940-41, Bk. No. 111.

⁸ *Ibid*, No. 111.

⁹ *EC*. Vol. VII, Sb. No. 102.

Bijjala had a brother Mallugideva who is known from a number of records dated from 1147 A.D.¹ to 1176 A.D. He also had a number of sons; Someśvara, Sovideva, Saṅkama, Āhavamalla, Siṅghaṇa and Vajra and a daughter Siriyadevī, who was married to the Sinda Cāvuṇḍa II.

Some of the inscriptions of his reign give him credit for the conquest of a number of countries, viz., Gurjara, Magadha, Kalinga, Āndhra, Saurāṣṭra, Veṅgī, Lāṭa, Cera, Nepāl, Pañcāla, Pāṇḍya, Turuṣka, Coḷa, etc.² There could be no truth in all these claims. Bijjala had hardly any time to cross beyond the frontiers of his chaotic few territorial divisions to lead any campaigns of conquests. His southern adversaries, the Hoysaḷas, engaged his attention all the time.

The Hoysaḷas had been nursing their ambition of establishing their own dominion and had rebelled against their sovereign several times. Bijjala certainly took them by surprise. Thereby he proved a better general and tactician than his Hoysaḷa adversary. Before actually overthrowing the Cālukyas, he defeated the Hoysaḷas. An inscription states that a battle between the Hoysaḷas and the Kalacuryas under the command of Bammarasa *daṇḍanātha*, brother-in-law of Kasapayya Nāyaka, a feudatory of Bijjala, took place on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra. The name of the Hoysaḷa chief is not given.³ The contemporary Hoysaḷa king was Narasiṃha I. The Hoysaḷas from their stronghold at Guṭṭi⁴ were leading expeditions into the Kalacuri territories. In 1164 A.D., the Hoysaḷa chief raided Kerya-kāsive *agrahāra*.⁵ A Kattūru epigraph, dated 1164 A.D., records that Bijjala ordered his subordinate Tolevūr Hāraḍi Somavar-mma (?) and other chieftains to attack the fort of Guṭṭi, which they besieged.⁶ How the siege ended is not known. An inscription, dated 1166 A.D., records that Māṇḍalika Bammarasa, who had fought the battle of the Tuṅgabhadra with the Hoysaḷas, was in possession of the fort of Guṭṭi and that he along with Virarasa laid siege to the fort of Guṇṇalagunḍi and that the Hoysaḷa Māṇḍalika is said to have driven away the besiegers by stratagem. It is further claimed that he did not resort to force of arms yet it records the death of a warrior Katamallasetṭi.⁷

The disturbed political condition of his dominions is revealed by a number of memorial stone-pillar-inscriptions, recording the death of soldiers in battles or raids. In 1160 A.D., the *agrahāra* Jambur was besieged by one Kalarasa⁸ and the fisherman Bitteya was killed in the raid. An inscription commemorates the death of a soldier during

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¹EC., No. 197; Vol. XI, Dg. No. 44; ARSIE, 1938-39, BK. No. 50; 1936-37; BK. No. 63; *Karṇāṭaka Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 21.

²EI. Vol. XV, p. 324; EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 197; *Karṇāṭaka Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Nos.

³EC. Vol. XI; Dg. No. 42.

⁴MASR. 1928, No. 81.

⁵EC. Vol. VIII, sb. No. 372.

⁶Ibid, Sb. No. 287.

⁷MASR, 1928, No. 81.

⁸EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 78.

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the raid of Jayasiṅga Maiyaka in 1159 A.D.¹ Uddhare Ekkalarasa burnt Satradahaḷli in 1159 A.D.² Bijjaṇa's force is said to have been marching to destroy Tāgarte in 1162 A.D.³ In 1163 A.D., a battle was fought between *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Kirtirasa, *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Ekkalarasa and *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Bammaṇa on one side and Jagadevarasa on the other⁴. Ekkalarasa was again marching against Jagadeva according to another inscription.⁵ The death of a soldier is recorded in another record of 1163 A.D., during the raid of Uddhare Yakkalarasa (Ekkalarasa).⁶ Ekkalarasa thus fought at one time for, and at another against, Bijjaṇa. Bamma, Bammaṇa or Bammaraṣa is called a son-in-law of Bijjaṇa in an inscription of 1163 A.D. He was governing Banavāsī 12000.⁷

Bijjala's reign is marked by a serious religious upheaval. A reformist movement led by Basava rose into prominence in the kingdom at this time. Basava's followers are known as the *Virśaivas* or the *Liṅgāyatas*. Basava held a high office under the Kalacurya Bijjala. Evidently there seems to have been a great conflict between the conservative and the reformist religious forces in the kingdom. One result of this conflict would appear to be the assassination of the king Bijjala. An account of this revolution is given in the Basava Purāṇas, Canna, Basava Purāṇa and Bijjala Carita or Bijjala Kāvya. The versions given by the Jain sources of this event differ greatly from those given in the Virśaiva source.

Bijjala's last known date from the Yali-sirūr inscription is Saturday, September 30, 1167 A.D.⁸ Bijjala is said to have had a big army consisting of 196,000 horses, 10,000 elephants and 1,00,000 soldiers. He is also said to have possessed a thousand hill forts and a thousand forts in the plains and a thousand along with the sea shore.⁹ All this is obviously improbable. सत्यमेव जयते

Rāyamurārī Someśvara Sovideva whom Bijjala had nominated succeeded him. The inscriptions mention Mallugideva and Karṇa, brother and grandson respectively of Bijjala, who succeeded him one after the other. There is nothing definite to show that Mailugi or Mallugi ruled after Bijjala. But since Kandara, Kālideva or Karṇa is mentioned immediately before Sovideva, he appeared to have ruled for a short while. Mallugideva did rule later as an inscription is dated in the 2nd year of his reign which corresponds to December 2, 1176 A.D.¹⁰ Karṇa was placed on the throne by some of his supporters, but was overthrown and killed by Sovideva. An inscription records that Kasapayya, a Kalacurya

¹EC, Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 131.

²Ibid. Sb. No. 99.

³Ibid. Sb. No. 56.

⁴Ibid. No. 177.

⁵Ibid. No. 193.

⁶Ibid. No. 449.

⁷Ibid. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 242.

⁸ARSIE. 1926-27, BK. No. 15.

⁹JRAS. Vol. IV, p. 20.

¹⁰ARSIE.

minister, and others plunged the Kalacuri sovereignty into chaos by their evil actions and were ultimately driven with Karna whom they had illegally placed on the throne by Soma and Madhuva. Karna may have been the son of Vajradeva,¹ son of Bijjala, or that of Immaḍi Bijjala, his other son.

The earliest known date for Someśvara Sovideva is *Kalacuri varṣa* 16, *Sarvadhāri S.*, *Vaiśakha Pūrṇimā*, *Ādityavāra*, *Somagrahaṇa* = Sunday, March 24, 1168 A.D.² Another date for him is Sunday, July 27, 1169 A.D. He appears to have ascended the throne in 1166 A.D.³ The inscriptions of his reign are dated in his regnal years, which also support this date.⁴

He was ruling from his *nelevidu* Maṅgaliveḍa on Wednesday, September 18, 1168 A.D.⁵ and from Kalyāṇi in 1172 A.D.⁶ Besides the paramount titles he adopted the *birudas* of *Bhujabalamalla* and *Rāyamurāri*, meaning respectively 'the powerful wrestler' and 'a very Viṣṇu',⁷ His two queens, Sāvaladevī and Bāvaladevī are known. A copper-plate inscription dated in *Saka* 1096=9th October, 1174 A.D. records a grant on the occasion of the queen Bāvaladevī singing a beautiful song when some important persons of his and other kingdoms had gathered together in his audience hall. Sāvaladevī was also highly proficient in music and dancing and gave public performances.⁸

No historical event of any importance is mentioned in the records of his time; some of them record raids for cattle and young girls⁹ and violent skirmishes between some of the *daṇḍanāyakas*. There cannot be any truth in the claim of conquests of Gurjara, Kimmīra, Khaśa, Turuṣka, Kalinga, Coḷa, Cera, etc., made in some of the records.

The last known date for Sovideva according to an inscription is January 31, 1177 A.D.¹⁰ Another record has the date January 17, 1177 A.D.¹¹

Someśvara Sovideva was succeeded by his brother Śaṅkamadeva in *Saka* 1099, *Hemalamba*, *Āṣāḍha vadya*, *Kṛṣṇāṅgārikā caturdaśi* = Sunday, June 26, 1177 A.D. On this date Śaṅkama was ruling from Kalyāṇi and the *Mummuridaṇḍas* of Kuṛugoḍu, with the consent of the Sinda *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Rācamalla, built a temple and made a grant of land. The *Mummuridaṇḍas* are praised as "the bravest of the brave,

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Bijjala II.

¹ *EI.* Vol. XXVIII, p. 26.

² *EC.* Vol. VII, Sk. No. 92.

³ *Kaṛṇāṭaka Inscriptions* Vol. II, No. 25.

⁴ *ARASI.* 1936-37, Bk. No. 40; 1937-38, Bk. No. 52; 1938-39, Bk. No. 57; 53; 1940-41, Bk. No. 115; 117; *EC.* Vol. VII, Sk. No. 150.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1936-37, Bk. No. 37.

⁶ *EC.* Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 389 and 543.

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.* (Old Edn.), Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 484.

⁸ *Ibid.* *WC. CIT.*

⁹ *EC.* Vol. VII, Sk. No. 236; Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 389.

¹⁰ *EC.* Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 498.

¹¹ *MASR.* 1929, No. 80.

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protectors of the submissive, cruel to the wicked, good to the good and conquerors of powerful enemies." This inscription is set up in the *Basaveśvara* temple, evidently dedicated to the god after the name of *Basava*. This shows the importance of *Basava*.¹ The *Mummuriḍaṇḍas* and the *Nakharas* are mentioned in another inscription dated 1176 A.D. of *Sovideva*.² He is also called *Śaṅkhavarmadeva*. Whether his name was derived from *Śaṅkha* in the *Tarkāḍa-nāḍu* in former *Jath* state³ cannot be said. He had the *biruda* of *Niḥśaṅkamalla* 'the wrestler without apprehensions'. He had his capitals at *Kalyāṇī*⁴ and *Maṅgaliveḍa*.⁵ No event of any historical importance of his reign is known. The disturbed political conditions are reflected in the several records of his reign which record death of certain persons in cattle raids or for the abduction of young girls and the fight between the *Daṇḍanāyakas* of the king. The claim of conquest of various countries are made in the traditional style with no truth whatsoever.

The last known date of *Śaṅkama* from an inscription is January 5, 1183 A.D.⁶ It is difficult to accept that the Hoysala chief *Ballāḷa II* was his feudatory as Dr. Fleet thinks.⁷ From one record the name of one queen of *Śaṅkama* is known as *Rāmadevī*.⁸

During the reign of *Śaṅkama* there was a fratricidal war between himself and his other brothers, who established themselves as independent kings in certain parts of the kingdom. His brother *Āhavamalla*, which sounds more like a *biruda*, claims to have been ruling as an independent king according to some inscriptions, the earliest of which is dated Monday, January 28, 1180 A.D.⁹ and the latest as November 26, 1182 A.D.,¹⁰ both of which fall in the reign of *Someśvara Sovideva*. From the regnal years given in his records it seems that *Āhavamalla* became independent in 1178 A.D.¹¹ *Āhavamalla*'s inscriptions are found mostly in the *Śikārpūr tālukā* of the *Śimogā* district and in the *Parasgaḍ tālukā* of the *Belgāṇv* district. He had the *biruda* of *Rāyanārāyaṇa*.

Siṅghaṇa, another brother of *Śaṅkama*, also appears to have become independent and ruled for a short time. An inscription of his reign dated Monday, August 30, 1182 A.D. gives him the title of *Mahārājā-dhirāja*.¹² Another Kalacurya prince called *Mallikārjuna* is known from an inscription dated Thursday, November 25, 1176. He is given

¹ *SII*, Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 297.

² *Ibid.* No. 298.

³ *ARSIE*, 1940-41, Bk. No. 86.

⁴ *SII*, Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 297.

⁵ *ARSIE*, 1940-41, Bk. No. 89.

⁶ *ARSIE*, 1926-27, BK. No. 184.

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.* (Old Edn.) Vol. I, pt. i, p. 488.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *EC*, Vol. VII, Sk. No. 144.

¹⁰ *E.C.*, Sk. No. 245.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 158, 119.

¹² *I.A.*, Vol. IV, pp. 274b.

the title of *Pratāpa-cakravartī*.¹ There is nothing to accept the suggestion that he is the same as Mailugideva, who is mentioned in other inscriptions.²

The revival of the Cālukya power and the end of the Kalacuryas after Sovideva has been told earlier.

An inscription dated *Paridhāvi, Phālguna, Purnimā*, Monday, a lunar eclipse, corresponding to November 20, 1192 A.D. (the details are not regular) speaks of a certain Vira Bijjaladeva, son of Rāya Murārī Sovideva.³ If at all he ruled as an independent king, it could have been only for a short while as in that year the Yādavas and the Hoysaḷas were fighting for supremacy in these regions and neither of them could have allowed this pretender to the Kalacurya sovereignty to persist in his claims for a long time.

¹*ARSIE*. 1936-37, Bk. No. 96.

²*Ibid* p. 194.

³*ARSIE*. 1940-41, Bk. No. 108.



सत्यमेव जयते

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THE
KALACHURYAS.

Someśvara
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THE YĀDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.

IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTER WE HAVE ALREADY NARRATED HOW THE YADAVA CHIEF BHILLAMA annihilated the power both of the Kalacuris and the later Cālukyas and established his supremacy over a considerable part of the Deccan. Before we proceed with his subsequent career, we shall devote a few pages to the earlier history of his house when his ancestors were ruling over a small principality in the Deccan as feudatories, first of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and then of the Later Cālukyas.

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The early history of the Yādavas is shrouded in considerable darkness. It has to be reconstructed largely from a *praśasti* of the dynasty composed by Hemādri in c. 1180 A.D. Being written in the last quarter of the 12th century, its information about the rulers of the 9th and the 10th centuries is naturally insufficient, and often inaccurate. This information can be, to some extent, checked by the genealogies and account given in the epigraphical records of the dynasty. We shall refer to or quote from the epigraphical records in our footnotes to this chapter.

The traditional genealogy of the Yādavas, as given by Hemādri, traces their descent from Viṣṇu, the Creator through the Moon and Yadu who were his later descendants. The historian is naturally not much concerned with legendary personalities, who can be assigned neither a place nor a time. In due course the genealogy mentions one Subāhu as a universal ruler with Dvārāvātī as his capital and we are told that Dr̥dhaprahāra, his second son, was the first to migrate to the south. The universal overlordship of Subāhu is obviously mythical, but we may concede historicity to Dr̥dhaprahāra, his son, who seems to have carved out a small principality in Seunadeśa¹ in c. 860 A.D.

The Yādava records naturally describe Dvārāvātī or Dvārakā, the capital of the Yadus from whom they claimed descent, as the original home of the family. No Kāthiāvāḍ records, however, have so far disclosed any Yādava family near about Dvārakā ruling in the 9th century A.D., nor do the actions or policies of the Yādavas show any anxiety to recover their patrimony or to establish any political or cultural connections with it in the heyday of their glory. The story

* This Chapter is contributed by late Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.

¹Seunadeśa was a name given to the territory extending from the district of Nāśik to Devagiri. Its original extent probably was smaller than this area. As the boundaries of the kingdom of the Yādavas, who called themselves as the rulers of Seunadeśa extended, the geographical limits of Seunadeśa also became more extensive.

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of the Jain tradition of how the mother of the founder of the family was saved by a Jain sage from the conflagration which consumed Dvārakā and how she later delivered a posthumous son,¹ has hardly any historical foundation. Some inscriptions from Dhārwar district have recently disclosed the existence of some Yādava chiefs ruling there in the 9th century, which was the time of the rise of the Yādava family of Dr̥ḍhaprahāra. As, however, the name of none of the rulers mentioned by Hemādri or found in the Yādava genealogies occurs in them, we cannot possibly trace the original home of Dr̥ḍhaprahāra in Dhārwar. The early patrimony of the family was in Nāsik and Khāndeśa; their later capital Devagiri is in Mahārāṣṭra and Marāṭhī literature flourished in their court in later times. We may, therefore, well presume that the original home of Dr̥ḍhaprahāra lay neither in Dvārakā in Kāthiāvād, nor in Dhārwar in Karnāṭaka, but somewhere in Khāndeśa or Nāsik in Mahārāṣṭra to which their small patrimony was confined for a long time. Like the contemporary Hoysaḷas, they mentioned Dvārakā as their original home because they claimed descent from the Yadu race.

EARLY YADAVAS.

The early Yādavas were feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who were the rulers of the Deccan. It appears that Dr̥ḍhaprahāra and his son Seunacandra gave valuable military assistance to Amoghavarṣa I and Kṛṣṇa II in their wars with the Gurjara-Pratihāras and were awarded a fief in Nāsik or Khāndeśa. Epigraphical evidence shows that Dr̥ḍhaprahāra (c. 860 to 880 A.D.)² founded the city of Candrādityapura, modern Cāndor, 40 miles north-east of Nāsik. But the *Vrata-khaṇḍa* mentions Śrīnagara or Sinnar as his capital. Seunacandra may be regarded as the real founder of the dynasty; for it is he who for the first time receives the feudatory titles in later inscriptions and records of the dynasty. He ruled from c. 880 to 900 A.D. His principality was a small one and did not extend much beyond Nāsik district.

The next three rulers of the family, Dhāḍiyappā, Bhillama I and Rājiga or Śrīrāja are shadowy figures and may be presumed to have ruled during 900 to 950 A.D. Rājiga's son Vaḍḍiga or Vandugi was married to princess Vohiyavvā, a daughter of Dhorappa or Dhruva, a younger brother of the contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛṣṇa III. Vaḍḍiga zealously participated in the hurricane campaigns of his uncle-in-law³ and we may well presume that the latter may have increased the Jāgir of his martial son-in-law. In politics, however, blood relationships do not always count for much, for we find Bhillama II,⁴ son of Vaḍḍiga, zealously championing the cause of the Cālukya emperor Tailapa, who overthrew the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire. He compelled, says a verse in his own record, 'the Goddess of Royalty to remain as a chaste wife in the house of Raṇarāja Tailapa II'. Bhillama also helped Taila in his protracted war against

¹I. A. XII, pp. 119-24.

²The date of Dr̥ḍhaprahāra is approximately determined from the known contemporaneity of one of his descendants to Kṛṣṇa III (c. 938 A. D.), the famous Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor.

³See Bassein grant, I. A. XII 119 of Kaḷas Budruk records; I. A. XVII, p. 117. Hemādri also concurs with this view, v. 22.

⁴Bhillama's wife Lakṣmi was also a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess. R. G. Bhandarkar's view that her father Jhaṇja was the Śīlāhāra prince of that name is untenable, for we know that latter flourished between c. 910 and 930 A.D.

the Paramāra ruler Muñja. As a reward for his help portions of Ahmadnagar district were added to his fief by Taila. Bhillama II is the earliest Yādava ruler known so far from his own grant. His Saṅgamner copper plate, issued in 1000 A.D. records a grant in favour of the temple of Vijayabharaneśvara erected at Saṅgamner in Ahmadnagar district. Vijayabharana was a new title adopted by Bhillama and the deity was named after it. Bhillama ruled from c. 980 to 1005 A.D.

The next ruler Vesugi is a shadowy figure; his queen Nayillādevī was a Cālukya princess from Gujarāt¹. Bhillama III, who succeeded him,² (c. 1025 to 1045 A.D.), is known from the Kaḷas Budruk grant issued by him in 1026 A.D. He was a brother-in-law of Āhavamalla, his feudal lord, his wife Hammā being the latter's sister; this must have increased his prestige. He offered help to the Cālukyas in their wars with Bhoja. The next two rulers Vādugi and Bhillama IV are mentioned only in Hemādri's genealogy but omitted in the inscriptions. During their short rule of about 20 years, the Yādava house suffered an eclipse; for Seṇacandra II the next king, whose relationship with his predecessors is not mentioned, is described as the rescuer of the fortunes of his family, as Hari was of the earth. He is known from his own grant, the Bassein plates issued in 1069 A.D.³ Seṇacandra II was a skilful diplomat; in the struggle for the throne that was going on in the imperial Cālukya family, he could correctly judge that Vikramāditya, though the younger brother, would succeed against his eldest brother Someśvara II. He threw in his lot with the former and helped him to win the throne. His crown prince Erammadeva or Paranmadeva co-operated with him in securing the throne for Vikramāditya VI, as suggested by the evidence of the Aśvī inscription. Some idea of the growing importance of Seṇacandra can be obtained from the circumstance of his Waghli inscription referring to one of his feudatories, Govindarāja of the Maurya lineage. The reign of Seṇacandra II may be placed during c. 1065 to 1085 and that of his son Erammadeva during c. 1085 to 1105. The latter was succeeded by his brother Simharāja, who is credited with having helped his feudal lord Vikramāditya to complete his Karpūravrata by procuring a Karpūra elephant for him.

Yādava history becomes obscure during the 50 years, from c. 1125 to 1175 A. D. Simharāja's son and successor Mallugi is credited with the capture of the fort of Parnakheta, probably Palkhed in Akolā district. Hemādris *praśasti* mentions Amaragāngeya, Garuḍarāja (relationship not given), Amaramallugi, another son of Mallugi, and Kāliyaballāla (relationship not stated) as the next rulers. We are further informed that the sons of Kāliyaballāla could not succeed him as his uncle Bhillama superseded them. In addition to these rulers, epigraphic evidence shows⁴ that a Yādava prince named Seṇacandra was ruling in Nāśik district in 1142 A.D., but his relationship to any of

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¹Between Vāduga and Bhillama II, a ruler named Dhāḍiyaśa had intervened, but his precise relationship to Bhillama is uncertain. He may have been his elder brother. His name is omitted in epigraphs.

²Her father Gogi ruled in Lāṭa or Southern Gujarāt, I.A. XII p. 200. He cannot be identified with the Śilāhāra prince Goggi as he flourished two generations earlier.

³Hemādri does not really refer to any ruler between Vesugi and Bhillama III. Arjuna is introduced merely as an object of comparison in v. 29 of the *Praśasti*.

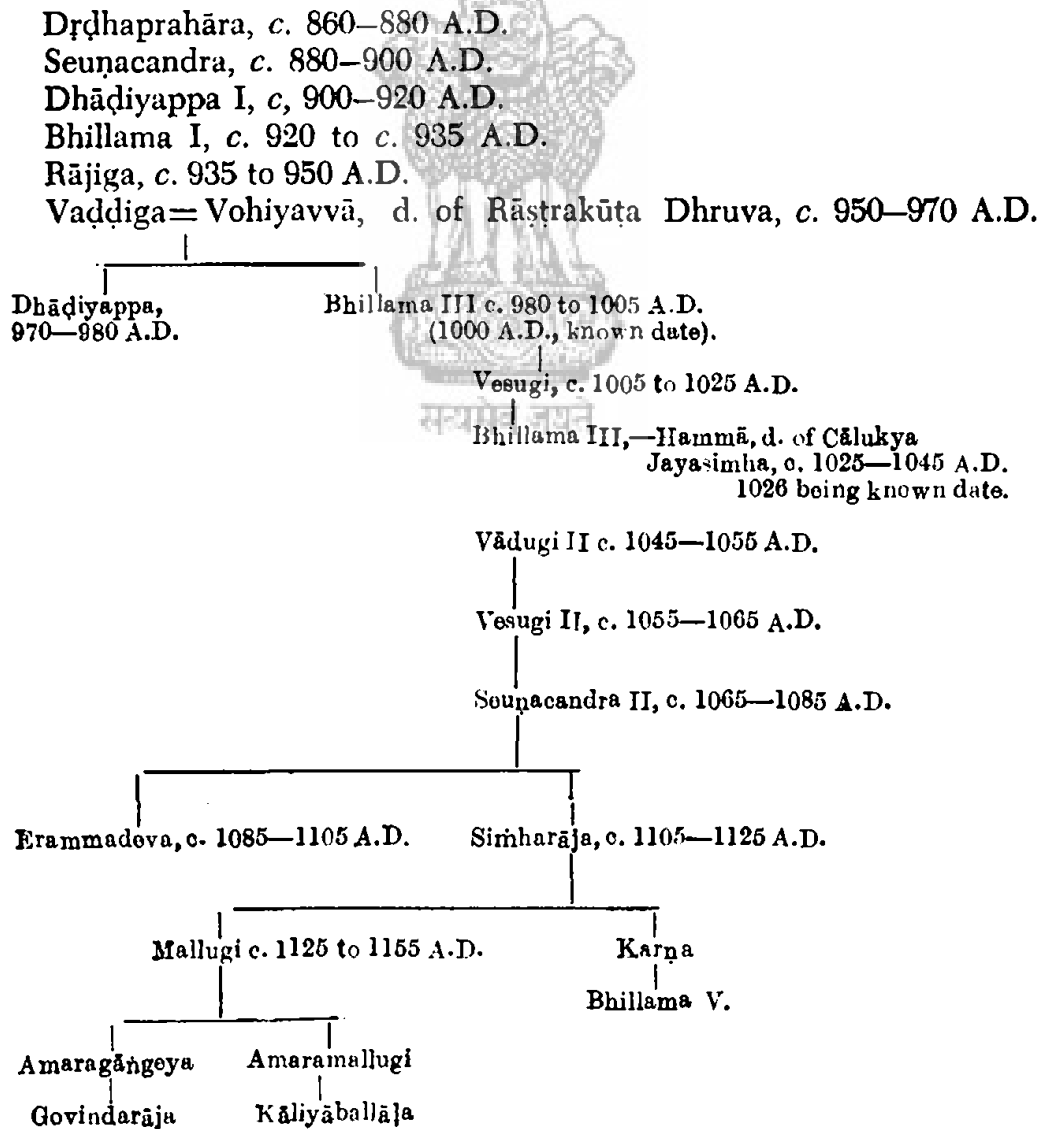
⁴Añjaneri Inscription, I.A., XII, p. 126.

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the above four rulers is not known. Probably he belonged to a collateral branch, for Mallugi seems to have ruled from c. 1120 to 1155 A.D., as his general Dādā and the latter's son Mahīdhara are described as terror to the army of the Kalacuri upstart Bijjana. Mallugi seems to have sided with his sovereign Taila III in his war with Bijjana. Govindarāja of unknown pedigree, who ruled between the reign of Amaragāṅgeya and Amaramallugi, the two sons of Mallugi, was probably an upstart. The same may have been the case with Kāliya-ballāḷa, who succeeded Amaramallugi.

While these weak rivals were contending against one another, Bhillama V appeared on the scene and snatched the throne for himself. A contemporary record describes him as the son of Karṇa¹, but Hemādri, who wrote a hundred years later, states that he was an uncle of Ballāḷa. Probably the term uncle is used rather loosely, and Karṇa, the father of Bhillama V, may have been the son not of Mallugi, but of a brother of his.

We give below the genealogy and chronology of the early Yādava rulers.



(¹) Añjane ri Inscription, *J. A.*, XII, p. 126.

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We have stated above that the accession of Bhillama took place in c. 1175 A.D. Some of his records¹ however indicate that 1183-84 A.D. was the first year of his reign, while others show² that it was 1187-88. It is likely that the former of the above years is the date of his overthrow of Ballāḷa and the latter, of his assumption of the imperial titles by the defeat of the Cālukyas and the Kalacuris. C. 1175 would mark the commencement of his career as a ruler in the new principality that he carved at the beginning of his career.

A number of political feats have been ascribed to Bhillama V by Hemādri; others are referred to by the records issued by him or his successors. All these exploits cannot be accommodated in the short space of four or eight years. Bhillama was either a son or a nephew of Mallugi, who died in c. 1170. We may, therefore, assume that Bhillama started his career soon after his death, but first proceeded to carve out a principality outside the ancestral Yādava kingdom, so as to avoid conflict with his cousins. And times were favourable for this step; because the Kalacuri kingdom was torn with internal dissensions, as we have seen already.

Very probably Bhillama began his career by conquering the fort of Śrīvardhana and storming the fort of Pratyantagada (Pracaṇḍagaḍa or Tornā). He then proceeded southwards and killed the local ruler at Maṅgaḷveḍhe in Solāpūr district.³ These feats made him the ruler of portions of Poonā, Solāpūr, and Ratnāgiri districts. Bhillama's self-acquired kingdom had thus become much larger than the ancestral patrimony of his cousins in Khāndeś. When incessant conflict between the contending brothers and cousins and upstarts began to produce a chaos in the ancestral Yādava kingdom in Nāsik, Bhillama intervened and setting aside all the weak contendants, he ascended the throne himself. This he probably did in 1184 A.D., which is given as the first year of his reign by some records.

Bhillama is definitely known to have fought against the Gurjaras and the Mālavas as also against the Kalacuris and the Hoysaḷas. It appears likely that he spent the first few years after his usurpation in his wars in the north. His Muttugi record, dated 1189 A.D., describes him as 'a severe pain in the head of the Mālavas and the dread roar of a cloud to the swan flocks, the Gurjaras.' His wars against these two powers⁴ may be placed between 1184-88 A.D.

The situation in Gujarāt and Mālva was at this time favourable for an outside invader. Mūlarāja, the contemporary Cālukya ruler, was a mere child and Vindhyavarman, the Paramāra king, had just succeeded in rescuing his province from the domination of the Cālukyas. His struggle with the Cālukyas, though successful, had weakened him. And both kingdoms were also apprehending Muslim invasion from the north.

¹A. S. I. A. R., 1930-34, p. 224.

²E.C. Muttugi inscription, *E.I.* XV, p. 37; *I. A.*, IV, p. 274.

³Hemādri's *prafastī*, v. 38.

⁴These are also referred to in a Pāṭaṇ inscription, *E. I.*, I, p. 341 and in the *Sūktimuktāvalī* v. 12 General Jalhana was the right-hand man of Bhillama in these campaigns.

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There is no doubt that Bhillama invaded both Mālṡā and Gujarāt, and penetrated right up to Mārṡāḍ ; for a record of the Cāhamāna king Kelhaṇa of Naddūla in Jodhpūr state, claims to have defeated Bhillama¹. Bhillama's invasion was however a mere raid, and he returned home from Mārṡāḍ as he was far away from his base and was meeting with stubborn opposition.

The claim of the Muttugi record that Bhillama had defeated the kings of Aṅga (Bhāgalpūr), Vaṅga (Bengal), Pāñcāla (Rohilkhand) and Nepāla is probably a mere boast ; there is so far no evidence to show that his armies had ever gone to the east of Mālṡā or to the north of Mārṡāḍ.

The daring and successful raid into Mārṡāḍ across Mālṡā and Gujarāt must have inspired Bhillama with a new confidence in his powers and he must have decided to make a bid for the imperial position in the Deccan, for which a struggle was going on between the Kalacuris, the Cālukyas and the Hoysaḷas. The details of this conflict have been already given elsewhere and need not be repeated. Someśvara, the last Cālukya king, had to face a Hoysaḷa invasion from the south and a Yādava attack from the north. His Brahmaṇa general had scored a victory over the Hoysaḷa king Viraballāḷa on an earlier occasion and so he probably decided to measure his strength against him first. The elephant phalanx of his army was however outmanoeuvred by the swift cavalry divisions of the Hoysaḷas and Someśvara was completely routed. He had not the guts to reorganise his forces and offer a fresh resistance. He returned to Jayantipūr or Banavāsī and lived there a precarious existence with the assistance of his Kadamba feudatory Kāmadeva down to 1189 A.D.

Bhillama V intervened in the struggle probably just at this time. He found the whole field open before him. He marched forward and occupied Kalyāṇī, the Cālukya capital, before Viraballāḷa's victorious army could occupy that city². He then proceeded southwards and attacked Viraballāḷa. Though the latter's forces were flushed with success, they were routed out by Bhillama and were pursued right up to Hassan district in Mysore State. Hemādri's claim that Bhillama killed the king of the Hoysaḷas is unfounded, if it refers to Viraballāḷa himself, for he is known to have ruled down to c. 1220.

Probably a collateral scion of the Hoysaḷa royal family fell in this battle. Periya Sāhaṇa, the commander-in-chief of the cavalry divisions who had taken a leading part in the campaign, was put in charge of the conquered districts. Some of Bhillama's records show that he started a new reckoning of his regnal years from 1187 A.D. This year may be the year of his occupation of Kalyāṇī and the victory over Viraballāḷa.

Kalyāṇī, the Cālukya capital, was too near the Hoysaḷa frontier. We, therefore find Bhillama transferring the capital to the new fort

¹ दक्षिणाधीशोदञ्चभिल्लमनुपतेमनिहम् ।

² E. I., IX, p. 77. 1165 and 1192 A. D. are the earliest and the latest dates of Kelhana.

³ Hoysaḷa records do not claim for Ballāḷa the conquest of Kalyāṇī, while Hemādri expressly credits Bhillama with the storming of the Cālukya capital (V. 38).

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city of Devagiri, which was more centrally situated and was in the heart of Mahārāṣṭra. Hemādri expressly mentions Bhillama as the founder of Devagiri and a record of his successor, dated 1196 A.D., described the city as the capital of the new empire¹.

Viraballāla was not disheartened by his defeat. He decided to make a fresh bid for the hegemony of the Deccan and managed to reconquer Banavāsī and Nolaṃbavādī within a couple of years. Bhillama realised the significance of the new move and marched down to meet the invader in Dhārwar district with a strong force, of 2,00,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry². We find him encamped in Dhārwar district in June 1191. Soon after this date the two contending armies met in a fateful battle near Soratur in Dhārwar district and Bhillama was completely defeated in it. He had to beat a hasty retreat from the battle field where a large number of his soldiers perished. His general Jaitrapāla tried to stem the tide of victory by defending the fort of Lokkiguṇḍi (Lokkuṇḍi); he was defeated and killed in battle. Ballāla captured a number of forts like Yelburgā, Gutti and Belatṭage and occupied all the territory to the south of the Kṛṣṇā and the Malaprabhā.³ Bhillama died towards the end of 1191 A.D. probably due to a broken heart⁴.

The tragic end of Bhillama should not however blind us to his greatness as a warrior and statesman. He was a self-made man. He managed to carve out a small kingdom for himself in portions of Poonā, Śolāpūr and Ratnāgiri districts, almost unaided. He managed to penetrate right up to Mārvād in one of his daring raids. He intervened in the struggle for the supremacy of the Deccan just at the right moment and frustrated the plans of the Hoysaḷas to conquer Kalyāṇī and become the emperors of the Deccan. His armies succeeded in occupying the Rāicūr Doāb for some time. It is true that he was overthrown at the end. But his armies were defeated and not annihilated; for Viraballāla did not dare to cross the Kṛṣṇā and attack either Kalyāṇī or Devagiri. To conclude, like most other founders of empires, Bhillama was a soldier, a statesman and a man of tact and vision.

Before concluding, we may refer to an interesting story narrated in *Prthvirāja-rāso* of king Prthvirāja carrying away in a *svayamvara*, Śaśivratā, daughter of the Yādava king Bhānu of Devagiri, who had fallen in love with him, but whom her father wanted to wed to somebody else. Prthvirāja was a contemporary of Bhillama, and Yādava king Bhānu of Devagiri mentioned by Canda Bhārdāi may well have been Bhillama. But until more substantial evidence becomes available, it will be difficult to state whether Bhillama was really a father-in-law of Prthvirāja Cauhāna.

¹A. S. I. A. R., 1929-30, p. 170.

²E. C., XI, Dg. No. 25; The *Vyavahārakaṇṭha* gives an interesting example based upon the fate of the soldiers of the cavalry force of 12,000; I. H. Q. IV, p. 127.

³E. I., XIII, p. 176.

⁴The claim of a Hoysaḷa record that the head of Bhillama, was made a grind stone for his sword by Ballāla (E. C., VI, Belur No. 771) would suggest that the Yādava king was killed on the battle field. But this record is dated in 1198, and the Gadag inscription, dated in 1192 A.D. and so issued immediately after the battle, states that the Hoysaḷa king had killed Jaitrasimha in action. It is silent about the fate of Bhillama, which would not have been the case, if he had really been killed in action the year before.

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JAITUGI.

Bhillama was succeeded by his son Jaitugi towards the end of 1191 A.D. The situation at his accession was very critical, for the Hoysaḷa ruler Ballāḷa was expected to follow up his victories by a march against Kalyāṇi and Devagiri. Jaitugi however so reorganised his forces that Ballāḷa did not venture beyond the Kṛṣṇā-Malaprabhā line, which was tacitly accepted as the boundary between the Yādava and Hoysaḷa kingdom by the two parties.

The Kākatīyas of Warrangal were the feudatories of the Later Cālukyas. But they had not transferred their allegiance to the Yādavas. Nay, the Kākatīya king Rudra exploited the defeat of Bhillama by the Hoysaḷas by sending an expedition into the Yādava kingdom under his brother Mahādeva.¹ When the affairs on the Kṛṣṇā front became settled down by c. 1194, Jaitugi retaliated by a hurricane invasion of the Kākatīya kingdom, in which king Rudra was killed² and his nephew Gaṇapati, son of Mahādeva, was taken captive. Mahādeva continued the resistance with the assistance of his Raṣerla general Rudra, but he also was killed in battle³. For a time, the Kākatīya kingdom was completely occupied by the Yādavas, but following the usual policy recommended in Hindu works of polity, Jaitugi restored it to Gaṇapati who was a captive with him, in c. 1198 A.D.⁴ on the condition of behaving as a loyal feudatory. Gaṇapati kept that promise for a long time. Śaṅkara, who figures as General and Premier of Jaitugi in a Bijāpūr record⁵ of 1196, probably played an important role in the campaign against the Kākatīyas and was rewarded with the fief of Tardevāḍi 1000. Jaitugi had other able military officers under him; his northern frontier was vigilantly watched by the able Nikumbha brothers with their headquarters in Khāndeś. It may be passingly mentioned that Lakṣmidhara, a son of Bhāskaracārya, the famous astronomer, was a court poet of Jaitugi.

One epigraph credits Jaitugi with victories over the Pāṇḍyas, the Coḷas, the Mālavas, the Lāṭas, the Gurjaras, the Turuṣkas, and the kings of Pāñcāla and even Nepāḷa⁶. Most of these victories seem to be more imaginary than real. It is however possible that some frontier skirmishes may have occurred between the Yādavas and their northern neighbours, in Mālṡā and Gujarāt, in which victory may have lain on the side of Jaitugi. But his armies never penetrated deep into Mālṡā or Gujarāt and could hardly have seen the frontiers either of Pāñcāla or of Nepāḷa.

Epigraphs give conflicting dates about the end of the reign of Jaitugi. But it appears most probable that his son Siṅghaṇa succeeded him in 1210 A.D.⁷ The dates 1197 and 1207, suggested by some

¹Garavapāḍa inscription, *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 351.

²Hemādri's *prastāvi*, v. 41. *Raudrasya* in the verse is a mistake for *Rudrasya*.

³Palampet record, *Hy. Arc. Sur.*, Vol. III.

⁴1198 works out to be the initial year of the long reign of Gaṇapati. A contemporary record shows that he was actually ruling in 1203 A.D., *Corpus of Telingaṇa Inscriptions*, p. 40.

⁵Referred to in *B. G.*, I. p. 521.

⁶This date is supported by Kadkal record, *I. A.*, XII, p. 100 and Kuptaru and Elevata inscriptions, *E. C.*, VIII, Sorab Nos. 250 and 402.

⁷Mangoli inscription, *E. I.*, Vol. p. 53.

records¹ as the initial year of the reign of Siṅghaṇa may probably refer to his participation in the administration as a *de facto* and *de jure* Yuvarāja.

Siṅghaṇa, who was the next ruler of the dynasty, had received long and valuable training in administration under his father. For more than ten years, he had acted as crown prince and had taken active part in shaping and carrying out the policy of the State. His creditable share³ in the successful operations against the Kākatīyas had aroused his military ambition. He was determined to curb the power of the turbulent feudatories and to avenge the defeat inflicted on his house by the Hoysaḷas. He turned out to be the ablest emperor and the most powerful general of his dynasty; under his stewardship, the Yādava empire reached the zenith of its prestige and became as extensive as the old Cālukya Empire. He fully deserved the title *prauḍhapratāpacakravartin*, which is given to him in his records.

We have seen above that the Kṛṣṇā-Malaprabhā line had become the boundary between the Yādava and the Hoysaḷa kingdom as a result of the crushing defeat inflicted on the Yādavas at Sorāṭur. Siṅghaṇa had already crossed this border in 1206, defeated king Ballāḷa, annexed a part of Bijāpūr district and put his general Keśavadāsa in its charge⁴. After his accession he continued the war with redoubled energy. He himself directed the military operations and wrested away the districts of Dhārwar, Anantpūr, Bellāry, Citaldurga and Śimogā from the Hoysaḷas and annexed them to his kingdom⁵. *Sarvādhikārī* Māyideva was appointed the governor of the new territory⁶. We find him succeeded by Veṅka Rāvuta, an officer hailing from Karhād, in 1222 A.D. Inscriptions of Yādava rulers down to the time of the last king Rāmacandra refer to a number of Yādava feudatories or imperial officers ruling in this territory; it is clear that it became a part and parcel of the Yādava kingdom and that Hoysaḷas reconciled themselves to its loss.

The campaign against the Hoysaḷas came to an end by c. 1215 A.D. Then there was a conflict with the Śilāhāras of Kolhāpūr. As usual the cause of this war was the imperial ambition of the opposing rulers. Bhoja's father Vijayāditya had played the role of the king-maker when he had helped Bijjala to oust Taila III. This naturally aroused imperial ambition in his son Bhoja (c. 1175-1216 A.D.⁷). Emboldened by the reverses of the Yādavas at the

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The Yādavas of
Devagiri.

SINGHANA.
(1210-1247).²

Campaign
against the
Hoysaḷas.

Annexation
of Kolhāpūr
and Śaundattī.

¹1197 is suggested by a record noticed in *A. S. I. A. R.*, 1928-29 p. 172 and 1207 by another noticed, *ibid.* at p. 175. 1196 is the latest known date of Jaitugi noticed in *B. G. I.* p. 521, n. 3.

²Tāsgāṇy plates, v. 5 marks the interesting disclosure that Siṅghaṇa was so named because he was regarded as a favour of the goddess Narasimbi of Parnakheṭa, *S. M. H. D.* III, p. 12.

³A few late records credit him with cutting the head of one Tolaṅga king and putting another on the throne (Munoli Inscr., *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XII, 42, Chikka Sakuna Inscr., *M. A. S. R.*, 1929, p. 143). This is obviously due to his having co-operated with his father in the operations against Mahādeva.

⁴*S. I. E. R.*, 1927-28; appendix E, No. 264.

⁵See Gadag inscr., *I. A.*, p. 297, *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 221, 224, 227, 309, 376; *S. I. I.*, IX, Nos. 363-67.

⁶*E. C.*, VII, Sk. No. 97; *Hl. Nos.* 44, 49.

⁷*Ibid.*, *Hl. No.* 20.

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hands of the Hoysaḷas in 1178 A.D., he assumed imperial titles like *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Rājādhirāja* and *Paścimacakrāvartī*¹ and appears to have attacked the Yādavas when their armies were engaged in sanguinary operations against the Kākatīyas and the Hoysaḷas. Siṅghaṇa decided not to tolerate the existence of a feudatory who was entertaining imperial ambitions and had proved himself to be a thorn in his side. He attacked Kolhāpūr, the capital of Bhoja, in 1216 and captured it. Bhoja fled to the fort Parnālā (modern Panhālā), but the fort was besieged and Bhoja was taken into captivity. Siṅghaṇa annexed the entire Śilāhāra kingdom in 1217 A.D.² for Gaṇḍarāditya, the eldest son of Bhoja is not referred to as a king in any later Śilāhāra records. On the other hand Yādava records make their appearance at Kolhāpūr, from 1218; the earliest of them refers to the erection of a gate in front of the temple of Ambābāi by an officer of Siṅghaṇa.³

Not far from Kolhāpūr was a small Raṭṭa principality ruling at Saundatti. It was also annexed by Siṅghaṇa soon after 1228 A.D., which is the last known date of its last ruler Lakṣmīdeva II.

Relations
with the
Kākatīyas.

Gaṇapati, the Kākatīya ruler who had been reinstated on his paternal throne in the earlier reign, had a long reign of more than sixty years. He continued to be loyal to the Yādava overlords and participated in their Gujarāt wars⁴. Later on Gaṇapati considerably expanded his kingdom in the south and once penetrated right up to Kāñci. But this southern expansion of his kingdom did not provoke any jealousy in the mind of his overlord; on the whole the two continued to be on cordial terms, in spite of occasional frontier skirmishes⁵.

Conflict with
the Paramāras
and the
Cālukyas.

For more than thirty years after the raid of Bhīllama V into Gujarāt and Mālṡvā in c. 1185, no hostility had broken between these powers. The Yādavas were busy at their southern frontier and the Cālukyas and Paramāras were facing the Muslim onslaught. When Cālukyas received a serious blow from Quṭb-ud-din Aibak in 1194 A.D., the Paramāra king Subhaṭavarman invaded Gujarāt, obviously as a revenge for the wanton invasion of Mālṡvā by the Cālukyas half a century earlier. Bhīma was unable to withstand the attack and Subhaṭavarman was successful in compelling Siṃha, king of Lāṭa ruling at Broach, to transfer his allegiance to him. Subhaṭavarman next marched to the Gujarāt capital, which fell before his attack. He had however to soon relinquish it at the approach of relieving forces under Lavaṇaprasāda, a minister of Bhīma. Subhaṭavarman however could not be driven from southern Gujarāt, whose ruler Siṃha continued to be the feudatory both of Subhaṭavarman and his successor Arjunavarman (c. 1210–1217 A.D.)⁶.

¹I.A., X, p. 256, see also Graham, *Kolhāpūr*, p. 397 for a record where Bhoja calls himself Vikrama of Kali Age.

²S. M. H. D., III, p. 19.

³E. C., VIII, Sb. No. 135, dated 1217 A.D. refers to Siṅghaṇa as Vajra or thunderbolt to the Parnālā fort.

⁴A record of Gaṇapati, dated 1228, refers to his defeat of the Lāṭas. This must obviously refer to the Gujarāt campaign of his overlord Siṅghaṇa, in which he might have participated. *Corpus Telingana Inscriptions*, p. 52.

⁵I. A., XXI, p. 200.

⁶E. I. VIII, p. 103.

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Such was the political situation in Mālṡvā and Gujarāt, when elated by his signal victories in the south, Siṅghaṇa decided to start a northern expedition. It is not improbable that some hostile action may have been initiated by Arjunavarman, because his queen Sarvakalā was a Hoysaḷa princess, and it is but natural that the son-in-law could not have remained a passive spectator, when Siṅghaṇa was delivering blows after blows to his father-in-law. Whatever the real cause may have been, we find Siṅghaṇa invading Mālṡvā in 1216. His attack was successful and his opponent Arjunavarman seems to have died on the battle field. His short reign is seen terminating at about 1217 and Hemādri claims that Siṅghaṇa killed him on the battle field¹. After breaking the power of the Paramāras, Siṅghaṇa marched against Siṃha, king of Lāṭa. The latter was no match against the invader and retransferred his allegiance to the Cālukya Bhīma in order to secure the help of his powerful minister Lavaṇaprasāda against the southern invader. The drama *Hammīramadamardana* which refers to this alliance,² is however silent about the events that followed it. The *Kirtikaumudī*, however states that Lavaṇaprasāda compelled Siṅghaṇa to retire³. No date however is mentioned, and so we do not know whether the expulsion of the forces of Siṅghaṇa refers to his invasion of 1216 A.D. It is not impossible that Siṅghaṇa being satisfied with his achievement in Mālṡvā, may have retired after a mere show of force in southern Gujarāt. It may have been a mere reconnoitering expedition, or it may be that the tired Yādava army was really compelled to retire by the joint forces of Siṃha and Lavaṇaprasāda. This expedition of Siṅghaṇa was over by the spring of 1218 A.D., for a record in Mysore is seen proclaiming his victories in Gujarāt and Mālṡvā to his Canarese subjects as early as September 1218 A.D.⁴

Siṅghaṇa launched a fresh attack on Lāṭa in 1220 A.D. Kholeśvara, a Brāhmaṇa general hailing from Vidarbha, was put in charge of the expedition. On this occasion, Siṃha had to face the invasion single-handed; the Paramāra power had been broken and Jayantasimha, the usurper at Anahilavāḍ, was not interested in lending support to Siṃha, who was changing his allegiance so frequently. Both Siṃha and his brother Sindhurāja were killed on the battle field and the latter's son Saṅgrāmasimha alias Saṅkha, was taken prisoner. Broach fell in the hands of Siṅghaṇa, but he did not annex the Lāṭa kingdom. He soon released Saṅgrāmasimha from captivity and allowed him to rule as his feudatory. This second Gujarāt expedition of Siṅghaṇa probably came to a successful end in c. 1223⁵.

¹It may however be pointed out that some doubt arises on this point because the Bahajā inscription, dated soon after the event (1222 A.D.), refers only to the defeat of Arjunavarman, and not to his death on the battle field.

²Act I, v. 13.

³*Dakṣiṇāḥ kṣaṇipalopi ghanasainyolpavikramo hyena tadviparītena parityajati vighrahaṃ*, II, 75.

⁴E. C., VIII, Sk. No. 91.

⁵Ambe inscription, dated 1228 A.D., mentions the killing of Siṃha. We may therefore place the invasion a few years earlier.

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Saṅgrāmasiṃha remained steadfastly loyal to Siṅghaṇa and sought to extend his fief with the latter's support. He demanded the restoration of Cambay from Lavaṇaprasāda and twice organised expeditions to capture it¹. Vastupāla, who was appointed the governor of this port, refused to surrender it. His position was rather critical; the Gurjara dominion was at this time being threatened by the Muslims from the north. Vastupāla, however, was able to beat back the invading forces²; we do not know whether they contained any battalions sent by Saṅgrāmasiṃha's overlord Siṅghaṇa. The precise date of this event is not known, but we may not be wrong in placing it at about 1225 A.D.

The history of these events has to be mainly reconstructed from poetic works like *Vasantavilāsa*, *Kirtikaumudī* and *Hammīramadamardana*; they are more poetic than historical and do not give us any dates. The data given in the last work, however, suggest that a fresh attempt was made by Saṅgrāmasiṃha to gain his objective with the help of the Yādava ruler Siṅghaṇa and the Parmāra ruler Devapāla. A coalition between Devapāla and Siṅghaṇa looks *prima facie* improbable, but we should not forget that in politics enemies of yesterday often become friends of today owing to changed circumstances.

The joint invasion of three powers created consternation in Cambay; and the population began to flee. Being perhaps not sure that he would defeat the combined forces of the allies, Lavaṇaprasāda, who was leading the defence, sought to create dissensions in the enemy camp. He had recourse to a clever ruse. One of his spies, who had succeeded in securing service under Devapāla, managed to steal one of his horses, which was branded with its master's name. Another spy offered it to Saṅgrāmasiṃha as a present from his ally Devapāla. A third spy forged a letter, which was contrived to fall in the hands of Siṅghaṇa. This letter referred to Devapāla's present of the horse to Saṅgrāmasiṃha and assured him that he would attack Siṅghaṇa in the rear, as soon as he entered Gujarāt, so that Saṅgrāmasiṃha may get an opportunity to avenge the death of his brother, who had fallen at the hands of Siṅghaṇa. How far this story given by contemporary poets is historical, we do not know. It appears that Siṅghaṇa began to doubt the sincerity of his allies. Lavaṇaprasāda also was threatened with an invasion from the north and made overtures for peace, which were not unwelcome to Siṅghaṇa, who had now become suspicious of his allies. A treaty of mutual help and non-aggression was formed between Siṅghaṇa and Lavaṇaprasāda the text of which was probably not very different from the sample treaty between these two rulers preserved in the *Lekhāpaddhati* (p. 52). The statement in the *Kirtikaumudī* (IV 13) that Siṅghaṇa did not dare to penetrate further into Gujarāt though Lavaṇaprasāda withdrew his forces to attack the northern enemies, because the deer are afraid to traverse the path once trodded by the lion, need not be taken seriously. Siṅghaṇa

¹*Vasantavilāsa*, Cant. V.

²*Vasantavilāsa*, Cant. V and *Kirtikaumudī*, Cant. V describe the victory of Vastupāla no doubt in the poetic manner.

was probably satisfied with his booty and the formal recognition of his protectorate over Lāṭa. He therefore returned to his capital in 1231 A.D.

A few years later, probably in c. 1240 A.D., Siṅghaṇa launched a fresh attack upon Gujaraṭ, which was entrusted to Rāma, the son of Kholeśvara. Viśāladeva, who had succeeded Lavaṇaprasāda fiercely contested the crossing of the Narmadā and the general Rāma was killed in the action¹.

Probably this must have necessitated a retreat of the Yādava forces and we may well presume that the victory lay with the Gurjara chief².

Hemādri claims that Siṅghaṇa had captured an elephant corps of king Jājalla and deprived king Kakkula of his sovereignty. A Pāṭanā record, dated as early as 1206 A.D., states that kings of Mathurā and Banāras felt the sting of the Yādava power³. These claims appear to be rather tall, but they have recently received some slight support by the discovery of a small hoard of five gold coins in Rāigarh⁴ State in 1946, three of which were of Siṅghaṇa and one of Nasiruddin Mahmūd (1246-1266 A.D.)⁵. It is not unlikely that Pratāpamalla, the last known Cedi ruler of Chattisgaḍh, may have been succeeded by Jājalla III, who may have acknowledged the suzerainty of Siṅghaṇa.

It is not unlikely that Kakkula, mentioned by Hemādri, may have been a hitherto unknown ruler of that name, ruling at Tripurī⁶. In that case we shall have to assume that the kingdom of both Dakṣiṇa Kosala and Cedi came within the Yādava sphere of influence for some time. We cannot be certain whether the rulers of Mathurā and Kāśī were overthrown and a Muslim ruler was defeated by the Yādava forces. It is not unlikely that with his base at Tripurī or Jubblepore, Siṅghaṇa may have raided into the Muslim dominions. More convincing evidence will be necessary before these claims can be accepted as historically true. It is not impossible that the verse in the Pāṭanā record may be referring to some refugee rulers from Banāras and Mathurā, who had settled down in Bundelkhaṇḍ and carved small principalities there⁷. The claim of some Yādava records⁸ that either Siṅghaṇa or his general Kholeśvara, Rāma or Bicaṇa had defeated kings of Sindh, Pāñcāla, Bengal, Bihār, Keraḷa and Pāṇḍya may be dismissed as mostly imaginary.

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Invasion of
Northern
India.

¹Ambe inscr., *A. S. W. I.*, III, p. 85.

²A Gurjara record describes Viśāladeva as the submarine fire to the ocean of the army of Siṅghaṇa, (*J. A.*, VI, p. 212).

³*Pythviṣo Mathurādhipo raṇabhuvī Kaśīpatih pātitaḥ, yenāsāvapi yasya bhṛtya-baṭunā Hammiravīro jitaḥ*, *E. I. I.*, p. 340.

⁴*J. N. S. I.*, VIII, p. 146.

⁵The 5th coin was illegible.

⁶We have to add that at this time in Karnāṭak also there was a ruler named Kakkula *M. A. S. R.*, 1929, p. 142. Can he be Kakkula of Hemādri?

(Kakara was a mighty ruler of Varāṭa. This country was situated in the South, probably to the North of Mysore. See *E. I.*, Vol. XXV, p. 203 V. V. M.).

⁷Just as the Guttas of Dhārwar and the Yādavas of Devagiri called themselves as rulers of Ujjayinī and Dvāravātī respectively, though they did not rule over these places, so also those refugee rulers may have called themselves rulers of Kāśī and Mathurā, from which they had emigrated.

⁸*E. g.* Manoli inscr., 1222 A. D., *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XII, p. 4, Behatti plates, *ibid.*, p. 44.

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Singhana received valuable assistance in his conquests from two generals, Kholesvara and Bicana. The former, a Brāhmaṇa by caste, was his right-hand man in his northern expeditions. Bicana was Vaiśya, who has been compared to Yama in destruction and Viṣṇugupta in political intelligence. He kept the Raṭṭas and Kadambas under control and took prominent part in the later wars against the Hoysaḷas; he is credited to have planted a column of victory on the Kāveri. He was rewarded with the governorship over Karnāṭak.

The Yādava power reached its zenith during the reign of Singhana. Neither the Hoysaḷas nor the Kākatīyas, neither the Paramāras nor the Cālukyas could think of challenging its supremacy in the Deccan. Each of these powers was attacked by Singhana and defeated. Narmadā became the northern boundary of the Yādava empire from Broach right up to Jubblepore. Chattisgaḍh was included under its sphere of influence. The whole of Madhya Pradeśa and the Western part of the Ex-Hyderabad State were included in it. Mahārāṣṭra, and northern Mysore were its integral parts. It is a pity that with such a big empire under his control, Singhana wasted its resources in endless wars with his northern and southern neighbours. History of the Deccan would have taken a different turn, if Singhana could have risen above the traditions of his age and formed a big Deccan federation to oppose the impending southern advance of the Muslim invaders. Instead of doing this, Singhana proceeded, on more than one occasion, to stab his northern neighbours in the back when they were bleeding as a result of Muslim onslaught.

Like many other warrior kings, Singhana was also a patron of letters. Cāṅgadeva and Anantadeva, two famous astrologers, flourished in his court. The former, who was the grandson of Bhāskarācārya, founded an astrological college and the latter wrote commentaries on *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta* of Brahmagupta and *Brhajāṭaka* of Varāhamihira. *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva¹ was probably written in his court; king Simha, who has written a commentary on this work, is however not Singhana, but a chief of the Lācherlā family ruling in Āndhra country. Singhana's long reign came to an end either in November or December of 1246². His son Jaitugi, who was acting as Yuvarāja in 1229 A.D.³, had predeceased him, and so he was succeeded by the former's son Kṛṣṇa.

KRISHNA,
(1246 to 1260.)

Soon after his accession, Kṛṣṇa launched an attack against the Paramāras, whose power had been completely eclipsed by the capture of Bhilsā and Ujjayinī by Iltumush in 1235. It is a tragedy that instead of making a common cause with the Paramāra ruler Jaitugideva against the common northern foe, Kṛṣṇa should have stabbed him in the back. This attack was the first military venture of

¹The father of Śārṅgadeva, Soḍhala, was a Kāshmiri emigrant in the Deccan and held the post of Chief Secretary under Singhana.

²S. I. I., No. 367.

³See E. C., VII, Sk. No. 217 and S. I. E. R., 1926, c. p. 426, which show that 2nd November 1248 fell in the 2nd year of Kṛṣṇa's reign, but that 25th December fell in his 3rd year.

Kṛṣṇa, since Yādava records refer to the Mālava victory as early as 1250 A.D.

After his victory over the Paramāras, Kṛṣṇa invaded southern Gujarāt and attacked Viśaladeva. Each side claims victory in this war¹. Probably only inconclusive frontier skirmishes occurred in which either side may have obtained some temporary advantage over the other.

Soon after 1252 A.D., the kingdom of Gaṇapati, the Kākatiya feudatory was attacked by Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya². Kṛṣṇa's general Bicaṇa was sent to help Gaṇapati and he stemmed the invasion. Bicaṇa and his elder brother Malliseṭṭi were the mainstay of the Yādava administration; the latter rose to the position of Sarvādhikārī or Premier and was succeeded by his son Cāmuṇḍarāya. Lakṣmīdhara and his son Jahlaṇa, who hailed from Khāndeś, were among other trusted ministers. Jahlaṇa was a skilful leader of the elephant phalanx; he was also a man of literary taste and is the author of an anthology named *Sūktimuktāvali*. Another important work written at this time is *Vedāntakalpataru* of Amalānanda, which is a commentary on the *Bhāmātī*.

Kṛṣṇa had no grown up son at the time of his accession: his brother Mahādeva was functioning as Yuvarāja as early as 1250 A.D.³ The relation between the two brothers is described like that between Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Kṛṣṇa had a son named Rāmacandra, but he was probably too young to ascend the throne at the time of his father's death in 1260 A.D.⁴ The crown passed to the younger brother Mahādeva, who may perhaps have assured his dying brother that Rāmacandra would ascend the throne in due course.

Soon after his accession, Mahādeva attacked the small kingdom of the Śilāhāras of northern Koṅkaṇ. Someśvara, the last Śilāhāra king, was defeated and drowned in a naval engagement, and his kingdom was annexed; we find a Yādava governor ruling over the territory in 1273 A.D.⁵ Mahārājādhirāja Koṅkaṇa-Cakravartī, who is mentioned in a record, dated 1266, was probably a scion of the imperial Yādava family. Or alternatively we shall have to suppose that he was a collateral Śilāhāra ruler, who managed to carve a kingdom after the overthrow of Someśvara.

Mahādeva's victory over Viśaladeva, referred to in the Paiṭhaṇ plates, was probably a mere frontier raid. There was no serious conflict with the Paramāras; Hemādri states that the Mālavas put a boy upon their throne, because they knew that Mahādeva would not attack a minor. Mahādeva's victories over the Gaudas and the Utkalas, referred to in a Karnātak record, may refer to some frontier skirmishes, as Chattisgaḍh was included in the Yādava sphere of influence, since the days of Siṅghaṇa.

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(1246-1260).

MAHADEVA.
Annexation of
Northern
Śilāhāra
Kingdom.

Relation with
Northern
Powers.

¹See *E. I.*, XIX, p. 27, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XII, p. 35, *J. A.*, XIV, p. 314, *E. I.*, I, p. 28.

²*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XII, p. 42.

³*E. I.*, XIX, p. 19.

⁴12th April 1260 is his last known date; *E. I.*, XXI, p. 11.

⁵*J. R. A. S.*, V, p. 178.

⁶*E. I.*, XXVI, p. 129.

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MAHĀDEVA.

Relations with
the Kākatiyas
and the
Hoysaḷas.

In the Kākatiya kingdom, Gaṇapati was at this time succeeded by his daughter Rudrāmbā and Mahādeva could not resist the temptation of attacking her. He captured some elephants of the Kākatiya forces, and retired¹.

Narasimha II, who had ascended the Hoysaḷa throne in 1266 A.D., was a youth of twenty-two. Hoping to defeat him, Mahādeva invaded his kingdom, but was signally defeated and ignominiously driven out². Kadamba feudatories rebelled as a natural consequence of this discomfiture, but their rebellion was suppressed by the Yādava general Balige-deva³.

The premier of Mahādeva was Mahārāja Tipparasu⁴. One of his ministers was Hemādri, the famous author of the *Vratākhaṇḍa*, who was also a successful general. Kolhāpūr was being governed by Māyideva and Nolambavādī by two Brāhmaṇa brothers, Chaṭṭarāja and Kucharāja⁵. Mahāpradhāna Devarasa was in charge of southern districts. Several other officers are mentioned in his records.

Mahādeva died by the middle of 1270, and was succeeded by his son Ammaṇa.

AMMAṆA.

The accession of Ammaṇa was peaceful, but it was a signal for a fratricidal struggle. His father Mahādeva had ascended the throne in supersession of the claims of his predecessor's son Rāmacandra. The latter had now come of age and was not prepared to allow the junior branch to permanently oust the senior line. It appears that most of the senior officers and ministers were in secret sympathy with Rāmacandra.

Rāmacandra seems to have withdrawn from the capital at the accession of his cousin and organised a *coupe*. Ammaṇa, being a youth, was naturally fond of music and dance. Rāmacandra selected a few brave and resolute followers and entered the capital fort in the guise of the leader of a troupe of strolling actors. A performance was arranged before Ammaṇa, and while he was engaged in enjoying it, Rāmacandra and his followers suddenly threw off their masks and seized Ammaṇa and his principal supporters. This *coupe* could not have been successful, if the sympathies of the leading officers were not with Rāmacandra⁶. Ammaṇa was thrown into prison and blinded. He soon died in prison and it was suspected that his end was hastened by his cousin⁷.

¹Hemādri (v. 14) states that Mahādeva refrained from pressing his victory home, because his opponent was a woman; why then did he attack her?

²*E. C.*, IV, Ngm No. 9; V, Chn. No. 269. These records give the Hoysaḷa version.

³*E. C.*, VII, Sk. No. 41; XI, Dg. No. 79.

⁴*E. C.*, XI, Dg. No. 102.

⁵*E. C.*, VII, Ci. No. 21.

⁶The account of this *coupe* appears rather improbable, but since it is given in a contemporary record of Rāmacandra himself, (*E. I.*, XXV, p. 290) we can accept it as historical. Bhānuvilāsa, a Mahānubhāva work, however, states that Rāmacandra took his brother unawares while on a hunting expedition and effected his capture.

⁷Our authorities here are mostly Mahānubhāva works like *Līlācarita* (Līla, No. 725) *Nāgadevacarita* of Paraśurāma Vyāsa.

The accession of Rāmacandra which took place in the latter half of 1271¹ A.D., was hailed by the officers and general public as the enthronement of the rightful heir. The new ruler felt himself quite secure on the throne and embarked upon conquests in the very first year of his reign.

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Rāmacandra signalised his accession² by a wanton attack upon his northern neighbour, the Mālava king Arjunavarman, who had been engaged in a conflict with his minister. He scored an easy victory.

War with the
Paramāras
and
Cālukyas.

To avenge the defeat sustained by the Yādava forces in the reign of Mahādeva, Rāmacandra organised a big expedition against the Hoysaḷas and entrusted it to his able general Tikkamarasa. The Yādava forces penetrated up to Belavādī, almost on the outskirts of the Hoysaḷa capital Dvārasamudra. Beating back the Hoysaḷa forces under Anka and Māyideva, Tikkamarasa pushed right up to the capital and besieged it in January 1276. The situation was however saved by a courageous sally of Ankeya Nāyaka, the son of Hoysaḷa commander-in-chief. The Yādava forces were driven back, and if we are to accept the Hoysaḷa version, Saḷuva Tikkama fled in haste and disgrace leaving behind a lot of equipment³. In a record of his own, Tikkama claims to have reduced Dvārasamudra; he is seen building a temple of Viṣṇu at Harihar in 1277 in commemoration of his victory over the Hoysaḷas⁴. This must refer to his successes in the earlier part of the Hoysaḷa war.

War with Hoysaḷas

When freed from his southern commitments, Rāmacandra planned expansion in the north-east. In the reign of Siṅghaṇa, the Yādavas had conquered Jubblepore and Chatisgaḍh, but had lost their hold over these territories later. Rāmacandra's armies first captured Vajrākara (probably Vairagaḍh, 80 miles North-east of Cāndā); then Bhāṇḍāgāra or Bhaṇḍārā (40 miles east of Nāgpūr) and then penetrated to Tripurī near Jubblepore. The Puruṣottamapurī plates of Rāmacandra⁵ claim that Rāmacandra captured Banāras. Since the Yādava ruler is credited with having built a temple to God Sārṅgadara at Banāras, its capture may be taken as a historical fact. After the death of Balban in 1286 A.D., Delhi had lost its firm hold over the outlying provinces and there is nothing inherently improbable in Rāmacandra having held Banāras under his control for a short time. His forces may have withdrawn after the accession of Jalāluddin Khiljī. The claim to the conquest of Kanauj and Kailāsa is probably not sustainable. This daring expedition of Rāmacandra to Banāras may be placed between 1286 and 1290 A.D. While his forces were engaged in it, there were rebellions in Mahā-

Capture of
Banāras.

¹Some late records (C. G., E. C., VIII, Sb. 209) suggest that Rāmacandra began to rule in 1270. This may be due to the desire to ignore the reign of Ammaṇa.

²Victory over the Paramāras is mentioned in the Paṭhaṇ plates issued in the 2nd year of the king's reign.

³E. C., V, Belūr, pp. 120, 165, 167.

⁴Mysore Inscription, p. 44.

⁵E. I., XXV, p. 199.

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rāṣṭra at Khed, Saṅgamner and Māhim, which were however quelled by the king's sons.

The Yādava power began to decline with the commencement of the Muslim attack in 1294 A.D. When the power of the Paramāras and Cālukyas, who were the northern neighbours of the Yādavas, was being shattered during the last quarter of the 13th century, the Yādavas should have realised that their turn would come next and tried to organise a Deccan federation to resist the apprehended attack. Instead, they went on picking quarrels with all their neighbours at every step, which created intense hatred against them in the mind of the Paramāras, Cālukyas, the Hoysaḷas and the Kākatīyas. The Muslims thus could attack each of these states separately and establish their supremacy.

The first Muslim raid took place in 1294 under Allāuddin, the cousin of the Khiljī emperor Jalāluddin. The Muslim chroniclers usually represent that this expedition was dictated by Allāuddin's desire to amass wealth in order to win the throne. Allāuddin was however the governor of Kārā-Mānikpūr, which must have suffered from Rāmacandra's raid on Banāras above described. The desire to punish him for this affront may also have been another motive in the mind of Allāuddin.

Allāuddin had very carefully planned his expedition. He decided to march only when his spies had assured him that the main Yādava army was far away in the south. He first gave out that he was leading a punitive expedition against Canderī and then professed that he was going to Rājamahendri to seek service, as he could not pull on with his uncle. He pitched his camps usually near forests to attract least attention.

It was only when he reached Lacur, only about eighty miles from Devagiri, that his advance was opposed by the Yādava Governor, who sent report about it to the Central Government. Allāuddin however, easily overcame the governor's opposition and reached Devagiri with a lightning speed.

Rāmacandra was taken completely by surprise. His army was away at the Hoysaḷa frontier. He could only raise a militia of about 4,000 which was easily defeated by Allāuddin, who had a force of about 6,000 to 8,000 horse. Rāmacandra then retired into the fort, which he intended to hold out till his crown prince returned from the south. The fort however was not properly provisioned and Rāmacandra therefore was compelled to sue for peace. Allāuddin agreed to return on receiving an indemnity of 1500 lbs. of gold, a large quantity of pearls and jewels, 40 elephants and several thousand horses. Rāmacandra agreed to pay an annual tribute and also gave one of his daughters in marriage to the victor.

Allāuddin succeeded in exacting these terms within a fortnight and was about to depart when the Crown prince Saṅkaradeva, who had been urgently summoned, returned with the main army. Muslim historians are not agreed as to what happened on his arrival. Later historians like Feriṣṭā narrate that in spite of his father's advice to

the contrary Saṅkara reopened hostilities, but was defeated by Allāuddin, who then imposed a heavier indemnity. Isāmī however states that Saṅkaradeva accepted his father's advice and desisted from a fresh attack.

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The signal success which crowned Allāuddin's expedition hardly reflects any credit on the Yādava administration. In spite of the repeated Muslim attacks on the Paramāras and the Cālukyas, it had not taken any precaution to garrison the Vindhyan passes; its capital lay without any adequate defence. The administration was completely paralysed; and it could not think of surrounding and destroying the invading force when it was retiring through the little known passes surrounded by jungles.

Rāmacandra's discomfiture was a signal for his southern neighbours to stab him in the back; they exploited his defeat just as he had taken the full advantage of the misfortunes of the Paramāras and the Cālukyas, when their power had been shattered by the Muslim attack. Pratāparudra, the Kākatīya king, attacked Rāmacandra and snatched away the districts of Raicūr and Anantpūr from him. Hoysaḷa king Ballāḷa invaded the Yādava kingdom and annexed Santalege 1000 and Banavāsī 12,000 in 1303.

When Pratāparudra succeeded in defeating the armies of Allāuddin marching against him in 1304, a section of the Yādava court headed by the Crown prince Saṅkaradeva felt that the Muslim power was declining, and prevailed upon Rāmacandra to stop the annual tribute. Saṅkaradeva incurred further wrath of Allāuddin by deciding to accept the hand of the Cālukya princess Devaladevī, whom Allāuddin wanted to be married to his own Crown-prince.

Allāuddin decided to send a punitive expedition against the Yādavas in 1307. One army was sent under Malik Ahmad Jhitam to capture Devaladevī and another under Malik Kāfur to reimpose the imperial authority over the Yādavas. Isāmī's statement that Rāmacandra had sent a secret message to the Sultān informing him that he was a mere prisoner in the hands of his crown prince, seems to be correct. For when after defeating the Yādava army, Malik Kāfur sent king Rāmacandra as a prisoner to Delhī, Allāuddin treated him with great courtesy and consideration. He regranted his kingdom to him, gave him the title of Rāi-i-Rāyān and sanctioned him the revenues of Navasīrā as a personal Jāgir.

Rāmacandra was deeply moved by this treatment and remained genuinely loyal to Allāuddin throughout his life. He offered full facilities to the armies of his suzerain, when they attacked Warraṅgaḷ in 1309. Two years later he directed his general Puruṣottama to guide the imperial forces by convenient routes to the border of the Hoysaḷa kingdom besides supplying it with immense provisions. Loyalty alone was perhaps not responsible for this conduct. The Hoysaḷas were the hereditary enemies of the Yādavas and had recently stabbed them in the back, when humbled by the Muslim defeat. Like Ambhī of

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Taxilā, Rāmacandra desired that the invader should annihilate the power of this neighbour, who was always a thorn in his sides.

Rāmacandra died in 1311¹ A.D. after a long reign of 41 years. Like most of his other contemporaries he could not comprehend the natural consequences of the Muslim expansion. Rāmacandra's defeat in 1294 A.D. was due to his being taken by surprise; but he could have retrieved the situation by leading a federation of the Deccan powers against the northern invader. Personal jealousies and hereditary dynastic enmities had however so embittered the feelings of the different Deccan kings that a plan for joint action could hardly have come within the realm of practical politics.

A number of authors flourished in the time of Rāmacandra. Hemādri continued to serve under him and wrote *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*. Jñāneśvara completed his famous Marāṭhī commentary on the Gītā* during his reign in 1290. A number of Marāṭhī works were written by the authors and saints of the new school of the Mahānubhāvas.

Śaṅkaradeva.

Śaṅkaradeva, the crown-prince, succeeded his father on his death. He had two brothers, Bīm̐ba and Ballāḷa; the former was the viceroy of southern Gujārāt and the latter of southern Mahārāṣṭra.

We have seen already how Śaṅkaradeva was all along opposed to his father's policy of meek submission to Delhī. When therefore he himself became the king, he immediately repudiated the overlordship of Allāuddin and declared independence. We cannot but admire the courage of Śaṅkaradeva; the sources of tiny Devagiri were nothing as compared to those of the mighty Delhī empire, whose armies had by this time acquired the reputation of invincibility. Allāuddin once more sent Malik Kāfur to put down the rebellion; he easily defeated Śaṅkaradeva and put him to death. Yādava kingdom was now annexed and Malik Kāfur was appointed its governor. He stayed at Devagiri for three years and reorganised the administration.

END OF THE
YADAVAS.

When Allāuddin fell seriously ill in 1315, Malik Kāfur hastened to Delhī with the Muslim garrison. Harapāladeva, probably, a son-in-law of Rāmacandra, and Rāghava, a minister under the same king, boldly came forward to reestablish the Yādava power. The resurrected Yādava kingdom could last for about two years only. For, when Qutb-ud-din Mubārak Shāh got a firm hold over the Delhī administration, he marched against Devagiri in 1318, and crushed the rebellion. Harapāla was taken prisoner and put to death. Thus ended the Yādava power, which had dominated the Deccan history for more than a century.

¹His latest known date is September 1310, supplied by the Puruṣottampuri plates.

* Viz. Jñāneś'varī

CHAPTER 11

SOCIETY, RELIGION AND CULTURE*

500 A.D. TO 1200 A.D.

VARNA-VYAVASTHA OR THE CASTE SYSTEM CONTINUED TO BE THE SALIENT FEATURE of the Hindu society during this period as well. The usual theoretical number of the main castes is, of course, four, namely the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras. It is, however, strange that Greek writers like Megasthenes and Strabo as well as Muslim writers like Ibn Khurdadba and Al Idrisi agree in mentioning the number to be seven; although the castes enumerated by them are, by no means, identical. The Greek ambassador does not include any of the untouchables in his castes; while the Muslim writers enumerate at least two of them among the depressed classes. Alberuni, however, maintains that the number of castes was sixteen. In addition to the four well-known ones, he has included five semi-untouchables and seven untouchables. The actual number of castes and sub-castes of our age was, however, more than sixteen, as is indicated by the Smṛtis of our period. The statements of these writers have to be examined, in view of the valuable evidence afforded by the Dharmaśāstra literature, before being completely relied on.

Ibn Khurdadba, who died in 912 A.D., mentions the following seven castes :—(1) Sabkufriya (spelt differently in manuscripts as Sabakferya or Sarikufria), (2) Brahma, (3) Katariya, (4) Sudariya, (5) Baisura, (6) Sandalia and (7) Lahud¹. Al Idrisi's seven castes are almost identical with these with the exception of the seventh caste which, according to him, is Zakya and not Lahud. Both of them agree in saying that the members of this (i.e. seventh) caste were dancers, tumblers and players by profession. It has to be borne in mind that the order of enumeration of these castes is not given according to their relative status or importance. Among these, Brahma, Sudariya, Baisura and Sandalia appear to be the same as Brāhmaṇas, Sūdras, Vaiśyas and Cāṇḍālas. Katariyas are the same

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¹ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, pages 16-17.

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as Kṣatriyas as is clear from the fact that they could drink three cups of wine and their daughters could be married by the Brāhmaṇas. Sabkufriyas, very probably, are the same as Satkṣatriyas; because the Muslim writers tell us that kings were chosen from them and they were regarded as superior to all castes. The distinction between Katariyas and Sabkufriyas reminds one of the distinction between the Kṣatriyas and the Rājanyas of the earlier period.

Alberuni gives a more detailed and interesting account of the caste system. After mentioning the usual four principal castes, he mentions Antyajas divided into eight classes or guilds viz. (1) the washerman, (2) the shoemaker, (3) the juggler, (4) the basket and shield-maker, (5) the sailor, (6) the fisherman, (7) the hunter of wild animals and birds and finally (8) the weaver. The four principal castes do not live with these in one and the same place. These guilds, therefore, live near the villages and towns of four castes but outside them. Alberuni also mentions Hadi, Domba, Cāṇḍāla and Badhātu considered as one sole class distinguished by their occupations consisting of service and dirty work.

It must be admitted that Alberuni's eight-fold classes appear to be untouchables and most of these were pronounced to be so by some of the later Smṛtis like Aṅgiras, Atri, Āpastamba etc. Alberuni's statement about the weaver being regarded as untouchable is not supported by Smṛti literature. Granting Alberuni's statement would amount to the fact that the famous weaving industry in ancient India was a monopoly of the untouchables, which is highly improbable. Statements in Brhad-Yama Smṛti and Āpastamba Smṛti, however, lead us to believe that a section among weavers dealing with manufacture of red and blue cloth was held in low estimation. Among the remaining three, namely, Hadi, Domba and Badhātu, what section is meant by Hadi is not quite clear. Dombas were untouchables as is proved by the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. Alberuni's Badhātu is an *apabhraṁśa* of *vadhaka* or the executioner, who, according to the Dharmaśāstra literature, is undoubtedly included among the untouchables.

Although epigraphical records of our period do not give any idea of the intensity of the notion of untouchability, Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī throws a flood of light on the subject during our period. And as Kalhaṇa is supported by the Smṛti literature, it can be safely assumed that similar ideas prevailed in the South as well. In the Rājatarāṅgiṇī V 77, a Cāṇḍāla or sweeper is found refraining from touching a child on the road through fear of polluting it; in fact he requests a Śūdra woman to pick it up and rear it. The untouchables could not enter the audience hall. This makes the King Candravarman hear the shoemaker's complaint in the outer courtyard (IV-62). Even conversation with untouchables led to pollution according to some sections of society. This is the reason of the agitation of King Candrāpīḍa when he began to talk to a shoemaker (IV-67). In short, the notion of untouchability was very deep-rooted.

Coming to the position of the higher castes, all castes including the Brāhmaṇas paid homage to the members of Sabkufriya caste, from whom rulers were chosen. This should not be interpreted as giving support to the contention of the Buddhists and the Jains, that the Kṣatriyas, as a whole, were superior to the Brāhmaṇas. The average Kṣatriya did not enjoy a social status to that of an average Brāhmaṇa. On the contrary, the Brāhmaṇas were regarded as superior to the rest of the population. Respect for actual rulers and their descendents shown by the Brāhmaṇas irrespective of the caste to which they belonged, is, by no means, unnatural.

The Brāhmaṇa community of our period followed a number of professions. Al Idrisi describes Brāhmaṇas dressed in tiger-skins addressing the public about God and his nature. These are called *iṣṭins* by Alberuni. Epigraphical records also confirm this. Many of the Brāhmaṇas were engaged in carrying on their Scriptural duty namely teaching and conducting schools and colleges. Abu Zahid informs us that mostly jurists, astrologers, mathematicians, poets and philosophers were members of this class.¹ Administrative civil posts were also largely filled by Brāhmaṇas. Ministers and officers of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kings were chosen from this class. There are reasons to assume that Brāhmaṇas were largely seen in Government service. It is true the Smṛti writers do say that Brāhmaṇas should not serve; but their statements should be applied to non-government service only. Manu lays down that Brāhmaṇas alone should be appointed as a rule to the ministerial and judicial posts.²

Śaṅkarācārya's (788-820 A.D.) statement that the castes were no longer following their prescribed duties and functions is corroborated by historical evidence. Some of the Brāhmaṇas were enlisting their names in the army. Beṭṭegiri inscription of Kṛṣṇa II³ offers a handsome tribute to the memory of a Brāhmaṇa named Gaṇaramma who laid down his life with bravery defending his village. The Kaḷas inscription of Govinda IV⁴ speaks of the glorious career and achievements of two Brāhmaṇa generals Revadāsa Dikṣita and Viśottara Dikṣita who were really Somayājins. Alberuni informs us that in the 11th century some of the Brāhmaṇas directly dealt in clothes and betel nuts; while some others indirectly entered into trade by employing a Vaiśya to carry on the actual dealings in business. The Gautama Dharmasūtra allows Brāhmaṇas to live on agriculture, trade etc. on the condition of appointing agents to carry on business. Although Smṛti writers never held the medical profession in esteem, it appears that in society doctors were honoured equally with learned men. Thus a Brāhmaṇa physician is found among the donees of an agrahāra village given by a Pallava King in the 8th century⁵. The ban placed by Manu and others on the feeding of a doctor

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¹ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 6.

² *Manusmṛti*, VII—37, 58 ; VIII—20.

³ *E. I.*, XIII, p. 189

⁴ *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 33.

⁵ *I. A.*, VIII, p. 277.

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at a Srāddha dinner appears to be partly a result of their puritanic ideas and partly a consequence of their theory that the medical profession belonged to a mixed caste known as Ambaṣṭha. This theory also does not appear to be borne out by facts. Thus trade, agriculture, banking etc. became the normal vocations of the Brāhmaṇas of our period. Naturally Smṛtis belonging to the age have boldly withdrawn the ban on these professions placed by earlier Dharmaśāstra writers. Bṛhaspati holds banking (*kusīda*) to be an ideal profession of the Brāhmaṇas; while Hārīta and Parāśara boldly declare that agriculture can be followed by them. The Āpastamba Smṛti also mentions that agriculture, cattle-breeding etc. were the necessary and normal vocations of the Brāhmaṇas; there is no reason to consider them as Āpaddharmas.

The Smṛtis and Purāṇas uniformly declare that Brāhmaṇas ought to be free from taxation and capital punishment. There is no epigraphical evidence of our period to support a general claim of exemption from taxation for all Brāhmaṇas. It is true that the Śrotriya or learned Brāhmaṇas in the Rāṣtrakūṭa regime, really donees of Brahmandeya grants, used to receive all taxes payable to the King and that they were required to pay nothing to the King. This is reflected in the Dharmaśāstra literature which exempts a Śrotriya from all taxation; but on this basis, it cannot be assumed that ordinary Brāhmaṇas of our period enjoyed this privilege. The Tuppād Kurahatti inscription of Kṛṣṇa III and the Honavad inscription of Someśvara make it clear that even Devadeya grants i.e. lands granted to temples by kings were not free from taxation. Somadeva of the Nītivākyāmṛta lays down that a king can take a portion of the property of the Brāhmaṇas and temples for the sake of tiding over a calamity; only he should take care to keep at their disposal money that is necessary for the performance of sacrifices and worship.

Exemption from capital punishment is, however, a privilege that the Brāhmaṇas of our period seem to have enjoyed. From ancient times, the sin of Brahmahatyā was regarded as the most heinous and Hindu States in India have generally refrained from incurring it. The Āpastamba Dharmaśūtra (II, 27, 16) lays down that a Brāhmaṇa should be blinded and banished for offences involving capital punishment for other castes. This advice appears to have been followed in our period as is corroborated by Alberuni who states that though a Brāhmaṇa was above the death sentence, he could be banished and deprived of his property and in case of being guilty of stealing a precious or costly article he was blinded and his right hand and left foot were cut off¹. It is significant to note that the sentence mentioned for stealing on the part of a Brāhmaṇa is not found in the Smṛtis. The words of Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra Book IV, namely Kaṇṭaka-śodhana (Chapter 11) support Alberuni's statement. It is, however, clear that Brāhmaṇas who had joined the army could not have claimed the privilege of being exempt from being executed.

¹ Alberuni's *India*, edited by Sachau I, p. 162.

Among the Kṣatriyas, those who were actual rulers and their relatives, naturally enjoyed the highest status in the society. Although Alberuni mentions that the Kṣatriyas also enjoyed immunity from capital punishment it appears that this was claimed by and conceded to the elite among them. Alberuni also mentions that a Kṣatriya guilty of theft was merely maimed in the right hand and left foot and not blinded in addition like a Brāhmaṇa. The Dharmaśāstra literature, does not extend any such concession of being *avadhya* etc. to the Kṣatriyas. As Alberuni was a fairly close student of Sanskrit literature, his statement cannot be summarily rejected. Hence it is safe to presume that in the actual practice of our period, the privileges of the Kṣatriyas were by no means less than those enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇas.

In our period, the Kṣatriyas were not exclusively concerned with fighting; they had already taken to professions which theoretically did not belong to them. The tendency of the Kṣatriyas in accepting the business line, though explicitly stated by Tavernier to be present in the 17th century, appears to have made its presence felt during our period. Yuan Chwang has mentioned the castes of some of his contemporary Indian Kings. According to his statement, five among them were Kṣatriyas, three Brāhmaṇas, two Vaiśyas and two Sūdras. This makes it clear that Kingship had ceased to be the exclusive monopoly of the Kṣatriyas even prior to our age.

In the sphere of religion, Kṣatriya kings and queens of our age are not seen celebrating sacrifices as they had already become unpopular due to the philosophical revival under the leadership of the great Keraḷa philosopher Śaṅkarācārya. Nevertheless the Kṣatriyas were allowed to study the Vedas as is stated by Alberuni¹ who takes care to add, "He offers to the fire and acts according to the rules of the Purāṇas." In fact, all Hindus of our period were following the Purāṇic rather than the Vedic rules and rituals. Alberuni's statement may, however, suggest that the Kṣatriyas were fast losing their rights in the religious sphere and thus rapidly degenerating into Vaiśyas and Sūdras. The fact that kings of our period do not mention their *gotras* is also indicative of the dissociation of the Kṣatriyas in general from the sphere of Orthodox Vedic ritual.

The Vaiśyas were losing their status much earlier than our age. Śrī Kṛṣṇa mentions them along with Sūdras in being backward². The Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra mentions that the status of the Vaiśyas and the Sūdras was the same as both were marrying indiscriminately and following similar vocations. In our period also there was no great difference between them. Alberuni conversant with Dharmaśāstra clearly says so and further adds that on reciting the Veda the tongue of a Vaiśya or a Sūdra was cut off. This means that the position of the Vaiśyas was actually reduced in practice to that of the Sūdras; although theoretically the Smṛtis state them to be superior to the Sūdras.

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¹ Alberuni's *India*, edited by Sachau II, p. 136.

² *Bhagavadgītā*, IX-32 cd.

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According to the Smṛtis the Vaiśyas should follow the military profession only in distress. This does not appear to be the state of things during our age. Many guilds in the Deccan who flourished in towns and cities were naturally required to maintain troops of their own in the interest of security. The Mandasor inscription (5th century A.D.), for example, describes some of the members of its guild as experts in archery and bold in uprooting the enemy per force in battle¹. It is interesting to note that even the Jains of our period were among the martial races of the Deccan. Amoghavarṣa I, though a Jain, did not desist from offering a dreadful feast to the god of death in the battle of Viṅgavallī.

Position of
 Śūdras.

Smṛti writers are unanimous in depriving the Śūdras of the right to read the Vedas. Alberuni's statement confirms that this rule was followed in practice. It is true that later Smṛtis like Baijavāpa (quoted in Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā, p. 135), Jātukaraṇya (V. 50), Auśanasa and Laghuviṣṇu (V. 105), make distinction between Sacchhūdra (a pious Śūdra) and Asacchūdra (ordinary Śūdra) and allow the former to perform Śrāddhas, Saṃskāras and Pākayajñas. Somadeva, the Jain author of Nītivākyāmṛta (VII-12), confirms the statement of these Smṛtis by observing that a perfectly pure Śūdra is qualified to perform spiritual duties connected with Gods and Brāhmaṇas. But there is no epigraphical evidence to show that the Śūdras of our period actually enjoyed these privileges. Nevertheless on the basis of the statements made by the Brahmanical writers of the Smṛtis it can be assumed that respectable Śūdras used to perform Śrāddhas etc., of course through the medium of the Brāhmaṇas and with Purāṇic mantras.

From earlier times, service to the twice-born had ceased to be the only profession of the Śūdras. Smṛti writers like Uśanas and Devala mention crafts, trade and industries to be the normal avocations of the members of this caste. Soldiers were also recruited from the Śūdras; which, at times, brought the throne also within their reach. The theory that a Śūdra cannot own any property was exploded long before. Medhātithi admits the right in the case of a Cāṇḍāla and says that his stolen property, on recovery, must be returned to him by the king².

It seems that provincial barriers of castes had not arisen during our period. Brāhmaṇas freely migrated to different provinces and permanently settled in them. The donees of the Alas plates of Yuvarāja Govinda³ and the Vaṇi-Diṇḍorī plates of Govinda III were persons from Veṅgi in Āndhra country and they were assigned villages in Mahārāṣṭra. This shows that these immigrants had become domiciles of Mahārāṣṭra. Although in earlier records, the donees are never described as Gauḍa, Kanojī, Nāgara or Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas⁴, the composer of the Bāhaḷ (Khāndeś district) inscription

¹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* III, No. 18.

² On *Manu*, VII, 40.

³ *I. A.*, XI, p. 157.

⁴ *E. I.*, IX, p. 24.

of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa dated 1222 A.D., is seen describing himself as a Nāgara Jñātiya Brāhmaṇa. This indicates that the way towards the formation of provincial castes was already paved. Smṛtis like Atrisaṃhitā were helping this tendency by dubbing Brāhmaṇas from certain provinces as worthless. These books were gradually being followed in the North in the 11th century. It is no wonder that in later times they came to the forefront in the South also.

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The fact that intercaste marriages of the *anuloma* type admitted to be legal by Smṛti writers used to take place in our period is confirmed by the Nītivākyāmrta of Somadeva, a contemporary writer. The celebrated poet and dramatist Rājaśekhara of the Yāyāvara family (875-925 A.D.) married Avantisundarī, an accomplished Kṣatriya lady. Although these marriages were permissible, it appears that they were becoming unpopular at the end of our period. Alberuni mentions that the Brāhmaṇas in his time did not avail themselves of the liberty of marrying beneath their class. The observation of Abraham Roger, a Dutch clergyman of the 17th century (who lived in Southern Presidency), that the Brāhmaṇas used to marry girls of all the four castes although their marriages with Śūdra girls were disapproved,¹ holds good in case of the Nambudri Brāhmaṇas only. Another European observer of the same century, Bernier, contradicts Roger's statement and asserts that intermarriages between the four castes were forbidden.² Any way, Kalhaṇa, the 12th century historian from Kāśmir, can be taken to represent the 12th century view in this case. He, in his Rājatarāṅgiṇī (VII 10-12), strongly finds fault with Saṅgrāmarāja, the king of Kāśmir in 11th century, in allowing his sister to marry a Brāhmaṇa.

As in the earlier period, so in our age the joint family was the general order; but cases of separation were not very rare. Torkhede inscription of Govinda III³ speaks of separate shares assigned to two brothers indicating that they were not members of a joint family. Bendegiri grant of Kṛṣṇa (1249 A.D.)⁴ mentions eight brothers and two sons who were given separate shares from their families. The Paṭṭaṇ plates of Rāmacandra dated 1271 A.D.⁵ inform us about a father living separately from his six sons as well as four brothers and thus no longer adhering to the joint family system. On the basis of such records it can be stated that partitions in the life-time of the father, although disapproved by Smṛti writers, continued to take place in actual practice.

Family System.

An inscription from Managoli in Bijāpūr district (1178 A.D.)⁶ gives an order of succession that is in general agreement with that of the Jurists like Yajñavalkya and his commentator Vijñāneśvara. This record states, "If any one in the village should die at Mamgavalli

¹ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1894, p. 1 and 1895, p. 576.

² *Travels in India*, p. 325.

³ *E. I.*, III, 54.

⁴ *I. A.*, XIV, p. 69.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

⁶ *E. I.*, V, p. 28.

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without sons, his wife, female children (probably a daughter's son is meant), divided parents, brothers and their children and any kinsmen and relatives of the same Gotra who might survive, should take possession of all his property i.e. bipeds, quadrupeds, coins, grains, house and field. If none such should survive, the authorities of the village should take the property as Dharmadeya grant." There is evidence to show that in the Deccan during our period a widow could inherit her husband's property. A good illustration is offered by Gavunḍa, who was succeeded in his office by his widow¹. The Saundatti record² informs us of Gaurī, the only daughter of Madirāja II of Kolara family becoming an heir to Kolara fiefdom even after her marriage with a Banihatti chief. This shows that in the absence of male issues, daughters of a person could become heirs to his property.

Position of
Women.

It has been already stated that widows and daughters could be heirs to property. Smṛti writers have recognised their proprietary rights over certain varieties of Strīdhana. A fragmentary record from Kolhāpūr in the 12th century refers to the case of a daughter selling landed property³.

Alberuni's observation that marriages among the Hindus used to take place at a very early age and that Brāhmaṇas in his time were not allowed to marry a girl above 12 years, appears to be true in the Deccan of our age. This is confirmed by the author of the Nītivākyaṃṛta, who says that in marriage, the boys were usually 16 and girls not above 12⁴. The fact that almost all Smṛtis like Bṛhad-Yama, Samvarta, Yama, Śaṅkha etc. composed at about our age, heap curses upon the guardians who fail to marry their female wards before they attain puberty, shows that pre-puberty marriages were the order of the day at least among the Brāhmaṇas. Occasional cases of post-puberty marriages, however, did take place especially among the ruling families. The custom of marrying the daughter of the maternal uncle which continues to prevail in Mahārāṣṭra as well as in other parts of the Deccan even upto this day, appears to have been in vogue in our age. Inscriptions offer many instances of such marriages. Jagattuṅga, the son of Kṛṣṇa II, married a daughter of his maternal uncle Śaṅkaragaṇa⁵. The same was the case with Indra III. These marriages are regarded as valid by the Dharmaśāstra for the residents of the Deccan.

The Purdah system is not known even today in the Deccan. The custom appears to be unknown in our period as well. Abu Zahid remarks, "Most princes in India allow their women to be seen when they hold their court. No veil conceals them from the eyes of the visitors⁶. The Kaḍab plates state that the moon-faced damsels of

¹ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VII, No. 219.

² *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, X, p. 177.

³ *E. I.*, III, p. 216.

⁴ *Nītivākyaṃṛta*, XI-28; XXI-1.

⁵ Sangli plates—*I. A.*, XII, p. 265.

⁶ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 11.

the court of Kṛṣṇa I were skilled in exhibiting sentiments through the movements of their hand and used to give delight to the ladies of the capital. The testimony of Abu Zahid is thus confirmed.

It is possible to infer that the Satī custom, although very common in Kāśmīr, was not very common in the Deccan of our days. This inference is supported firstly by the words of the merchant Sulaiman¹ and secondly by the fact that the mention of the Satīs is hardly found in several inscribed *virgals* of our period that commemorate the deaths of village heroes who had died for their communities. Alberuni's statement that wives of Kings were required to burn themselves whether they wished or not² seems to have been based on contemporary incidents in North India and cannot be applied in the case of the Deccan. The custom, besides, seems to have been confined only to royal families and did not spread to the masses in our period.

No Muslim traveller of our period refers to the custom of tonsuring widows. The Smṛtis of our age lay down various rules to regulate the life of a widow, making her lot very hard; but they nowhere speak of tonsuring her. Only one exception of the Vedavyāsa-smṛti can be cited. This Smṛti (II-53) enjoins that a widow should part with her hair at the death of her husband. Epigraphical literature also does not reveal any acquaintance with this custom. The usual expression occurring in the description of heroes in epigraphs viz. '*ripu-vilāsini-simanta-uddharaṇa-hetu*' only shows that queens on being widowed, refrained from decorating their hair; in fact the hair was allowed to grow as is indicated by expressions like '*saralita-pracur-ālaka-ālakah*' (*Epigraphica Indica*, I p. 246). It is, therefore, safe to conclude that the tonsure custom was not in vogue during our age. It, however, appears to have been established some time prior to the 17th century as Tavernier (p. 406) explicitly states that Hindu widows of his time used to get their head entirely shaved a few days after the death of their husbands. The Smṛtis like Devala etc. composed in our period have allowed women forcibly ravished by the Mlecchas to come back to the fold after some Prāyaścitta. This speaks well of the liberal outlook of Hinduism of our age. Neither inscriptions, nor accounts of foreign travellers, nor the literature of our period refers to widow remarriages. It is difficult to say anything precisely in case of marriages of virgin widows, because the Smṛtis are sharply divided over this issue. Parāśara, Nārada etc. permit such remarriages while Āṅgiras and Laghu Āśvalāyana prohibit them. It can only be said that widow remarriages were fast becoming unpopular among higher classes. In lower classes this question did not arise because in them widow remarriages were and are quite common.

It is interesting to note that epigraphic evidence enables us to say that land transfers and similar dealings were committed to writing

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¹ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 6.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 155.

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and the title deeds were properly attested. Two Kānherī inscriptions¹ record grants given to a local Buddhist Saṅgha as being attested to by two witnesses each. Kaḍab plates of Govinda III² speak of a case where the principal officers and the entire population of a district were summoned to be the witnesses of a transaction.

It is true that Government documents of transfer of lands etc. were not always attested; but it is also true that their originals were carefully preserved in the State Archives for ready reference. Bhādān plates of Aparājita dated 997 A.D. clearly state that their originals were preserved in the State Archives of Thāṇā³. At the time of renewal of old grants these must have been consulted in order to settle the disputes about claims.

The custom of describing a person by his surname was generally not in vogue in our period. Inscriptions normally refer to the personal names of the Brāhmaṇa donees, the names of their fathers and their *gotras*. Patronymics were more common than matronymics. Towards the end of our period, however, surnames have appeared. Cikka Bāgevāḍī⁴ and Bendegiri⁵ inscriptions of the Yādava King Kṛṣṇa speak of many surnames like Pāṭhaka, Dīkṣita, Paṇḍita, Upādhyāya etc., which still survive in the Deccan. Some of the surnames occurring in these records namely Prauḍhasarasvatī and the like have not survived simply because they were too cumbrous to be used in common parlance.

Food and Drink. In this age the society was partly vegetarian and partly non-vegetarian. The Brāhmaṇas in Western India had become thorough vegetarians in our period. The Kṣatriyas were, however, non-vegetarian and did not totally abstain from taking wine. In theory they were allowed three cups of wine. This disparity in diet and drink rendered inter-caste dining among them impracticable. The Vaiśyas and Brāhmaṇas of our period were not confronted with this difficulty because the influence of Jainism had turned a mass of traders and agriculturists away from non-vegetarianism. But by the end of our period the Vaiśyas completely degenerated into the Sūdras; hence interdining between them and the Brāhmaṇas also became impracticable. On the whole, inter-caste dinners permitted by earlier Dharmaśāstra writers like Gautama, Baudhāyana, had fallen into disrepute in our period. This is the reason why later Smṛtis denounce the system. Āṅgīrasa, for example, prohibits dining with a Sūdra, allows one with a Kṣatriya only on days of religious festivals, and permits that with a Vaiśya only in distress⁶. In fact these writers faithfully represent the feeling of our period.

¹ *J. A.*, XIII, p. 133 ff.

² *E. I.*, IV, p. 340.

³ *Ibid.*, III, p. 275.

⁴ *J. A.*, VII, p. 305.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 69.

⁶ Quoted by Haradatta on Gautama III—5; 8.

The Hindu dress of our age appears to be a simple one. In the 7th century the Hindu male dress consisted of two unstitched cloths, one worn round like the 'dhoti' and other used as an upper garment¹. Nārada confirms this statement of I-tsing by stating that a witness may be taken to be a perjurer if he continuously goes on shaking the upper garment with which his arm is covered (I-194). Marco Polo states that in the whole of Malabar not a tailor could cut or stitch a coat². Women, however, used to wear stitched petticoats as is indicated by references in the literary works of the time.

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Paintings in Ajanṭā caves show³ that during the 5th and 6th centuries men in the Deccan wore large turbans. It seems that the practice of growing a beard was common in our age⁴.

Dancing was a favourite pastime of the people. The presence of dancing girls at the temples reveals this very fondness. Purāṇic dramas appear to have been performed on the occasion of annual fairs or those like Dasarā, Holī, Rāmanavamī and Gokulāṣṭamī.

Sports and
Pastimes.

Animal fights were also quite frequent. One of the Aṅgoa records speaks of a fight between a boar and a favourite hound of Būṭuga II in which both animals were killed⁵. Hunting was very favourite with kings in general and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in particular. One of the inscriptions of Govinda III⁶ gives interesting information regarding game preserves in various centres of his empire. It is no wonder that these were meant only for the use of emperors and courtiers.

Astrology had a wonderful hold over the minds of people of our age. Epigraphy gives ample information about this. It seems that the Jains also had taken to astrology. Thus from Kaḍab plates of Govinda III⁷ we hear of a grant given to a Jain Maṭha in view of its head having removed the evil influence of Saturn affecting a Cālukya king. Saturn was extremely dreaded in our period. The Śilāhāra prince Aparājitadeva⁸ and Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Govuṇarasa⁹ assume with pride the title 'Śanivārasiddhi' i.e. 'one who is successful (even on) Saturdays'.

Superstitions
and Beliefs.

Many other superstitions were current. It was believed that on observing certain laws and conditions, gods could be compelled to do the needful. Some records of our period refer to devotees who actuated by this belief threatened God with non-co-operation. Catching a serpent alive was considered to be the signal proof of chastity. Sugaladevī, the wife of Maṇḍaleśvara Varma performed the feat and was considered as the most chaste lady of the land. A temple

¹ I-tsing, p. 68.

² Marco Polo II, p. 338.

³ Codrington, *Ancient India*, p. 26.

⁴ Sulaiman Saudagar, Hindi Edition, p. 81.

⁵ *E. I.*, VI, p. 56.

⁶ *I. A.*, XI, p. 126.

⁷ *E. I.*, IV, p. 340.

⁸ *Ibid.*, III, p. 269.

⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 66.

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was built in her honour¹. Spells and enchantments against serpent-bite did exist, but their futility was also recognised in many cases. Women were induced to give some herbs and medicines to their husbands considered to be efficacious in keeping them under their control. At times, the result was disastrous and ended in the death of the husband². Epigraphs from Karnāṭak show that some loyal subjects used to take dreadful vows like offering their own heads, if their kings were to be blessed with a son and used to abide by them. Ibn Khurdadba writes that persons who had grown very old and weak often used to commit suicide in holy places either by drowning or by burning themselves on auspicious days³. Such practices were, however, confined to certain sections of the society only. They give us an idea of the superstitions of the age in general.

ECONOMIC
CONDITION.

Sources of information about economic condition are comparatively scanty and the matter is rendered more difficult on account of the uncertainty in attributing precise meaning to the technical terms used in records.

The wealth of the country had not much changed in respect of the produce of the soil. Cotton was produced in large quantity in Khāndeśa, Berār (Vidarbha) and Gujarāt. The *Periplus* in the 1st century A.D., Marco Polo in the 13th century and later Tavernier in the 16th century mention cotton yarn and cloth among the articles of export. As we know from Marco Polo that indigo was largely exported from Thāṇā and Gujarāt in the 13th century A.D., it must have been produced in our age as well. The same can be said of incense and perfumes exported from Saimur and Thāṇā in the 12th and 13th centuries. The chief crops of Mahārashtra, however were *jwari*, *baḡri* and oilseeds, Koṅkaṇ as usual, was rich in coconuts, betel nuts and rice. Timber of sandal trees, teak and ebony wood was exported from Western Indian ports from ancient times, as western ghats and parts of Mysore have been yielding this material in large quantity.

It seems that the wealth of the Deccan in the period was considerably increased by the yield of copper mines which were discovered in the districts of Narsingpur, Ahmadnagar, Bijāpūr, Dhārvār, Cāndā, Bulḍhānā etc. Of course at that time copper was a much costlier metal. Bṛhaspati's relative ratio of prices of gold and copper is 1 : 48⁴. Mines of precious stones were more valuable than these copper mines. Marco Polo, Ibn Batuta and Tavernier inform us that the Kṛṣṇā valley near Goḷkoṇḍā and Karnool, continued to yield precious diamonds till a very late period. At the time of Ibn Batuta, Devagiri was a famous centre for trade in jewellery. Mālkhed or Mānyakheta, the capital of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, appears to have been the main market for precious stones.

¹ *J. A.*, XII, p. 99.

² *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, X, p. 279.

³ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 10.

⁴ Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 189.

Accounts of foreign merchants enable us to get a fair idea of the industries of our period. The principal centres of cloth industry in the Deccan were Paithan and Tagara. Marco Polo states that Thānā was one of those centres from which considerable quantity of cloth was exported in the 13th century. Paithan and Warangal were, and really are, famous for muslins. Marco Polo is full of praise for the quantity of the cloth manufactured at these places. He observes, "These are the most delicate buckrams and of the highest price; in sooth they look like the tissue of spider's web. There can be no king or queen in the world but might be glad to wear them". Paithanī, which still remains one of the favourites of Mahārāṣṭrian ladies, is the significant name given to the high class silken saris.

Marco Polo informs us that Northern Mahārāṣṭra was known for tanning industry in the 13th century. Thānā exported leather in large quantities. The information that this industry was in full vigour in the 13th century and was successful in capturing foreign markets enables us to conjecture that this industry must have begun its career one or two centuries earlier.

Ibn Batuta gives compliments to the Marāṭhās near Daulatābād and Nandurbār for their skill in arts. Marco Polo speaks highly of beautiful mats of Northern Mahārāṣṭra in 13th century in red and blue leather exquisitely inlaid with figures of birds and beasts and skilfully embroidered with gold and silver. He states that these mats were also exported from these regions.

It is not possible to have a detailed account of the commerce of our period; because contemporary records are mostly silent on the matter. Nevertheless accounts of travellers like Al Idrisi, Ibn Batuta and Marco Polo, help us in giving a fairly good idea. Kalyān was a highly important port trading in cloth, brass and black-wood logs right from the 6th century A.D. Coastal trade was carried on in other ports of minor importance like Thānā, Sopārā, Dābhol, Jayagaḍ, Devagaḍ and Mālvan. Revenues from all these ports appear to have been extensive. From the Khārepāṭan plates of Anantadeva it appears that the import duties on the coastal trade were less than those on the foreign trade. Thus, cotton yarn and cloth, rough as well as fine, muslins, hides, mats, indigo, betel nuts, coconuts were the chief articles of export from Mahārāṣṭra.

Thānā in the 13th century, says Marco Polo, used to import gold, silver and copper. Import trade in horses was quite intensive. The Periplus' observation that dates, gold, slaves, Italian wine (in small quantity), copper, tin, lead and flint glass were among the articles of import at the port of Broach, appears to be mostly true of ports of our period in Mahārāṣṭra.

Bullock carts appear to be the principal means of transport. Horses, being fairly dear, were not easily available for the purpose. The bullock carts, however, must have been quite comfortable as

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Tavernier in the 17th century speaks of their being more commodious than anything invented for ease in France and Italy. Besides this vehicle, oxen and horses of an inferior breed must have been used for speedy transport or in the case of transport in hilly tracts. Members of the lower castes as well as Muslims used to take to the caravan's profession. Regarding conditions of roads, it may be assumed that they were not so bad as Periplus and Tavernier in their days speak of. The reason seems to be that the Rāṣtrakūṭas who ruled the Deccan for a considerably long period in our age, must have been compelled to keep roads in good conditions for their military operations.

Rayatvārī continued to be the prevailing tenure in our period as well; but it seems that a class of Zamindars did exist to some extent. Members of this class were assigned royal revenues. Some of the contemporary records mention *grāmapati* along with *grāmakūṭa*. These *Grāmapatis* probably refer to officials who were assigned revenues of villages.

Regarding land-transfers, there is sufficient evidence to show that in the transfer of land during the 10th century the seller and the purchaser only were not concerned; the consent of the village community or the Mahājanas of the locality was considered necessary. Nevertheless, such consent appears to have become more or less formal at the end of our period. Epigraphical records of the 13th century do not mention this consent as a necessity. Smṛti literature also confirms this. Vijñāneśvara in his lengthy introduction to the Dāyabhāga section maintains that the consent of the village community was merely intended for the publication of the transaction. He makes it clear that the transaction does not become *ultra vires* if such consent is not obtained. Village artisans like the smith, the potter etc. were maintained by the community by assigning to them certain grain-share from each farmer. The artisans in their turn, were to cater for the needs of the farmers during the year. This system prevails in many villages even now. The barter-system was also in vogue.

Many coins of gold and silver are mentioned in contemporary records. A number of silver coins of Kṛṣṇarāja bearing the *Paramamāheśvara-mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyāta-Śrī-Kṛṣṇarājah* has been discovered in the district of Nāśik and Vidarbha. These coins, however, imitate closely the latest Gupta coins and cannot therefore be attributed to the Rāṣtrakūṭa emperor Kṛṣṇa 1st. They were issued by the Kalacuri King Kṛṣṇarāja who flourished in the 6th century A.D. and were known as *Kṛṣṇarājapakas*. Drama and Suvarṇa are the principal coins of our period. In Karnāṭak and Tāmīl Land of our days, Kaṣaṇju, Gadyāṇaka and Kasu are mentioned. Drama appears to be the Sanskritised form of the Greek coin *drachm*. One of the Kānherī inscriptions belonging to the age of Amoghavarṣa I mentions *drammas*. Silver *drama*

appears to be approximately one-third bigger than our four anna silver coin weighing about 48 grains. Cambay plates of Govinda IV mention a gift of 1,400 villages that yielded a revenue of seven lakhs of Suvarṇas². Very probably Suvarṇa here denotes a coin weighing 65 grains like the *Dramma*.

All coinage was in gold; the *dramma* was the only exception. As silver coins of Southern India of our age are very rare, it is difficult to convert the prices of gold of our age into the corresponding prices in rupees of the present day. According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the Nāśik cave inscription No. 12 shows the ratio between the prices of gold and silver to be 1 : 14³. The Śukranīti composed towards the end of our period gives the ratio as 1 : 16⁴. Tavernier in the 17th century says that the golden rupee was equal to 14 silver ones. This indicates that the relative prices of these two metals were fairly constant from the 1st to the 17th century A.D.

Guild organisations have been an important feature of Hindu trade and society from early times and in our period these organisations had provided banking facilities. Members of these guilds were spread over different localities. Two inscriptions—one from Kolhāpur dated Śaka 1058 and the other from Miraj dated Śaka 1066⁵—give a very interesting information about a guild of Vira-Baṇaṇjas. Membership of this guild was spread over four districts. The Vira-Baṇaṇjas guild mentioned in a Miraj inscription had an executive of 15 belonging to different localities in the district. Further, this inscription makes it clear that members of such guilds contributed towards religious objects also and the guild had its own rules and regulations probably binding upon all members. This is also confirmed by Smṛti literature as Manu⁶ and Yājñavalkya⁷ lay down that the rules and regulations of the guilds were to be respected by the king, if they did not come into conflict with public interest. The Kolhāpur inscription mentioned above refers to the banner of the Vira-Baṇaṇjas bearing the device of a hill. This brings out that the association of particular banners with particular devices mentioned in Harivaṁśa (Chap. 86, 5) is not imaginary. The fact that the Kolhāpur record describes the members of the guild as 'persons whose breast was embraced by the goddess of impetuosity and bravery' indicates that the guilds were required to maintain troops in view of their authority and rule over towns or districts. The village communities had also banks of their own.

Contemporary records give us a fair idea about the money market. The normal rate of interest on permanent deposits was 12 to 15 per cent. per annum and this was generally given by banks of

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¹ I. A., XIII, p. 133.

² E. I., VII, p. 26.

³ Carmichael lectures, 1921, p. 191.

⁴ Śukranīti, IV, 2; 98.

⁵ E. I., XIX, p. 33.

⁶ Manusmṛti, VIII, 41.

⁷ Yājñavalkya Smṛti, II, pp. 187-88.

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the guilds and the village communities. Manu¹ and Yājñavalkya² permit the same rate of interest (i.e. 15 per cent.) on cash capital. A Kānherī inscription of the time of Amoghavarṣa I³ (814 to 880 A.D.) mentions a certain investment in a local bank which had consented to pay an interest upon it perpetually; the rate of interest, however, was to be determined by experts from time to time. This is only natural as a definite rate cannot be guaranteed for all time to come. Another Kānherī inscription of about the same date⁴ tells us that the premier of the local Silāhāra dynasty had to invest 160 drammas for fetching annually 20 drammas for Buddha worship, 3 drammas for the building repairs, 5 drammas for the robes of monks and 1 dramma for the purchase of books. This shows that the rate of interest that prevailed at Kānherī towards the end of 9th century appears to be about 17 per cent. per annum. Ordinary debtors seem to have obtained loans from banks at a much higher rate of interest i.e. 20 per cent. also. If the security were to be of doubtful value, it is natural to expect a still higher rate of interest i.e. about 30 to 35 per cent. per annum. Manu and Yājñavalkya mention that Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras should be charged interest at 24 per cent., 36 per cent., 48 per cent. and 60 per cent. respectively. This indicates that lower and poorer classes, who were unable to give a good security, must have been charged interest varying between 30 per cent. and 50 per cent. This conclusion is well supported by epigraphic evidence also where depositors of best security appear to have been charged at a rate of 15 per cent. only. This incidentally explains why a usurer i.e. *Vārdhuṣika* was held in low esteem by the Smṛtis which declare that he should not be invited for a Śrāddha.

It is not easy to reconstruct the price level of our period; as records from Mahārāṣṭra are not able to furnish sufficient evidence in this matter. There are, however, many records available in the Tāmil districts of the contemporary period, on the basis of which the prevailing prices of articles can be found out. These prices could not have been very different from those prevailing in Mahārāṣṭra. The prices can be arrived at only after determining the modern equivalents of the various measures prevailing in those districts. Thus 32 seers of rice were available for one rupee. Oil was as costly as good ghee as two and half seers of both could be purchased for one rupee. Curds was about 20 per cent. dearer than rice as is indicated by two records at the time of Rājārāja.⁵ Pulses were, in fact, costlier than rice and this appears to be a peculiarity of Southern India. In Northern India of the day they were cheaper than rice. Among miscellaneous articles camphor was very costly; one tola of which could be purchased for 2½ rupees. Among fruits, plantains were cheaper than at present; for one pice or two Paisas of

¹ *Manusmṛti*, VIII—41.

² *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, II—37.

³ *I. A.*, XIII, p. 133.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 136.

⁵ *South Indian Inscriptions*, II, pp. 74, 129.

to-day as many as 10 plantains were available. Among cattle, the cost of a cow was about three times that of an ewe; an ewe cost about 6 to 7 as.; while a cow about 1 rupee and 2 as. One she-buffalo cost about 2 rupees and 4 as. About land-prices, fertile lands were approximately four times costlier than ordinary lands. An acre of tax-free land cost about 25 rupees. On the whole, it can be stated that the price-level of 1930 A.D. (the time when cheaper prices prevailed) was 700 per cent higher than that in the 10th century. The ratio to-day would be much higher still.

The data to determine the cost of living can also be had from the contemporary records of Karnāṭak or Tāmīl provinces. A capital outlay of 16 or 17 Kaṣāñjus was found sufficient to provide a rich meal throughout the year. Paddy in those days was sold at about 10 Kalams per Kaṣāñju (i.e. one rupee purchasing 32 seers). The cost in cash per individual per annum can be approximately said to be 3½ Kaṣāñjus i.e. about Rs. 19 because one golden Kaṣāñju weighed about a quarter of a tola. The cost of a poor meal, it appears, was half of this amount. It is interesting to note that an inscription¹ of the time of Parāntaka I belonging to the first half of the 10th century speaks of only Kaṣāñjus invested for feeding one Jain devotee at the local Jain temple. As a Jain devotee is allowed only one simple meal a day, it can be surmised that this was one-fourth of that invested for providing a rich meal to Brāhmaṇa at Ukkal. The conditions in Mahārāṣṭra must have been practically the same.

It is well-known that Hinduism had started setting its house in order since the days of the great emperor Aśoka who was converted to Buddhism in the later years of his reign. Our period is important from the point of view of its powerful revival. The fact that Buddhism was never very strong in the Deccan is indicated by the fact that the pious Fa Hien did not think it proper to visit the Deccan on being told that the people, there, subscribed to erroneous views and did not respect the law of the Buddha to an appreciable extent². This information given to Fa Hien was undoubtedly based on hearsay report; but it need not be considered as far from the truth. The Vākāṭakas who ruled Northern Mahārāṣṭra were orthodox Hindus; the founder of the house distinguished himself by performing a number of Vedic sacrifices like Agniṣṭoma, Āptroyāma and Aśvamedha, and his descendents were either followers of Śiva or Viṣṇu; but they were never Buddhists³. Earlier rulers of the Cālukya house, who later rose to power, were also devout followers of the Vedic religion and were proud of having performed Vedic sacrifices like Agnicayana, Vājapeya, Aśvamedha, Bahusuvāṇa etc.⁴ This contributed to the decline of Buddhism in the Deccan. Yuan Chwang speaks of 100 monasteries in Koṅkaṇ but states that the number of heretics was considerably large. The case could not have been very different in Northern Mahārāṣṭra also. The number

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¹ *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, No. 197.

² Legge, Fa Hien—*A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, Chap. XXXV.

³ Fleet—*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 236.

⁴ *Mahākūṭa Inscription of Maṅgaleśa—I. A.*, XIX, p. 17.

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of Buddhist monks in both these provinces was only 6,000. In fact, the total Buddhist population in the Deccan at the middle of the 7th century appears to be not more than 10,000 and this number also considerably dwindled towards the end of the 10th century.

It is, however, interesting to note that the revival of Hinduism did not very much affect the fortunes of Jainism in the Deccan; possibly for two reasons. Firstly, Jainism was fortunate to acquire State patronage under the Kadambaras, Cālukyas, Western Gaṅgas as well as Rāṣṭrakūṭas. In fact, many Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings along with their generals were Jains. Secondly, important Jain saints and writers like Sāmantabhadra, Akalanḁdeva, Mānikyanandin, Prabhācandra, Jināsena, Guṇacandra and Vidyānanda were able to wield great influence over the masses due to their works and achievements.

It must be stated, however, that our age was known for wide and sympathetic toleration. Cases of persecution were, really speaking, exceptional. From the fifth century A.D. the Purāṇas were advocating the very same view that all deities were the manifestations of the same divine principle and their followers were not justified in quarrelling among themselves. This view was generally accepted. Kṛṣṇavarman of the Kadambar dynasty who describes himself as the performer of Aśvamedha, had given a liberal grant for maintaining a Jain establishment¹.

Amoghavarṣa I undoubtedly was a follower of Jainism; yet he was an ardent believer in the Hindu goddess Mahālakṣmī, going to the extent of cutting off one of his fingers and offering it to her under the belief that an epidemic, from which his kingdom was suffering, might vanish due to such a sacrifice on the part of the king². Mahāsāmanta Prthivīrāma, a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa II, is known to have erected a Jain temple in 875 A.D. The Belur inscription of Jayasīma dated 1022 A.D. contains a reference to the donor Akkādevī practising religious observances³ prescribed by the rituals of Jina, Buddha, Ananta (i.e. Viṣṇu) and Rudra. The Belgave inscription of Someśvara I dated 1048 A.D. opens with the praise of Jina, followed immediately by that of Viṣṇu. This inscription informs us that at the behest of the king, one Lord Nāgavarman caused to be built a temple of Jina, Viṣṇu, Śvara and the Saints. A certain amount of feeling against this spirit is, at times, exhibited in the philosophical writings of the period; but even here behind the superficial clash, an inner current of synthesis can be easily perceived. Advaita philosophy of Saṅkara appears to have been influenced by the Sūnyavāda of Nāgārjuna, as many of the verses in the Mūlamadhya-makārikā of Nāgārjuna are found anticipating the position later assumed by Saṅkara.

¹ I. A., VII, p. 34.

² Sañjān Copper Plates, *Epigraphia Indica*, XVIII, p. 248.

³ I. A., XVIII, p. 274.

It need hardly be stated that along with this spirit of tolerance for heterodox schools, harmony prevailed among the followers of the different sects of Hinduism. The opening verse in the Rāṣtrakūṭa copper plates pays homage to both the Gods, namely Śiva and Viṣṇu. Their seal, sometimes, has the eagle, the vehicle of Viṣṇu; at times it is Śiva seated as a Yogin. A verse in the Surat plates of Karka speaks of the fact that Indra, the father of the donor, did not bow his head in front of any other God except Śaṅkara¹. This smacks of certain narrowness which might have been exhibited occasionally in our period; but it cannot be taken as the spirit of the age. In the 10th century at Salotgi in Bijāpūr district, there existed a temple constructed for the joint worship of Brahmadeva, Śiva and Viṣṇu². Such temples are illustrative of the tolerant spirit of the age.

This spirit of toleration was extended towards Muhammedans also. Several Muhammedans who had settled in western parts for commerce, were allowed to practise their religion openly. They were allowed to build Jumma masjids for their use³. Muslim officers were appointed to administer their personal law⁴ to the Muslim inhabitants. This toleration is in sharp contrast to the brutal treatment of the Hindus by Muslim conquerors of Sind who demolished Hindu temples, imposed Jizia tax upon them and enslaved thousands of Hindu women and sold them in the streets of Baghdad⁵. Although Hinduism of our period was in a position to inflict similar indignities on the Muslim inhabitants of the Hindu States in the south (as well as in the north) the fact that it did not resort to such actions speaks of the attitude of universal brotherhood adopted and followed in practice which has no parallel in history.

Hindu revival which reached its culmination during our period can be considered from three aspects, theological, philosophical and popular. The greatest exponent of the theological movement was Kumārila who boldly advocated the cause of pure Vedic religion. In fact, this movement had begun much earlier i.e. from the days of Patañjali; the famous grammarian. Nayanikā, the widow of the third Śātavāhana king, is known to have celebrated a number of Vedic sacrifices like Gavāmayana, Āptroyāma and Aśvamedha.⁶ One of the early Cālukya kings is also recorded to have participated in many Vedic sacrifices⁷.

But the arguments of this school were unable to convince the popular mind. The doctrines of Ahimsā and Sanyāsa had become so popular that a person championing the cause of Vedic sacrifices involving slaughter of animals, could not attract and influence the minds of the people at large. Hence kings of our period are hardly

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¹ Cf. मुक्त्वा च सर्वभुवनेश्वरमादिदेवम् ।

नावन्दतान्यममरष्वपि यो मनस्वी ॥ *Epigraphia Indica* XXI, 143.

² *E. I.* IV, p. 66.

³ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 27 and p. 38.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 27.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 170, 173 and 182.

⁶ *C. I. I.* III, p. 236.

⁷ *I. A.* XIX, p. 17.

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found boasting about their performance of sacrifices. It is true that many of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings have given grants to the Brāhmaṇas for performing their religious duties; but these duties were generally of the Smārta rather than of the Śrauta type i.e. duties connected with *bali*, *caru* and *vaiśvadeva*. The Cambay plates of Govinda IV¹ are an exception because in these it is clearly stated that the grant was given for enabling the Brāhmaṇas to perform Vedic sacrifices like Rājasūya, Vājapeya and Agniṣṭoma. The Atri Smṛti, of our period, boldly declares that *brāhmaṇya* cannot result by following the Śrauta religion to the exclusion of the Smārta one. Thus it is clear that performance of Vedic sacrifices was abandoned in theory as well as in practice of our age. Alberuni was informed that the Vedic sacrifices were rarely performed and almost abandoned because long life, presupposed for their performance, was no longer seen in the present age. This appears to be another excuse for not performing sacrifices which had already become unpopular.

The philosophical revival had also commenced much earlier i.e. from the days of the formation of the present Brahmasūtras (about 200 B. C.) The Brahmasūtra school carried on the work of expounding the Hindu philosophical view and refuting the views of heterodox schools of thought i.e. heresies of the Jainas and the Bauddhas. The greatest exponent of this school was Śaṅkarācārya (788-820 A.D.). This great philosopher, although born in Keraḷa, was really an all-India figure and considerably influenced the thought of the people in the Deccan.

Śaṅkarācārya advocated the superiority of Sanyāsa to Karmamārga and maintained that Vedic sacrifices had only a purificatory effect. This helped the age to abandon Vedic sacrifices and rituals. It is true that Śaṅkarācārya's theory went equally against Smārta rituals also; but it must be borne in mind that people generally apply theories to the convenient extent; they do not prefer to apply them to the logical extent. It must also be remembered that Śaṅkara, himself a great admirer of Purāṇic deities, composed prayers containing devotional fervour. In this way he proved to be a great asset to the popular religion.

Tradition says that the Ācārya toured the whole of India preaching, discussing, controverting different views and founding monastic establishments throughout India. He founded four Maṭhas in the four corners of India styled as Pīṭhas wielding great influence down to modern times. There is sufficient evidence to show that the philosophico-literary activity enunciated by him, continued for over four centuries. But it is indeed strange that epigraphical documents have shown no trace of him so far. Hence it is difficult to precisely estimate the effect of the teachings of Śaṅkara on popular life.

¹ E. I. VII, p. 41.

It must be admitted, however, that Sanyāsa did not become more popular than before. From this point of view, the negative evidence of epigraphy appears to be significant. Hindu Sanyāsins never figure as grantees in the epigraphical records of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as well as their feudatories. Sulaiman's words viz. "In India there are persons who in accordance with their profession wander in woods and mountains and rarely communicate with the rest of mankind" undoubtedly refer to Hindu Sanyāsins; but the presence of these need not necessarily be attributed to the influence of Śaṅkara as the theory of four Āśramas, accepted from the times of yore, can also explain the presence of such Sanyāsins. The reason for the failure of Śaṅkara's advocacy of Sanyāsa appears to be its association with heterodoxy in the mind of the people, created by the Jain and Buddhist monasteries that were flourishing for centuries.

The Mathas founded by Sankarācārya, till recently, were so influential that a decree i.e. Ājñāpatra from them was held in very high esteem by the people. But it appears that these institutions did not wield such influence in the Deccan of our period. Firstly, our contemporary records do not mention any Pīṭha or its activities. Secondly, there are indications that down to the 12th century A.D., the term Jagadguru which subsequently designated exclusively the occupants of the Pīṭhas founded by Śaṅkara, used to denote ordinary Brāhmaṇas of outstanding eminence and learning. The Managoli inscription of 1161 A.D.¹ mentions one celebrity by name Īśvara Ghalisāsa as Jagadguru in the Brahmadeya village of Manigavelli, who flourished towards the end of the 10th century; and who was adored and worshipped by Taila II, the overthrower of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. This Īśvara Ghalisāsa was a married man and had no relation with any Pīṭha whatsoever. If the Śringerī Pīṭha at Saṅkeśvar, fairly near to the village, had any special religious influence, it certainly would not have allowed this Brāhmaṇa to assume the title Jagadguru. The right to give a final verdict in socio-religious matters was neither claimed nor conceded to the occupants of the Pīṭhas during our period. The Sukranīti mentions royal officers known as Dharmapradhānas or Paṇḍitas who were to review the social and religious practices, to find out which of them, although prescribed by Śāstras, were against the spirit of the age, which were completely obsolete having neither the sanction of Śāstras nor of custom and to issue order regarding points of dispute that would secure a person's well being this as well as the yonder world². According to the Smṛtis, both old and new³, this function belongs to a Pariṣad or conference consisting of distinguished persons of great learning and sterling character. In view of this, it is better to assume that the occupants

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¹ E. I. Vol. V, p. 15.

² Cf. वर्तमानाश्चप्रचीना धर्मा ये लोकसंश्रिता :

शास्त्रेषु क समुद्दिष्टा विरुद्ध्यन्तेच केषुना ।

लोकशास्त्रविरुद्धा ये पण्डितस्तान्विचारयत्

नृपं सम्बोधयेत्तत्र परब्रह्म सुखप्रदं ॥ *Sukranīti* II-98-100.

³ Gautama II, 10, 41-48 ; Manusmṛti XII, 110 ; Yājñavalkya I-9 ; Sātātapa 12 and Śaṅkha, IV, 29, 63.

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of the Pīthas acquired their present powers and prestige after the fall of the Hindu states and the consequent establishment of Muslim rule. As years elapsed, the prestige of the Pīthas increased considerably in the whole of the Deccan and the Pariṣads were completely forgotten.

Popular religion namely the religion of the masses of our period can be said to be Smārta Paurāṇic religion. This movement had commenced with the later Smṛti writers and the remodellers of the older Purāṇas who were successful in completely capturing the imagination of the masses. Although, it has not become possible to fix precisely the chronology of these works, it is certain that most of them belong to the period between 500 to 1000 A.D.

The Smṛtis had advocated the gospel of the Pañcamahāyajñas in place of the Vedic sacrifices involving slaughter of animals. Smārta Agnihotra was fairly common among the Brāhmaṇas of our period. Atrisamhitā (V. 354) says that a Brāhmaṇa who does not keep such Agnihotra, is a person whose food should not be accepted. Alberuni also confirms this fact by mentioning that the Brāhmaṇas who kept one fire were called Iṣṭins and those who kept three fires were styled as Agnihotrins¹.

In comparison with Smṛti writers, later Nibandha writers have increased the Smārta ritual to such an extent that almost no time is left for secular duties. Nibandha writers definitely lay down three baths for a Brāhmaṇa; the composers of the Smṛtis of our period hesitate between one and two. Śaṅkha lays down one bath only; while Dakṣa, Kātyāyana and Vaiyāghrapāda² add one more at mid-day. The theory of three daily baths began to appear towards the end of the 13th century. Alberuni has rightly observed, "Evidently the rule about the third bath is not as stringent as that relating to the first and second washing"³. The number of Sandhyās was also increasing at about our period. The etymology of the word shows that Sandhyā cannot be performed more than two times during the day. Atri, however, lays down that a twice-born should recite Sandhyā thrice and Vyāsa supplies three different names to the three different Sandhyās viz. Gāyatrī, Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī, respectively. There is no wonder that Nibandha writers prescribe three Sandhyās universally. In short, Smṛti writers of our period were evincing a tendency to make the simple Smārta religion as complex and rigid as the Śrauta one. Detailed rules for *śauca*, *dantadhāvana*, *snāna*, *ācamana* etc. were being framed so as to leave very little scope for individual liberty. From the 12th century onwards, rigidity of ritual became a prominent feature of the Smārta religion. This process has already started during our age.

¹ Alberuni's India, edited by Sachau, I, p. 102.

² Quoted in Smṛticandrikā, Āhnikakāṇḍa, pp. 290-291, 493.

³ Alberuni's India, edited by Sachau, II, p. 342.

Popularity of the Vratas can be considered to be another characteristic feature of Hinduism during this age. These Vratas were advocated by the Purāṇas. The Vratakaumudī mentions 128 Vratas; while the Vratarāja speaks of 205; all of these are based on the authority of Purāṇas. As Vratas offered opportunities to individuals of both sexes for personally going through a religious life of austerities along with the prospect of fulfilment of desires, they powerfully appealed to the people and still retain their hold on the minds of the Hindus in rural areas. In our period, they were slowly but certainly, gaining in popularity. Along with Vratas, Prāyaścittas were also coming to the forefront in the sphere of religion. Later Smṛtis like Laghu-Sātātapa, Āpastamba and Brhad-Yama, which are not far from our period, are almost entirely devoted to the discussion of Prāyaścittas or penitential rites.

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The Purāṇas, it must be admitted, offered new anthropomorphic nuclei for religious devotion and the deities in their Saguṇa form glorified by them became immediately popular among the masses. Epigraphical records of our age bear eloquent testimony to the popularity of Purāṇic deities. Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism were evidently the main sects as is clear from the fact that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants generally open with a verse containing a salutation to both the gods viz., Viṣṇu and Śiva. A temple of Śaradā existed in Managoli¹. Some records especially Ragholi plates of Jayavardhana² speak of the prevalence of the Sun worship. We cannot precisely determine whether Viṭhobā of Paṇḍharpur, the most popular deity of Mahārāṣṭra today, existed in our age. An inscription of Belgāum district dated 1250 A.D. refers to a grant made in the presence of Viṣṇu at Puṇḍarīka-Kṣetra described as situated on the banks of Bhīmā³. The name of the Tirtha and its situation on the Bhīmā river obviously attest to the existence of the Viṭṭhala temple at Paṇḍharpur in 1250 A.D. It appears to be a famous centre of pilgrimage in those days also as premier Mallasetti made a donation in the presence of Viṣṇu at this Kṣetra. The fame of the temple was, however, well established by the middle of 13th century A.D. As it was a famous centre at this time it can be safely assumed that the worship at the place must be a couple of centuries old at the time.

Besides, worship of some aboriginal deities was also current among the masses. The worship of Mhasobā, for example, can be mentioned. Al Idrisi very probably refers to this worship in the words, "Others worship holy stones on which butter and oil is poured."⁴ He also mentions tree and serpent worship. The followers of all these different gods appeared to a foreign traveller as forming different sects. Al Idrisi, for example, speaks of the existence of 42 different sects at his time. But the underlying idea was, on the

¹ *E. I.* VII, p. 143.

² *Ibid* IX, p. 42.

³ *I. A.*, XIV, p. 70.

⁴ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 76.

CHAPTER 11. whole, the worship of the self-same God under different manifestations; and hence they cannot be called as different sects.

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The problem of the origin and development of image worship is not easy to solve. Neither Dharmasūtra writers nor Manu refers to the worship of images in temples or public places. Probably the example of Buddhism with its attractive temples and Vihāras might have influenced the Hindu mind to emulate their practices. Any way it is true that temples soon became recognised as holy public places of worship during our age. In fact, they became a characteristic feature of Hinduism. Some of the temples in the Deccan must have been centres of wealth also. It is known that Kṛṣṇa I gave a number of gold and jewel ornaments to the Śiva image in the Ellorā temple, which he had excavated from solid rock at a great cost¹. Lands and villages were alienated for different temples. Cambay plates of Govinda IV² dated 930 A.D. speak of the king's gift of 400 villages and 32 lakhs of drammas for various temples in his dominion. Under such circumstances, provisions made for the maintenance of watchmen for bigger temples³ should not cause any surprise.

It appears that part of charity that flowed into temples was utilised in a useful way. Some temples used to contribute towards maintaining educational institutions. Epigraphical evidence proves the existence of many feeding houses run from such charities of temples and maintained in them. One of this type existed at Khārepāṭaṇ⁴ in Konkan. Some records give an idea of the daily temple life also. We learn that daily worship was done three times a day. Rice and other articles were included in the *naivedya* to the deities. Flowers and garlands were indispensable for worship and records mention grants assigned for flower garlands that were required for the temples. Temple worship was usually entrusted to Brāhmaṇas; but the non-Brāhmaṇa Gurava worshipper makes his appearance during our age. In the Rāmeśvaram temple on the Tuṅgabhadra, worship was being performed by a Gurava in 804 A.D. at the time of the visit of Govinda III. Śivadhri, who received a grant from the emperor, is clearly described as a Gurava in the record⁵. It is interesting and important to note that Gurava worshippers in the Śiva temple at Mantravāḍī in Dhārvār district, were required to maintain the vow of celibacy⁶.

Gṛhya-Sūtra ritual enjoins animal sacrifices in connection with popular deities like Vināyaka, Kṣetrapāla etc.⁷. That such sacrifices prevailed in our period in Northern India, is vouchsafed by Alberuni. But these were considerably rare in the Deccan of our period, as Al Idrisi, who was intimately acquainted with the conditions in the

¹ I. A., XII, p. 159.

² E. I., VII, p. 26.

³ Ibid. V, p. 22 as well as South Indian Inscriptions II, p. 301—3

⁴ Ibid. III, p. 30.

⁵ I. A., XI, p. 127.

⁶ E. I., VII, p. 202

⁷ Manava, II, 14; Apastamba XX, 12-20; Bhāradvāja, II, 10 etc.

South, does not mention them. This weaning of the masses in general from animal sacrifices may possibly be attributed to the influence of Jainism in our period.

The Purāṇas as well as the Smṛtis of our age extolled the importance of the various Tirthas or holy places in the different parts of India, making pilgrimage very popular among masses. The popularity of Prayāga, Vārāṇasī and Gayā was greater than that of the Sun temple at Multān and the Śiva temple at Prabhāsa; the latter is mentioned by Muslim writers who point out that some of the devotees used to crawl on their bellies in the final stage of their journey¹. The Laghu Śātātapa Smṛti (V. 10) declares that many sons should be desired, so that at least one of them may go to Gayā and perform Śrāddha. Other Smṛti writers bring out the importance of consigning the dead bodies to the river Gaṅgā. There is no wonder, therefore, that this cult of pilgrimage was quite popular in the Deccan also. Dantidurga went to Ujjayinī for performing Hiranya-garbha-mahā-dāna.² Some records say that a person interfering with charity described therein, would incur the sin of slaughtering a thousand cows at Vārāṇasī and Rāmeśvara.³ Incidentally, this shows how the cow was held in great veneration in our days. The cow is considered to be sacred even in the modern times. In those days, travelling to such distant places involved very great danger; hence there arose the doctrine of getting merit vicariously through somebody by requesting him to dip many times in the sacred waters on one's own account. This is also mentioned in certain Smṛtis.

Charity was considered to be the most effective way of acquiring religious merit. Hiranyagarbha-dāna made by Dantidurga has been prescribed by Matsyapurāṇa (Chapter 274). Tulāpuruṣadāna (giving a quantity of gold equivalent to one's own weight) said to have been made by Dantidurga⁴, Indra III⁵ and Govinda IV⁶, has been prescribed again by Matsyapurāṇa (Chapter 274) and Hemādri's Dānakhaṇḍa (p. 212). The occasions on which gifts are made are also those that are considered sacred by Smṛtis and Purāṇas. The College of Salotgi in Bijāpūr district got good gifts on a *sarva-pitr-amāvāsya* day⁷. The Karhād plates of Kṛṣṇa III⁸ were issued on the 13th day of the dark half of the month of Phālguna which has been described as a Vāruṇī day. One Upapurāṇa⁹ declares that this day is called Vāruṇī as being presided over by the lunar mansion Śatātārakā; Mahavāruṇī if the day is Saturday and Mahāmahāvāruṇī if there is also an auspicious Yoga on that day. The day referred to in the above record (930 A.D.) was Wednesday as it is described as a simple Vāruṇī day.

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¹ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 67.

² *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 248.

³ *I.A.*, XII, p. 220, 225.

⁴ Samangad plates, *Ibid.*, XI, p. 111.

⁵ Begumra plates, *E.I.*, IX, p. 24.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 30.

⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 355.

⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 260.

⁹ Quoted in the Tithi Tattva as cited in *Śabdakalpadruma*.

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 Hinduism.

It is evident that during our period Hinduism came into contact with Muhammedanism. Travellers had come and settled down in western India and consequently mosques began to appear. In Sindh hundreds of women were forcibly ravished and thousands of men were converted to Muhammedanism during these times. The attitude of Hinduism towards all these problems is noteworthy. The Smṛtis of these days permit reconversion. The Devala Smṛti composed in Sindh for this purpose permits reconversion of forcibly converted men within a period of 20 years. Bṛhad-Yama (V. 5-6) lays down a suitable Prāyaścitta for admitting such people back to the fold of Hinduism. In the case of women forcibly ravished, the Smṛtis like Devala declare that they can be readmitted to their families after an appropriate Prāyaścitta or penitential ceremony, even if ravishment had resulted in conception. This was in theory and in those days Hinduism was not so short-sighted and conservative as at present so as to deny this in practice. Cases of reconversion must have been there; at least one specific case of reconversion has been mentioned by Al Utbi¹. Muslim writers like Al Biladuri² themselves give further evidence to show that reconversion on a mass scale used to take place during the 8th and 9th centuries.

It is indeed a great pity that the lead given by the Smṛtis in this matter was not followed a few centuries later. There is evidence to show that towards the beginning of the 11th century A.D. Hinduism started hesitating about this process of reconversion. The masses were still in favour of reconversion; but the orthodoxy had started frowning upon this healthy practice. It has been already shown that interdining and intermarriages among various members of Hindu castes was disallowed towards the end of the 12th century. This created greater difficulties in the way of reconversion to the Hindu society. Alberuni, for example, rejects all reports about reconversions and accepts the information of his Brāhmaṇa informants. He declares "How should that (i.e. reconversion) be possible? If a Brāhmaṇa eats in the house of Śūdra for sundry days, he is expelled from his caste and can never regain it".³ From this it appears that ideas of excessive purity were responsible for frowning upon the practice; it started with the Brāhmaṇas and slowly spread through the masses.

There is not much evidence to indicate the social relations between the Muslims and the Hindus of our age. The fact that the Muslims of our period were using Indian dress and speaking Indian languages⁴ may indicate that great exclusiveness probably did not exist at the time. It is, by no means, unlikely that the mosques in the ports of western India had some Hindu worshippers also.

Buddhism.

Two Buddhist establishments are known to have flourished in Mahārāṣṭra during our period; one was at Kānherī near Bombay and

¹ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 32-33.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 126.

³ Alberuni's *India* edited by Sachau II, p. 162-63.

⁴ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 39.

the other at Kāmpilya in Solāpūr district. Three inscriptions belonging to the reign of Amoghavarṣa I¹ (821–880 A.D.) confirm the existence of a Buddhist Saṅgha at Kānherī. Several records of the Sātavāhana period are preserved in these caves. This proves that Kānherī was a centre of Buddhism during that period. During our age also, it certainly was famous as a Buddhist centre. This is confirmed by the fact that an inhabitant of distant Beṅgāl is found constructing meditation halls and making permanent endowments for the benefit of the monks of this Saṅgha. The endowment made provision for the purchase of books also, which indicates that this Saṅgha had a library or perhaps a school attached to it. This Saṅgha was situated within the direct jurisdiction of the Śilāhāras who, it appears, looked upon it with a sympathetic eye; as one premier of this state is known to have made an endowment for supplying clothes to the monks.

The Buddhist monastery at Kāmpilya is known to have received a village in donation from Dantivarman's grant. Kāmpilya or Kampila appears to be a village in Tuljāpūr taluka of the Osmānābād district. In addition to these two establishments, the existence of two Buddhist monasteries at Dambal in Dhārvār district is proved by an inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI dated 1095-1096 A.D. These are the only known centres of Buddhism during our period. It is, therefore, evident that Buddhism had lost its hold upon the mind of the people. In fact the decline had started from the 8th century; and by the 10th century Buddhism disappeared from India, its real birth-place. There are two or three reasons for this. Firstly, the Brāhmaṇas successfully revived the Śrauta and Smārta religion by introducing the necessary changes and by assimilating the rites as well as gods that were not originally their own. This helped the Brāhmaṇas not only regain their place in the hearts of the people at large, but enabled them to impress their necessity upon them. Contrasted with this, the Bauddhas as well as the Jainas remained haughtily aloof from the institution of the family and thereby lost their importance. Secondly Buddhism in its early phases, especially the Hināyāna sect, continued to proclaim their atheistic doctrine. The idea of God in his Saṅga form irresistibly appealed to the human mind, and its absence in the Buddhist doctrine went a long way in weaning away the minds of the masses. It is true that the Mahāyāna sect tried to rectify the mistake by raising Buddha to godhood; but it divested Buddhism of its quint essence and was rather too superficial to attract the people. Towards the beginning of the 13th century the Bhāgavata Dharma stepped into the field and boldly offered a hand of assistance and relief to the suffering masses in the words "Do not grieve" (*mā śucaḥ*). Unflinching devotion appeals to the common man; not meditation through knowledge. There is no wonder, therefore,

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¹ *J. A.*, VII, p. 25.

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Jainism

Buddhism could not hold its own in India. Philosophical revival under the leadership of Śaṅkara, largely contributed to its downfall. Lastly, the scholastic and missionary activities of the Jainas during this age also contributed to undermine its importance to some extent; although Jainism was not very strong in Mahārāṣṭra.

A majority of the kings, feudatories and officers of our period were followers or patrons of Jainism. Amoghavarṣa I of the famous Rāṣṭrakūṭa family was more a Jain than a Hindu. Jināsena in his Pārśvābhyudaya calls himself as the Paramaguru i.e. chief preceptor of this king who used to regard himself as purified by merely remembering that holy saint (himself)¹. The Sārasaṅgraha, a Jain mathematical work, also refers to Amoghavarṣa I as a follower of Syādvāda². The last of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas namely Indra IV was a staunch Jain as is clear from the fact that on having failed to regain his kingdom from Taila II, he is known to have committed suicide by the *sallekhanā* vow.³ Royal patronage considerably helped Jainism to prosper in the Deccan especially in the province of Karnaṭak of our days. The period produced a galaxy of Jain authors and preachers. Muslim travellers, it appears, mistook Jainism for Buddhism. When Rafiduddin states on the authority of Alberuni⁴ that the people of Koṅkan and Thāṇā were Samānis or Buddhists at the beginning of the 11th century, it proves the prevalence of Jainism rather than of Buddhism in parts of the Deccan during the 10th and 11th century. The words of late Dr. Altekar⁵ "that at least one-third of the total population of the Deccan of our period (of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas) was following the gospel of Mahāvīra," contain an amount of truth. In the 10th and 11th century, Jain temples had become the replicas of the Hindu temples. The worship of Mahāvīra had become as sumptuous and luxurious as that of Viṣṇu and the Sun. It is true that Jainism preaches the doctrine of Ahimsā in a more extreme form than Buddhism; but curiously enough, their doctrine had not an emasculating effect upon its followers during this time. Jainism of Amoghavarṣa I did not come in his way of offering a dreadful feast to the God of death on the battlefield of Vingavalli. The same is true of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman who, although a Jain, was proud of his title 'Ranapriya' i.e. 'a lover of war.' Towards the end of the 12th century, however, Jainism lost its hold on account of the rise of Liṅgāyata sect which grew probably at its cost.

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Education.

It is natural that knowledge of the three R's was not regarded as a necessary equipment for every citizen in those days. Members of industrial classes paid more attention to initiating their wards into the secrets of their profession than to those of the three R's. It has been already pointed out that village communities arranged to meet

¹ I. A., XII, p. 216-18.

² Winterintz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, III, p. 575.

³ I. A., XXIII, p. 124.

⁴ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 68.

⁵ *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*—Chapter XIII, p. 313.

their normal needs on the basis of the grain-share system. Thus the carpenter, the black-smith etc. whose services were necessary for every village, were assigned a grain-share that was paid to them annually at the time of the harvest. The teacher does not appear among the grain-sharing people. This shows that the services of the primary teacher were not considered essential. So it is probable that only Brāhmaṇas and the trading classes cared for literacy.

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Education.

Epigraphical records fail to throw any light on the arrangements made in an ordinary village for primary education. Neither Smṛtis nor accounts of foreign travellers help us in the matter. It appears that the village accountant or the priest or members of his family were undertaking the task of giving education as was required by the people. The guardians probably paid these people at the time of the harvest according to their means. The teacher had to supplement his income by the customary gifts in kind or cash on occasions like Dasarā etc. In many cases, the village teacher of those days possessed some elementary knowledge of medicine and also got some money for writing letters, bonds and leases.

There is ample evidence to indicate arrangements made for higher education in our age. Higher education in those days meant Sanskrit education. Veda, Vyākaraṇa, Jyotiṣa (astronomy as well as astrology), Sāhitya (literature), Mīmāṃsā, Dharmaśāstra, Nyāya (logic) and Purāṇas were the main branches of study. The donee of the Dhulia plates of Dhruva dated 779 A.D.¹ is declared to be well versed in the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, History, Purāṇas, Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṃsā, Logic i.e. Nyāya, Nirukta and Liturgy. Great predominance was given to grammar which was considered to be the key to the knowledge of all sciences, and must have been extensively studied.

The Society of our period did not pay much attention to the Dharmaśāstra injunction of studying the Vedas for 12 years laid down for the first three castes. The Vaiśyas of our age had already lost their right to study the Vedas and the Kṣatriyas, though permitted to study them, preferred to follow the Purāṇic ritual. The normal Kṣatriya youth, in those days, naturally took to military training; in fact Kṣatriyas taking seriously to education were very rare. Among the Brāhmaṇas, only the professional priests had to and did concentrate upon the study of the sacred lore; the average Brāhmaṇa intending to enter government service, or trade would have hardly bothered about the study of Vedic mantras. Proficiency in Dharmaśāstra was, however, necessary for entering the judicial branch of government service. It can be pointed out that Vedic study did not mean only cramming of Vedic Mantras; the title Vedārthajña in one of our records² shows that their meaning was also studied. Astrology had become an important and popular subject. Royal courts used to maintain astrologers³. One of our records speaks

¹ E. I. VIII, p. 182.

² I. A. XIV, p. 69.

³ Kāvi plates, *Ibid.*, V, p. 145.

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Education.

Higher education was imparted mainly in two places ; (1) Maṭhas associated with temples with an endowment from the state or from private sources, (2) special educational institutions conducted by private individuals or village communities with the help of the public or the state. Bhadraviṣṇu gave a donation to the Buddhist Vihāra at Kānherī in the reign of Amoghavarṣa I, a part of which was utilised for purchasing books. This monastery at Kānherī was obviously maintaining a library. Itsing (p. 155) tells us that these monasteries attended not only to the training of the monks but also to the children of the laity. Some temples used to indirectly help the cause of education by giving free food to the students in the feeding-houses attached to them². Kaḷas from Dhārvār district and Sālotgi in Bijāpūr district were *agrahāra* villages and Sanskrit colleges run in these were quite famous. Nārāyaṇa, the minister of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III, is known to have built a hall attached to the temple of Trayī-puruṣa in which this college was located³. Ordinary villages also sometimes had their schools and colleges. One institution imparting Sanskrit education existed at Yewoor in 1077 A.D.⁴ another was located at Belur in Bijāpūr district in 1022 A.D.⁵ Probably many more institutions existed ; although their memory is not preserved in epigraphical records. These institutions were financed partly by the state endowment and partly by private charity.

Literature

The energy of schools and colleges indicated above, was mainly devoted to the study of Sanskrit. Inscriptions of our period indicate that the Kāvya or classical style of writing had its firm hold on the Deccan upto 10th and 11th century. Kielhorn has indicated how the poets who were responsible for writing the *śāsanas* of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were indebted to works like the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu and the *Kādambarī* and the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa. The author of Kaḍab plates of Govinda III tries to emulate or rather imitate the style of Bāṇa in the prose portion. Epigraphical poetry of our period does not strike the reader as being one of the first order mainly because of the lack of pratibhā. It is interesting to note that most of the epigraphical poetry is in the Vaidarbhī style.

On the whole, the output of Sanskrit poetry or literature in our period is not very rich in quality. Kumārila, Saṅkara, Sarvajñātman, Vācaspati in the realm of philosophy, Lalla along with his pupil Āryabhaṭṭa II in the branch of astronomy, Kāmandaka and Śukra in the sphere of political science are, no doubt, celebrities of our age ; but none of them belongs to our province. We have to rest content

¹ E. I., I, p. 30.

² Kharepatan grant, *ibid.*, III, p. 360.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 60.

⁴ I. A., VIII, p. 21.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 273.

with Hoiṣeṇa's Praśasti composed in the Kāvya style and Yaśa-stilakacampū of the Digambar Jain Somaprabhasūri. The latter is an extensive work in eight Āśvasas composed in 959 A.D. under the patronage of a feudatory of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa. It relates the legend of Yaśodhara, lord of Avantī and the machinations of his consort and ends with the conversion of the king to the Jain faith after repeated births. The artificial style is evident even to a cursory reader. A reference may be made to Vidyāmādhava, a poet of the court of the Cālukya king Somadeva probably Someśvara IV of Kalyāṇī, who ruled in about 1126-1138 A.D. This Vidyāmādhava had written Pārvatī-rukmiṇīya describing the marriages of Śiva and Pārvatī and Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī.

The Vākāṭaka kings, who ruled over Northern Mahārāṣṭra from 3rd century A.D., were not only patrons of learning but were writers of no mean importance. Sarvasena, the founder of the Vatsagulma branch of Vākāṭakas, had composed a fine work in Mahārāṣṭrī known as Harivijaya. We know about this work from quotations given by celebrated rhetoricians like Daṇḍin, Ānandavardhana and Bhoja. The Harivijaya teems with excellent passages.

The Yādavas of Devagiri, who came to power by the end of the 12th century, were great patrons of learning in Sanskrit as well as Marāṭhī. Hemādri, who distinguished himself by his learning, was the Śrīkaraṇādhipa in the reign of kings Mahādeva and Rāmadeva. His Caturvargacintāmaṇi, a standard work on Dharmaśāstra, is divided into 4 sections known as Vratākhaṇḍa, Dānakhaṇḍa, Tīrthākhaṇḍa and Mokṣākhaṇḍa. The Āyurvedarasāyana is the result of his research in Āyurveda. Hemādri's commentary on Mukṭāphala, a work of Bopadeva, is also famous. Bopadeva was also a prolific writer with 26 books to his credit. He was a master of medicine, grammar and astronomy.

Marāṭhī language and literature were given a great encouragement during the reign of the Yādavas of Devagiri. The earliest inscription found in this language belongs to Śravaṇ Belgolā in Mysore dated Śaka 930 i.e. 1008 A.D. Another at Gardaunda belongs to Śaka 1077 i.e. 1155 A.D. The Cāṅgadeva inscription of Pāṭaṇ, dated Śaka 1128 i.e. 1206 A.D. as well as one more found at Paṇḍharpur, dated Śaka 1195 i.e. 1278 A.D. also belong to Marāṭhī proper. The pioneer of the Mahānubhāva sect is one Govinda Prabhu *alias* Guṇḍam Rāuḷ who was a resident of Rddhapur near Amarāvati. It is, now accepted that he died in Śaka 1200 i.e. 1278 A.D. The disciple of this person, the illustrious Cakradhara (1298 A.D.), was the most successful preacher of the Mahānubhāva sect in Vidarbha. Many persons received inspiration from Cakradhara and contributed largely to the development of the Marāṭhī language. Thus Mhāimḥaṭṭa's 'Liḷcaritra', Bhāskarabhaṭṭa's 'Śiśupālavadha', Narendra's 'Rukmiṇīsvayamvara', Dāmodara's 'Vatsaharaṇa', Viśvanātha Bāḷapurkar's 'Jñānaprabodha', Ravaḷo Vyāsa's 'Sahyadri-varṇana' and Naro Vyāsa's 'Rddhapuravarṇana' deserve mention. These writings have paved the way for the development of Marāṭhī.

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Mukundarāja, the author of 'Vivekasindhu', 'Paramāmṛta', 'Pavanavijaya', 'Mūlastambha' and 'Pañcīkaraṇa' is considered to be the first well known writer in Marāṭhī proper. He belonged to Marāṭhvāḍā and flourished in the end of 12th century. Thus Marāṭhī became known as the language of literature towards the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century. This paved the way for the celebrated Jñāneśvara (1275 A.D.), the author of Jñāneśvarī and the founder of the Bhāgavata dharma. He was responsible for establishing Marāṭhī as the language of the literature of the best order.



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